

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

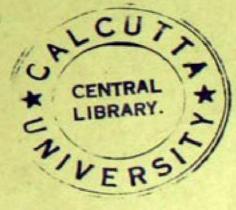
BY

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SEVENTH FDITION





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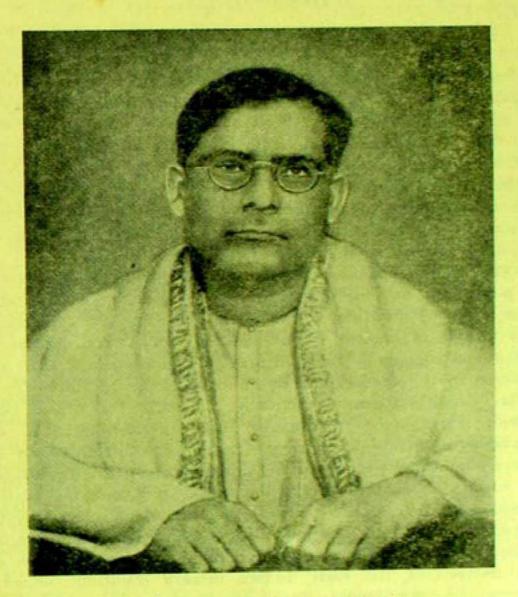
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To
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee
in token of grateful regard and esteem





HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI (1892-1957)

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HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

(1892-1957)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

When Hemchandra Raychaudhuri passed away in Calcutta in the evening of the 4th of May, 1957, very few Indians realised the nature of the loss caused by the sad demise of the great scholar. But, to those who were acquainted with him personally or with his invaluable works, the news came as a rude shock, even though they knew that he had been suffering from a protracted illness and that there was little hope of his recovery. Still it was a great loss to them, since, even from his sick-bed, Raychaudhuri was acting as a source of inspiration to the sincere students of history.

At the beginning of his magnum opus, Political History of Ancient India published by the University of Calcutta, Raychaudhuri observes, "No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of ancient India", and he took upon himself the task of reconstructing this lost history in greater details than what was offered in the earlier part of Smith's celebrated Early History of India. Smith's attempt practically relates to the period beginning with Alexander's invasion of India in 327-324 B.C. even though he wrote a few pages on the earlier period from c. 600 B.C. But Raychaudhuri pushed back the commencement of the historical period to the 9th century B.C. when the great Kuru king Parikshit flourished according to the chronological scheme proposed by him.

In the first part of this magnificent work, Raychaudhuri dealt with the pre-Bimbisara period of Indian history on the basis of a careful analysis of the early Indian literary traditions which, as he showed, are not devoid of genuine historical elements. It was no easy task. He had to go through the entire Vedic and Epico-Puranic literature and various other Sanskrit and Prakrit works as well as the Buddhist and Jain texts. But proper utilisation of the great mass of material thus collected is more difficult, since that requires special competence. However. Raychaudhuri eminently suited to the work. The great popularity of his Political History of Ancient India (from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty) is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it has run no less than six editions since its first appearance in 1923.

Hemchandra Raychaudhuri was born on the 8th April, 1892, in the village of Ponabalia in the Buckergunge District. Son of

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Manoranjan Raychaudhuri, Zamindar of Ponabalia, and Tarangini Devi, Hemchandra received his early education at the Brajamohan Institution, one of the best schools of the time, founded by Aswinikumar Datta at Barisal. He passed the Entrance examination of Calcutta University in 1907 having stood first among the students of the then province of East Bengal and Assam. Thereafter he came to Calcutta and studied first at the General Assembly's Institution (later Scottish Churches College) and then at the Presidency College from which he graduated in 1911. Having stood first among all the Honours Graduates of Calcutta University during that year, Hemchandra obtained the Eshan scholarship. In 1913 he stood first in the M.A. examination in History and subsequently became a Griffith Prizeman in 1919 and was also admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) of Calcutta University in 1921.

Immediately after obtaining his M.A. degree, Raychaudhuri worked first as a Lecturer at the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, for a short time (1913-14) and then joined the Bengal Education Service and served at the Presidency College, Calcutta, for three years (1914-16). In 1916, he was transferred to the Government College, Chittagong. About this time, he was considerably distressed owing to the illness of his wife, whose untimely death soon afterwards acted heavily upon his nerves, and the transfer increased his troubles. Fortunately, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was then in need of talented youngmen for the new course of Ancient Indian History and Culture introduced in the University of Calcutta. He offered a lectureship to Raychaudhuri who readily gave up his post in the Bengal Education Service and joined the University as a Lecturer in 1917. In 1936 when D. R. Bhandarkar retired, Raychaudhuri succeeded him as Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, a position that he held down to June, 1952. Before this appointment, for a year in 1928, he acted as Reader and Head of the Department of History at the University of Dacca,

As a man, Raychaudhuri had an extremely affectionate and sensitive nature. Whoever came into his contact was charmed by his amiable behaviour. He was an exceptionally successful and inspiring teacher. But he lived more or less a life of seclusion, though the urge for knowledge never allowed him any rest. He devoted all his time and energy in studies. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while paying tribute to his memory, remarked that Hemchandra knew nothing but books.

Raychaudhuri's scholarship was universally recognised. His treatment of historical topics was characterised by originality, sound judgement and learning, and he never sacrificed critical caution to the passion for novel theories. Indeed, Raychaudhuri's name was a guarantee for dependable work. In 1946, he was made a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and later, in 1951, was awarded the Society's B. C. Law gold medal for his contribution to the cause of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In 1941, he had presided over a section of the Indian History Congress held at Hyderabad, while he was elected General President of the Congress for its Nagpur Session held in 1950.

It is interesting to note that, as an author, Raychaudhuri was not exceptionally prolific, and this is because he insisted on quality rather than quantity. His second famous work, entitled Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, was published by Calcutta University and has run two editions (1920 and 1936). It is regarded as the most useful source book by all serious students of Vaishnavism. Raychaudhuri also contributed a number of articles to learned periodicals, all of which have been incorporated in his Studies in Indian Antiquities (1932 and 1958), the second edition of which, also published by the University of Calcutta, appeared a year after his death. The papers in this volume are characterised by clarity of thought and are suggestive of the vast range of Raychaudhuri's scholarship. He contributed chapters to such works as the Dacca University's History of Bengal, Vol. I (1942). Even when he was bed-ridden, he contributed an important chapter to the Early History of the Deccan edited by G. Yazdani. He wrote the Advanced History of India (for B.A. Students) in collaboration with R. C. Majumdar and K. K. Datta.*

^{*} From the Prāchyavidyā-taranginī (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture), edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1969, pp. 301-04; cf. Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. I, 1967-68, pp. 1 ff.

FOREWORD

My teacher, the late Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri, was suffering from illness for several years before his untimely death in 1957. That is why it was not possible for him to revise, to his satisfaction, certain sections of Part II of his Political History in the light of the discoveries made even some years before the latest edition of the work came out in 1953. A number of important records have also come out since that date. As Raychaudhuri's book still remains the most reliable and comprehensive treatment of the subject and is in great demand among the students of early Indian history, the University of Calcutta deserves our sincere thanks for bringing out the present reprint. When at the final stage of its printing, Dr. A. K. Raychaudhuri, son of the late Professor, saw me for the elucidation of a few minor points, I thought of adding a list of at least a few of the many important epigraphic, numismatic and literary records which have been discovered, studied or re-studied during the past two decades and throw light on the problems discussed by the author. The intention is of course to lead inquisitive students to further study of some of the topics. The epigraphic records, mostly appearing in the Epigraphia Indica, have been enumerated according to the order of their publication.

- 1. Mandasor (Mandsaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff.), dated Mālava year 524 (467 A.D.), which speaks indirectly of the rule of Govindagupta, son of Chandragupta II, in Western India or the Malwa region apparently at an earlier date. There is no reason to believe that Govindagupta ruled for some time from the Imperial Gupta throne (cf. Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist., Vol. III, pp. 101 ff.).
- 2. Sumandala (Ganjam District, Orissa) copper-plate inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.) of Prithivīvigraha-bhattāraka, dated Gupta year 250 (569 A.D.), issued when Gupta sovereignty was prevalent in the area (cf.) Gupta-rājye varttamāne with a similar phrase in Bhandarkar's List, No. 1068: Amgareja-rājye varttamāne). This has to be read in relation to the Jain literary tradition in Jinasena's Harivamŝa, to which Raychaudhuri himself first drew our attention and which speaks of the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and indirectly of the fall of the Guptas about the Gupta year 231 (550 A.D.). Now we have traced another Jain literary tradition, side by side with the said one, in Yati Basaha's



Tiloyapannatti, giving the duration of Gupta rule as 252 years, so that Gupta sovereignty ended about 571 A.D.; and we have suggested that the Guptas lost their hold on U.P. and Bihar about 550 A.D., but continued to dominate Orissa and the neighbouring regions till 571 A.D. See Essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, ed. H. R. Gupta, 1958, pp. 343 ff.

- 3. Badagañā (Sibsagar District, Assam) inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff.) of Bhūtivarman. It was formerly supposed to contain a date in the Gupta year 234 or 244; but a careful examination has shown that the record is undated. Bhūtivarman's epithet 'performer of the horse-sacrifice' is interesting because the seal of Bhāskaravarman assigns the performance of Aśvamedha not to Bhūtivarman, but to two other rulers.
- 4. Pedda-Dugam (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh) copperplate inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 89 ff.) issued by Śatrudamana (about the fifth century A.D.) owing allegiance to a *Bhaṭṭāraka* who seems to have been a Gupta emperor.
- 5. Gujarra (Datia District, Madhya Pradesh) MRE (*ibid.*, pp. 205 ff.) of Aśoka. This text of MRE I has a passage which throws light on the intermingling of gods and men in his empire as claimed by Aśoka. It says that people who followed Aśoka's *Dharma* would, as a result, be able to mingle with gods.
- 6. Kailvan (Patna District, Bihar) inscription (ibid., pp. 229 ff.) of Ārya-Viśākhamitra who was ruling over the area in question in the Kaṇishka or śaka year 108 (186 A.D.). The use of the era of 78 A.D. in this record seems to be related to the question of expansion of Kushāṇa power in Eastern India. See Sircar, Problems of Kushāṇa and Rājpūt History, pp. 52 ff.
- 7. Kurud (Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh) copper-plate inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, pp. 267 f.) of king Narendra of śarabhapura, who flourished about 500 A.D. The inscription shows that the early members of this ruling family owed allegiance to a Paramabhaṭṭāraka apparently of the Gupta dynasty.
- 8. Erragudi (Karnul District, Andhra Pradesh) Edicts (ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 1 ff.) of Aśoka. These contain the two Minor and the fourteen Major Rock Edicts. Their discovery has helped scholars in locating Suvarnagiri, capital of the southern province of Aśoka's empire, at Zonnagiri near Erragudi.
- 9. Copper coin of Harigupta (ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 95 ff.). The Garuda reverse of the coin was imitated from the coins of Chandragupta II. The same Harigupta may be the Gupta-vains-odita Hariraja of the Ichchhawar inscription (loc. cit.); but he was a local ruler of the East Malwa region about the fifth century A.D. and did not belong to the Imperial Gupta dynasty.



- 10. Bhumara (Satna District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription (ibid., pp. 167 ff.). Formerly it was believed that the inscribed pillar was the boundary post between the kingdoms of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin and the Uchchakalpīya Mahārāja Sarvanātha; but the recent study has shown that an area named 'Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhoga' (literally, 'the jāgīr in the possession of Mahārāja Sarvanātha') formed a part of Hastin's kingdom.
- 11. Supia (former Rewa State, Madhya Pradesh) inscription (ibid., pp. 306 ff.) of the time of Skandagupta, dated Gupta year 141 (460 A.D.). In this record, the Gupta genealogy is begun from Ghatotkacha (not from Ghatotkacha's father Gupta) as in Prabhāvatiguptā's grants, and the Gupta emperors Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I are mentioned by their titles, viz., Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya respectively.
- 12. Kandahar (Afghanistan) MRE (ibid., pp. 333 ff.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.) of Aśoka in two versions, viz. Greek and Aramaic, meant respectively for the Yavana and Kamboja subjects of the Maurya emperor. The Aramaic version represents the local officers as mentioning Priyadarśin (Aśoka) as 'our lord' and points to the inclusion of wide areas of Afghanistan in the Maurya empire.
- 13. Mathura (U.P.) inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 9 ff.) of year 4 of Kanishka's reign. The record shows that, like śrāvasti. Vārāṇasī and Kauśāmbī in U.P., Mathurā also formed a part of Kanishka's empire early in his reign.
- 14. Chitorgarh (Rajasthan) inscription of Aulikara Yasodharman (*ibid.*, pp. 53 ff). The inscription suggests that the city of Madhyamā (Madhyamikā), modern Nagarī near Chitor, was an administrative centre of the Aulikara dominions.
- 15. Nagarjunikonda (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 197 ff.) of Ābhīra Vasusheņa. The record seems to be dated in the year 30 of the era of 248 A.D., i.e. in 278 A.D., and to indicate the temporary occupation of the Ikshvāku capital, viz. Vijayapurī in the Nagarjunikonda valley, by the Ābhīras of Maharashtra.
- 16. Varanasi (U.P.) Sanskrit University Museum inscription (ibid., pp. 243 ff.) of the time of Rudradāmaśrī who seems to have had the blood of the śaka Satraps of Western India in his veins and ruled over Eastern U.P. in the third century A.D.
- 17. Amaravati (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) pillar inscription (ibid., Vol. XXXV, pp. 40 ff.). The record has been regarded as a fragment of an Aśokar Pillar Edict. In that case, this is the only Pillar Edict of the Maurya king so far discovered in South India, and Aśoka may be associated with the earliest phase of the Buddhist establishment at Amaravati.

- 18. Coins of the so-called Mahisha dynasty (*ibid.*, pp. 69 ff.). Some coins of about the third century A.D., discovered in the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, were attributed to a ruler of the Mahisha dynasty of Saka origin; but, with the help of similar other coins, it has been shown that the letters *Mahasa...* in the legend stand not for *Mahisha*, but for *Mahāse*[nāpatisa], so that the existence of the Mahisha dynasty is imaginary.
- 19. Silver coin of Vāsishthīputra Śātakarni (ibid., pp. 247 ff.). Formerly silver coinage (imitated from the saka type) only of Gautamīputra Yajña-śātakarni (c. 178-202 A.D.) was known, so that it was supposed to prove his conquest of the Thana District from the Saka Satraps of Western India. Now we have similar coins of his predecessors, viz., Vāsishthīputra Puļumāvi (c. 131-59 A.D.) and Vāsishthīputra Śātakarni (c. 159-65 A.D.) who had in their possession the Nasik-Poona region, and apparently Thana also, which had been conquered by Gautamiputra śātakarni (c. 106-31 A.D.) from the Kshaharata-saka Satrap Nahapana about 124 A.D. The other tracts conquered by Gautamīputra from Nahapāna were reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śaka Satraps Chashtana and Rudradāman. See also Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, pp. 107 ff., and Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition, pp. 88-89, 104. The Vāsishthīputra Śātakarni's coin, exhibiting the Dravidian forms of Middle Brāhmī and Prakrit speech, helped us in reading the damaged part of the legend on the coin of Gautamīputra Yajña-śāṭakarņi.
- 20. Dhārikāṭura grant of Achandavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.). The inscription shows how formerly the name Achandavarman was wrongly read in various epigraphs by all scholars as Chandavarman.
- 21. Ahraura (Mirzapur District, U.P.) MRE of Aśoka (ibid., pp. 239 ff.). An interesting passage in the last sentence of the record shows that MRE I was issued when Aśoka passed 256 nights away from his capital in the course of a tour of pilgrimage which he had undertaken after the installation of the Buddha's corporeal relics on a platform apparently for worship at Pāṭaliputra. For vivutha, etc., see Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 222-24.
- 22. Nagarjunikonda (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273 f.) of Gautamīputra Vijayaśātakarni of the śātavāhana dynasty, dated in his sixth regnal year. The record supports the Purāṇic reference to the Andhra king named Vijaya and shows that the Buddhist establishment at Nagarjunikonda, so long attributed to the Ikshvākus, started under Later śātavāhana patronage.
- 23. Hisse-Borala (Akola District, Maharashtra) inscription (ibid., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1 ff.; Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist., Vol. I.



- pp. 94 ff.) of Vākāṭaka Devasena, dated in Śaka 380 (458 A.D.). This is the only definitely dated record of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and also offers the earliest reference to the association of the Śakas with the era of 78 A.D. Another important feature of the inscription is that it equates Śaka 380 (458 A.D.) with the year 3020 of a cyclic reckoning of the astronomers.
- 24. Kandahar (Afghanistan) version of RE XII and XIII of Aśoka in Greek (ibid., pp. 103 ff.; Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakshmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature, ed. Sircar, pp. 25 ff.). This fragmentary record suggests that all the Major Rock edicts of the Maurya emperor may have been engraved at the place which was the headquarters of a district inhabited mostly by the Yavanas (Greeks).
- 25. Copper coins of Rāmagupta (Journ, Ind. Hist., Vol. XL, Part III, December 1962, pp. 533 ff.). The coins, it has been suggested, prove that there was a ruler named Rāmagupta in Malwa, but not that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha and ruled at Pātaliputra about 376 A.D. The coins resemble the Mālava and Nāga issues, some of them being imitated from Gupta coins like the issues of Harigupta and Indragupta who did not belong to the Imperial Gupta house.
- 26. Paramadaivata (Indian Studies: Past & Present, Vol. V. No. 1, October-December, 1963, pp. 89 ff.). It has been shown that the title has no Imperial association, but merely means 'devoted to the gods'.
- 27. Ariaka (Journ. Ind. Hist., Vol. XLIII, Part III, December, 1965, pp. 693 ff.). Here an attempt has been made to show that 'Ariake of the Sadenoi' in Ptolemy's Geography (c. 145 A.D.) means 'Aparānta of the Śātavāhanas' which included the present Thana District, but that the Ariake of the Periplus (c. 82 A.D.) included Southern Gujarat later called Lāṭa (Ptolemy's Larike which formed a part of the dominions of Tiastenes, i.e. Chashṭana, and also of the latter's successor, Rudradāman).
- 28. Matrimonial Relations between Seleucus and Chandragupta (Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist., Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.). It has been shown that there was no difficulty for the Maurya king in marrying a Greek princess because in India a king could choose his bride from any other royal family irrespective of caste considerations.
- 29. Andhau (Kutch, Gujarat) inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 104 ff.) of Chashṭana, dated in the year 11 (89 A.D.). The record shows that Chashṭana's territory included Kutch as early as the eighties of the first century A.D. and that he was a Satrap under Kaṇishka I (78-102 A.D.).
 - 30. Guntupally (West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh)

inscriptions (ibid., Vol. III, pp. 23 ff.). The records prove the rule of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Sada, called lord of Kalinga and Māhishaka, over the said region. The king, who ruled about the second century A.D. was wrongly identified with Khāravela who flourished in the first century B.C.

31. Mankuwar (Allahabad District, U.P.) inscription (ibid., pp. 133 ff.) of the time of Kumāragupta I. The date of the inscription is not the Gupta year 129 (448 A.D.), but the year 109 (428 A.D.). This reading suggests the introduction of the decimal system

in India as early as the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

32. Vidisha (Madhya Pradesh) inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 145 ff.; Journ. Or. Inst., Vol. XVIII, March, 1969, pp. 247 ff.) of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta. At attempt has been made to show that there is no reason to regard this Jain king Rāmagupta of Malwa as the Imperial Gupta monarch of 376 A.D. since the palaeography of the Vidisha records is really about a century later than that of the Sanchi inscription (412 A.D.) of Chandragupta II.

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PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH EDITION

This is a reprint of the sixth edition (1953) which is the latest published by the author who passed away on the 4th May, 1957. According to the author's last wishes, the volume is presented to the public as it was finally revised by him.

The revision of the indexes has been done by Mrs. Uma Raychaudhuri, Ajayprasad, Sunanda, Sucheta and Bijayprasad. They are unfortunately not exhaustive. It is also a matter of regret that misprints and blemishes could not be avoided. For these we can only crave the indulgence of sympathetic readers.

We are grateful to Dr. D. C. Sircar, the present Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, for a suitable foreword for this edition. We are also thankful for the co-operation we have received from the press.

25th April, 1970 6 Mysore Road Calcutta 26 ANIL KUMAR RAYCHAUDHURI

PREFACE TO THE SIXTH EDITION

The Political History of Ancient India now arrives at a sixth edition. The continued illness of the author makes the task of revision extremely difficult. It has not been found possible to eliminate mistakes and misprints that may have crept into the volume.

Few important discoveries have been made in the domain of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the period dealt with in the following pages, since the publication of the fifth edition in 1950. It may, however, be noted that certain copper coins of a king whose name has been read as Rāmagupta have been collected by Śrī Advani and others at Bhilsa, bearing the figure of a lion on the obverse. The identity of the ruler is still undecided. The available evidence is not sufficient to indicate whether the ruler in question was a local prince or a scion of the imperial line of Guptas. Mention may also be made of a seal said to have been discovered in the Ghositārāma monastery in course of excavations at the site of Kausambī carried on by the University of Allahabad. The seal is "impressed". with one of Toramana, the famous Hun ruler, and seems to confirm the evidence of Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Krishna III Rāshţrakūţa, regarding Hun penetration deep into the interior of the Ganges valley. The representation of Grumbates (of the Chionitai) as a Kushān ruler accepted by several scolars, is by no means certain.

The author has read with interest the learned notes on the Scythian period by Ludwig Bachhofer, Otto Maenchen Halfen, Dr. Lohuizen, and A. L. Basham, to whom recognition is due. His grateful thanks are also due to Professor Louis Renou of Paris for certain suggestion and constructive criticism.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA:

July 2, 1953.

CENTRAL LIERAR

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

A fifth edition of the Political History of Ancient India is now placed before scholars. The author, who has been in very poor health for a long time, has found the task of revision a difficult one. He is conscious of the fact that misprints and other faults justly open to censure have not been avoided. Fresh study of the subject and new discoveries have necessitated a thorough revision of several chapters, preparation of additional notes, omission of parts of the text and other amendments. No pains have been spared to bring the work up-to-date.

Help of various kinds, including revision of indexes, has been rendered by Mr. Durgadas Mukherji, Dr. Sudhakar Chatterji, Mr. Rabischandra Kar and Dr. Golapchandra Raychaudhuri to whom the author's acknowledgments are due.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA:

March 1, 1950.

H. C. R. C.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The Political History of Ancient India now arrives at a third edition. An endeavour has been made to make it more accurate and up to date. Questions connected with certain dynasties, particularly of the Scythian period, have been treated afresh and several paragraphs have been revised in the light of the new information that may be gathered from literature as well as inscriptions discovered at Shahdaur, Maira, Khalatse, Nāgārjunīkonda, Guņāighara and other places. Footnotes and appendices have been added to explain the author's viewpoint with regard to certain controversial matters. A new feature of the revised edition is the insertion in certain chapters, particularly of Part II, of introductory verses from literature to bring out some salient features of those chapters and incidentally, to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed. The author craves the indulgence of the reader for certain misprints that have crept into the text. The labour of revising the indexes has been performed by Srijuts D. C. Raychaudhuri, G. C. Raychaudhuri and Anilkumar Raychaudhuri.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA: December 13, 1931.

H. C. R. C.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

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A New edition of the Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty is placed before the public. The work has been out of print for some times and need has long been felt for a fresh edition. Therefore it goes forth once more having been revised and re-written in the light of the new information that is coming in so rapidly and in such vast bulk. No pains have been spared to bring the book up to date and make it more attractive to students. Material emendations have been made in almost every chapter. Some of the extracts in Sanskrit have been provided with English renderings.

A new feature of the present volume is the inclusion of a number of maps, and a few chronological and synchronistic tables, which, it is to be hoped, will increase the usefulness of the work. The incorporation of fresh material has necessitated a recasting of the indexes.

The present writer never intended his work to be a comprehensive survey of the political and dynastic history of every Indian province. He is chiefly concerned with those kingdoms and empires whose influence transcended provincial limits and had an important bearing upon the general course of political events in the heart and nervecentres of the Indian sub-continent. Dynasties of mere local interest (e.g., the Tamil Prachamtas of the far south, or the Himālayan Pratyantas in the far north) have received

very brief notice, as these did not acquire an all-India importance till after the Gupta period when a Jayadeva Parachakra-kāma had intimate dynastic relations with several rulers of the Indian interior, a Lalitāditya pushed his conquests as far as Kanauj, and a Rājendra Chola carried his arms to the banks of the Ganges.

Further, the author does not claim for the period from Parikshit to Bimbisara the same degree of authenticity as for the age of the Mauryas, the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas. The absence of trustworthy contemporary dynastic records makes it preposterous to put forward such a proposition. In regard to the early period it has been his principal endeavour to show that the huge fabric of sacerdotal and rhapsodic legends is not based solely on the mythical fancy of mendacious priests and storytelling Diaskeuasts; that bardic tales sometimes conceal kernels of sober facts not less trustworthy than the current accounts of the dynasties immediately preceding the raid of Alexander; and that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible. In trying to demonstrate this he has not confined himself to literature of a particular type, but has collated the whole mass of evidence, Vedic as well as Purānic, Brāhmanical as well as non-Brāhmanical, Buddhist as well as Jain, Indian as well as Hellenic.

The writer of these pages wishes to acknowledge with sincere thanks his indebtedness to scholars and critics who have helped him with valuable suggestions, and especially to Dr. Barnett, Professor Schrader, Dr. Jarl Charpentier, Mr. H. Subbaiya and Mr. Asananda Nag. He is also grateful for the kind assistance which he received in many difficulties from his friends and colleagues, among whom Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Mr. H. C. Ray and Mr. J. C. Chakravorti deserve especial mention. His acknowledgments are also due to Srijut Golapchandra Raychaudhuri who gave him



PREFACE

XXI

much valuable help in the preparation of maps and the revision of the indexes. The author does not claim that the indexes are exhaustive, but he has spared no pains to include all important references.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA:
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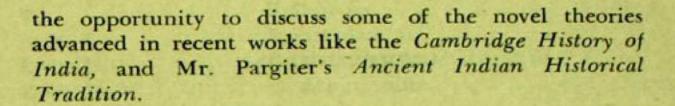
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object of the following pages is to sketch the political history of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. The idea of the work suggested itself many years ago from observing a tendency in some of the current books to dismiss the history of the period from the Bhārata war to the rise of Buddhism as incapable of arrangement in definite chronological order. The author's aim has been to present materials for an authentic chronological history of ancient India, including the neglected post-Bhārata period, but excluding the Epoch of the Kanauj Empires which properly falls within the domain of the historian of Mediaeval India.

The volume now offered to the public consists of two parts. In the first part an attempt has been made to furnish, from a comparison of the Vedic, Epic, Purāṇic, Jaina, Buddhist and secular Brāhmaṇical literature, such a narrative of the political vicissitudes of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period as may not be less intelligible to the reader than Dr. Smith's account of the transactions of the post-Bimbisārian age. It has also been thought expedient to append, towards the end of this part, a short chapter on kingship in the Brāhmaṇa-Jātaka period. The purpose of the second part is to provide a history of the period from Bimbisāra to the Guptas which will be, to a certain extent, more up to date, if less voluminous, than the classic work of Dr. Smith.

The greater part of the volume now published was written some years ago, and the author has not had

PREFACE



The writer of these pages offers his tribute of respect to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for providing opportunities for study which render it possible for a young learner to carry on investigation in the subject of his choice. To Professor D. R. Bhandarkar the author is grateful for the interest taken in the progress of the work. His acknowledgments are also due to Messrs. Girindramohan Sarkar and Rameschandra Raychaudhuri for their assistance in preparing the indexes. Lastly, this preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, the Superintendent, for his help in piloting the work through the Press.

Market W. Str. of Str.

H. C. R. C.

ABBREVIATIONS

PROPERCIE

A. B	After the Buddha.
	Ancient Geography of India.
A. H. D	Ancient History of the Deccan
A. I. H. T.	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
A. I. U	
Ait. Br.	Aitareya Brāhmaņa.
Alex.	Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
	Age of the Nandas and Mauryas
	Pub. Motilal Banarasi Dass
	for the Bhāratîya Itihāsa
	Parishad).
Ang	Anguttara Nikāya,
Ann. Bhand. Ins.	Annals of the Bhandarkar
	Oriental Research Institute.
Āpas. Śr. Sūtra .	Āpastambīya Śrauta Sūtra.
App	Appendix.
Arch. Rep.	Archaeological Survey Report.
A. R	Annual Report.
A. R. I.	Aryan Rule in India.
A. S. I	Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. R. (Arch. Surv.	Reports of the Archaeological
Rep.).	Survey of India.
A. S. W. I	Archæological Survey of Western India.
A. V	Atharva-Veda.
Baudh. Śr. Sūtra	Bodhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Bau. Sūtra	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
Bhand. Com. Vol	Bhandarkar Commemoration. Volume.
B. K. S	Book of Kindred Savings.
Bomb. Gaz.	Bombay Gazetteer.



ABBREVIATIONS

Br. of the control of	Brāhmaṇa.
Brih. S	Brihat Samhitā.
Brih, Up.	
Bud. Ind.	
C. Land	
C. A. H	Cambridge Ancient History.
Cal. Rev	Calcutta Review.
Camb. Ed.	Cambridge Edition.
Camb. Hist. (Ind.)	Cambridge History of India
(C. H. I.)	(Vol. I).
Camb. Short Hist.	(The) Cambridge Shorter History of India.
THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE	
Carm. Lec.	Carmichael Lectures, 1918.
Ch.	Chapter.
Chap.	A TO THE WAY TO SEE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY O
Chh. Up.	Chhāndogya Upanishad.
C. I. C. A. I.	Catalogue of Indian Coins,
of the subject Handle	Ancient India.
C. I. I.	Corpus Inscription Indicarum,
Corpus.	国的各种企业
Com. Vol.	Commemoration Volume.
	Cunningham.
D	Dīgha Nikāya.
Dialogues.	Dialogues of the Buddha.
D. P. P. N	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names
	(Malalasekera).
D. K. A.	
D. U	
Ed.	
E. H. D	
E. H. I	Early History of India.
E. H. V. S	
of the state of the	Sect.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Gandhāra (Foucher)	Notes on the Ancient Geography
	of Gandhāra.
Gaz	Gazetteer.

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xxvi ABBREVIATIONS

G. B. I	The Greeks in Bactria and India.
G. E	Gupta Era.
G. E. I	(The) Great Epic of India.
Gop. Br	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
G. O. S	Gaekwar Oriental Series.
Greeks	The Greeks in Bactria and India.
Hariv	Harivamsa.
H. and F	Hamilton and Falconer's Tran-
	slation of Strabo's Geography.
H. C. I. P	The History and Culture of the
	Indian People (Bhāratīya
	Vidyā Bhavana).
H. F. A. I. C	History of Fine Art in India
	and Ceylon.
Hist, N. E. Ind.	History of North Eastern India.
Hist. Sans. Lit	(A) History of Sanskrit Literature.
H. O. S	Harvard Oriental Series.
Hyd. Hist. Cong .	Proceedings of the Indian History
Samuel State of the state of th	Congress, Hyderabad (1941).
I. H. Q	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Int. Ant. (I. A.)	Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Lit	History of Indian Literature.
Imp. Gaz.	Imperial Gazetteer.
Inv. Alex.	Invasion of Alexander.
Ins.	Inscriptions.
J	. Jātaka.
J. A. (Journ. As.)	. Journal Asiatique.
J. A. H. S	. Journal of the Andhra
	Historical Society.
J. A. O. S	. Journal of the American Oriental
	Society.
J. A. S. B	. Journal and Proceeding of the
	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. Br. R. A. S.	. Journal of the Bombay Branch
	of the Royal Asiatic Society.



J. B. O. R. S		Journal of the Bihar and Orissa
		Research Society.
J. I. H		Journal of Indian History.
J. N. S. I		Journal of the Numismatic
		Society of India.
J. R. A. S	11	Journal of the Royal Asiatic
		Society (Great Britain).
J. R. N. S		Journal of the Royal Numismatic
J. R. 14. 5		Society and the Numismatic
		Chronicle.
* ** D ** C		
J. U. P. H. S.		Journal of the United Provinces
		Historical Society.
Kaush. Up.		Kaushītaki Upanishad.
Kaut		Arthasastra of Kautilya, Mysore,
		1919.
Kishk.	400	Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa of the
		Rāmāyaņa.
Life		(The) Life of Hiuen Tsang.
M		Majjhima Nikāya.
		Memoirs of the Archaeological
		Survey of India.
Mat	A PER	Matsya Purāņa.
Meb. Hind. Ind		Mahābhārata.
		Medieval Hindu India.
Mbh		
Mod. Rev		Modern Review.
M. R		Minor Rock Edicts.
N		Nikāya.
N. H. I. P	1.00	The New History of the Indian
		People (Vol. VI).
N. Ins		(A) List of Inscriptions of North
		India.
Num. Chron	all The	Numismatic Chronicle.
O. S. (Penzer) .		The Ocean of Story.
P		Purāņa.
P. A. O. S		Proceedings of the American
		Oriental Society.
Pratijñā	180	Pratijñā Yaugandharāyana.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Pro. Or. Conf	Proceedings of the All-India
	Oriental Conference.
Pt. (Pat.)	Patañjali.
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa.
R. D. B.	Rakhal Das Banerji
R. P. V. U	Religion and Philosophy of the
	Veda and Upanishads.
R. V	Rig-Veda.
śankh. śr. Sūtra .	Śāńkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Sans. Lit.	Sanskrit Literature.
Santi.	Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.
Sat. Br.	Śāntipatha Brāhmaņa.
S. B. E	Sacred Books of the East.
Ś. E.	Śaka Era.
Sec.	Section.
S. I. I	South Indian Inscriptions.
S. Ins.	(A) List of Inscriptions of
	Southern India.
S. P. Patrika	Vangīya Sāhitya-Parishat Patrikā.
Svapna.	Svapnavāsavadatta.
Tr.	Translation.
Up. Br	Upanishad Brāhmaṇa.
V.	Veda.
Vāj. Sam.	Vājasaneyi-Samhitā.
Ved. Ind.	
Vish.	Vishņu Purāņa.
Vizag. Dist. Gaz.	Vizagapatam District Gazetteer.
	A Volume of Oriental Studies
	presented to Jean Philippe
there I would be a	
Z. D. M. G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mor-
	genlandischen Gesellschaft.



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¹ In this work "India" means usually the entire territory known by that name up to August 15, 1947.

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Political History of Ancient India

PART I

From the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

SECTION I. FOREWORD

No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the patient investigations of numerous scholars and archæologists have opened up rich stores of material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country. The first notable attempt to "sort and arrange the accumulated and evergrowing stores of knowledge" was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding "the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pandu," and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B.C. The aim of the present writer has been to sketch in outline the dynastic history of Ancient India including the neglected period. He takes as his starting point the accession of Parikshit which, according to Epic and Puranic tradition, took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

Valuable information regarding the Pārikshita and the post-Pārikshita periods has been given by eminent scholars like Weber, Lassen, Eggeling, Caland, Oldenberg, Jacobi, Hopkins, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Fick,

Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to frame an outline of political history from Parikshit to Bimbisāra out of materials supplied by Brāhmaṇic as well as non-Brāhmaṇic literature is, I believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

SECTION II. SOURCES

No inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. The South Indian plates purporting to belong to the reign of Janamejayai have been proved to be spurious. Our chief reliance must, therefore, be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is, in the main, Indian, and is not supplemented to any considerable extent by those foreign notices which have "done more than any archæological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation" of the history of the post-Bimbisarian epoch. The discoveries at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa no doubt constitute a welcome addition to the purely literary evidence regarding the ancient history of India. But the civilisation disclosed is possibly that of Sauvīra or Sovīra (Sophir, Ophir)2 in the pre-Pārikshita period. And the monuments exhumed "offer little direct contribution to the materials for political history," particularly of the Madhya-deša or the Upper Ganges valley.

Indian literature useful for the purpose of the historian of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian age may be divided into five classes. viz.:—

I. Brāhmaņical literature of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. This class of literature naturally contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties and comprises:

(a) The last book of the Atharva Veda.

¹ Ep. Ind., VII, App. pp. 162-63; IA., III. 268; IV. 333 ² Cf. IA., XIII. 228; I. Kings, 9, 28; 10, 11.



(b) The Aitareya, Satapatha, Pañchavimsa and other ancient Brāhmaņas.1

(c) The major part of the Brihadaranyaka, the

Chhāndogya and other classical Upanishads.

That these works belong to the post-Pārikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, to Janamejaya's successor Abhipratārin, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Pārikshitas was discussed by the assembled sages. That these works are in the main pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisārian, has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra, Professor Macdonell and others.

II. The second class comprises Brāhmaṇical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of scholars, belong to the post-Bimbisārian period. To this class belong the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The present Rāmāyaṇa consists of 24,000 ślokas or verses. But even in the first or second century A.D. the epic seems to have contained only 12,000 ślokas as the evidence of the Buddhist Mahāvibhāshā, a commentary on the Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyanīputra, suggests. It not only mentions Buddha Tathāgata, but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas (Greeks) and śakas (Scythians), śakān Yavana-Miśritān. In the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa, Sugriva

¹ Of special importance are the gathas or songs in the thirteenth kanda of the Sat. Br. and the eighth panchika of the Aitareya.

² Translation of the Chhandogya Upanishad, pp. 23-24. ³ History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 189, 202-03, 226.

^{1. 4. 2—}Chaturvimsa-sahasrāni slokānām uktavān rishih,

⁵ J.R.A.S., 1907. pp. 99 ff. Cf. Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1263.

⁶ II. 109. 34.

^{*} IV. 43. 11-12. Note also the references to Vaijayantapura in the Deccan (II. 9. 12), the Drāvidas (ibid., 10. 37), Malaya and Darddūra (ibid., 91. 24). Murachīpattana (Muziris, Cranganore, IV. 42. 3), practices of the people of the Deccan (II. 93. 13), "the seven flourishing realms" of Yavadvīpa (Java), Suvarņadvīpa (Sumatra) in IV. 40, 30, and Karkaţaka lagna (II. 15. 3).

places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the śakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himālayas. This shows that the Græco-Scythians at that time occupied parts of the Pañjāb. The Lankā Kāṇḍa¹ apparently refers to the Purāṇic episode of the uplifting of Mount Mandara, or of Govardhana, Parigrihya girim dorbhyām vapur Vishnor viḍambayan.¹

As regards the present Mahabhārata, Hopkins says.3 "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the edūkas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190. 65 'They will revere edūkas, they will neglect the gods'; ib. 67 'the earth shall be piled with edūkas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, Cāturmahārājika in XII. 339. 40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to..... The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples, II. 51. 17, and stand thus in marked contrast to Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often..... The distinct prophecy that 'Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously in the evil age to come' which occurs in III. 188. 35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."

The Adiparva* refers to king Asoka who is represented as an incarnation of a Mahāsura or great demon,

^{1 69. 32;} cf. Matsya, 249. 53; Bhagavata, X. 25, Mbh., III. 101. 15.

² For some other Purănic allusions see Calcutta Review, March, 1922, pp. 500-02. For references to suttee see Hopkins, J.A.O.S., 13. 173. For 'empire' Rām. II. 10. 36.

³ The Great Epic of India, pp. 391-93.

^{*} I. 67. 13-14. Cf. also XII. 5. 7 where Asoka is mentioned with satadhanvan.

5 It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Devimahatmya of the Markandeva Purana (88. 5) Maurya is the name of a class of Asuras or demons:—



and is described as mahāvîryo'parājitaḥ, of great prowess and invincible. We have also a reference to a Greek overlord, Yavanādhipaḥ of Sauvīra and his compatriot Dattāmitra (Demetrios?). The Śāntiparva presupposes the inclusion of the city of Mālinī, in the land of the Aṅgas, within the realm of Magadha. It mentions Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, Vārshagaṇya, the Sāṁkhya philosopher who probably flourished in the fourth or fifth century after Christ and Kāmandaka, the authority, on Dharma (sacred law) and Artha (polity) who is probably to be identified with the famous disciple of Kauţilya.

The eighteen Purāṇas were certainly known to Alberuni' (A.D. 1000), Rājaśekhara (A.D. 900), and the latest compiler of the Mahābhārata who flourished before A.D. 500. Some of the Purāṇic chronicles are mentioned by Bāṇa (A.D. 600) and earlier writers. But the extant texts which contain lists of kings of the Kali Age cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.,

"Let the Kālaka, the Daurhrita, the Maurya and the Kālakeya Asuras, hastening at my command, march forth ready for battle."

Note also the expression suradvishām (of the enemies of the gods, i.e., Asuras) used by the Bhāgavata Purāņa (1. 3. 24) in reference to people "deluded", by the Buddha.

1 Mbh., I. 139. 21-23.

^{2 5. 1-6.}

^{3 342. 73}

^{4 318. 59.}

⁵ J.R.A.S., 1905, pp. 47-51; Keith, Sāmhhya System, pp. 62, 63. 69.

⁶ Santi. 129, 11.

⁷ Cf. Alberuni, Ch. XII; Prachanda-Pāndava, ed. by Carl Cappeller, p. 5 (ashṭādaša-purāṇa-sāra-saṅgraha-kārin); Mbh., XVIII. 6. 97; Harshacharita, III (p. 86 of Parab's ed., 1918), Pavamāna-prokta Purāṇa, i.e., Vāyu Purāṇa; Cf. Sakala-purāṇa-rājarshi-charitābhijāāḥ (HI. 87) and Hareriva Vṛishaviro-dhīni Bālacharitāni (II. 77); E.H.V.S. second ed., pp. 17, 70, 150. The fact that the collection of the essence (sāra-saṅgraha) of all the eighteen Purāṇas is attributed to a very ancient sage by Rājašekhara proves that the Purāṇas themselves were believed by him to have been composed long before the ninth century A.D. The existence of some of the texts in the sixth century A.D. is hinted at by the Nerūr inscription of Maṅgaleśa (IA., VII. 161—Mānava-Purāṇa-Rāmāyaṇa-Bhāratetihāsa-kuśalah . . . Vallabhaḥ, i.e., Pulikešī I). The reference in the Matsya Purāṇa, which is regarded as one of the earliest among the Purāṇic works, to week days (70, 46; 56; 72, 27, etc. is of value in determining the upper limit.

because they refer to the so-called Andhra kings and even

to the post-Andhras.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Epics and the Purāṇas, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisārian age than are the tales of the Mahāvaṁśa and the Aśokāvadāna adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Mauryas. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Dr. Smith considered necessary with regard to the Pali chronicles of Ceylon, is also applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas.

In a recent work Dr. Keith shows scepticism about the historical value of these texts, and wonders at the "naïve credulity" of those who believe in the historicity of any event not explicitly mentioned in the Vedas, e.g., "a great Bharatan war". It cannot be denied that the Epics and the Purāṇas, in their present shape, contain a good deal of what is untrustworthy; but it has been rightly said that "It is absurd to suppose that fiction completely ousted the truth." The epigraphic or numismatic records of the Sātavāhanas, Abhîras, Vākāṭakas, Nāgas, Guptas and many other dynasties fully bear out the observation of Dr. Smith that "modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Purānic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." As to the "great Bharata war" we have indeed no epigraphic corroboration, because contemporary inscriptions are lacking. But, as will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter, Vedic literature contains many hints that the story of the great conflict is not wholly fictitious. Many of the figures in the Kurukshetra story, e.g., Bālhika Prātipeya1 (Balhika Prātipīya), Dhritarāshtra Vaichitravīrya, Krishņa, Devakī-



putra and perhaps Sikhandin Yājñasena, are mentioned in some of the early Vedic texts,1 and we have a distinct allusion in the Satapatha Brāhmaņa to the unfriendly feeling between the first of these, a prince of the Kurus, and the Srinjayas.3 It will be remembered that the great war described in the epic often takes the shape of a trial of strength between these two peoples (Kurūnām Srinjayānām cha jigīshūnām parasparam).3 In the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa' Kurus reproach the Dālbhyas, a clan closely connected with the Pañchālas who appear to have been among the principal antagonists of the Kuru leaders in the Bhārata War. The Chhāndogya Upanishad, as is well-known, contains a gatha which eulogises the mare that comes to the rescue of the Kurus. Battle-songs describing the struggle of the Kurus against the Sriñjayas and associate tribes or clans must have been current at least as early as the fifth century B.C., because Vaisampāyana and his version of the Mahābhārata are well-known to Aśvalayana and Panini. If, as suggested by Vedic evidence discussed in the following pages, the "great Bhāratan war" really took place in or about the ninth century B.C., the broad outlines of the story about the conflict dating from a period not later than the fifth century B.C., cannot be dismissed as wholly unworthy of credence.

Pargiter, unlike Keith, is inclined to give more weight to Purāṇic tradition than to Vedic evidence, and his conclusions have apparently been accepted by Dr. Barnett.⁵ It has eloquently been urged by the former⁶ that Vedic literature "lacks the historical sense" and "is not always to be trusted." But do the Purāṇas which represent śākya as one individual, include Abhimanyu and Siddhārtha in lists of kings, make

¹ Cf. also Arjuna identified with Indra in the Sat. Br., V. 4. 3. 7 and Partha in the Asvalayana Srauta Sūtra, XII. 10 (Vedic Index, I. 522).

² Vedic Index, II, p. 63. Sat. Br., XII, 9. 3.

³ Mbh., VI. 45. 2. ⁴ I. 38. 1 (xii, 4).

⁶ Calcutta Review, Feb., 1924, p. 249.

Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 9 ff.

Prasenajit the immediate lineal successor of Rāhula, place Pradyota several generations before Bimbisara, dismiss Asoka with one sentence, make no mention of the dynastic name Śātavāhana, and omit from the list of the so-called "Andhras," princes like Siri-Kubha (Śrī-Kumbha) Śātakani whose existence is proved by the incontestable evidence of coins,1 possess the historical sense in a remarkable degree, and are "always to be trusted"? Pargiter himself, not unoften, rejects Epic and Puranic evidence when it is opposed to certain theories. In this connection it will not be quite out of place to quote the following observations of Mr. V. Gordon Childe.3 "The Kşatriya tradition (i.e., Epic and Purāṇic tradition).....is hardly an unpolluted source of history. The orthodox view is not really based on the priestly tradition, as embodied in epexegetical works, but rather on the internal evidence of the Veda itself. The latter carries conviction precisely because the historical and geographical references in the hymns are introduced only incidentally and in a thoroughly ingenuous manner... The same cannot be said of Kşatriya tradition, which in its recorded form dates from an age (perhaps as late as 200 A.D.) when mythmaking had had many centuries to work in, and which might serve dynastic ends." Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are two strong points in favour of Vedic literature.

III. The third class of literature comprises Brāhmanical works of the post-Bimbisārian period to which a
date in a definite epoch may be assigned, e.g., the
Kauţilya Arthaśāstra assignable to the period 249 B. C.
to c.100 A.D., the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali between
c.150 B.C. and 100 A.D., etc. The value of these impor-

¹ Mirashi in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. II.

² Cf. A.I.H.T., pp. 173, n. 1; 299, n. 7.

^{*} The Aryans, p. 32.

The work was known not only to Bāṇa, the author of the Kādambarī who flourished in the seventh century A.D., but to the Nandisūtra and Paiṇṇas

For recent discussions about the date of Patañjali see Indian Culture, III.

H., Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, pp. 510-11.



THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

tant works can hardly be overestimated. They form "sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology." Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisārian age is certainly inferior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, but the very fact that such information as

of the Jainas which may have existed in the early centuries A.D. and probably also to the Nyāya-Bhāshya of Vātsyāyana, which is criticised by Dignāga and perhaps by Vasubandhu too (I.A., 1915, p. 82, 1918, p. 103). According to some scholars the Arthasastra literature is later than the Dharmasastras, and dates only from about the third century A.D. But the prevalence of the study of Arthavidyā in a much earlier epoch is proved by the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman I and the existence of treatises on Arthasastra is rendered probable by the mention of technical terms like "Pranaya," "Vishti," etc. It is interesting to note that the Kauţiliya, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing Arthasastras, does not quote the views of previous Achāryas or teachers in the chapter on "Praņaya" (Bk. V. Ch. 2). It is. therefore, not unlikely that Rudradaman I, who claims to have studied the Arthavidyā learnt the use of the term from the Kauţilīya itself and not from a pre-Kautilyan treatise. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Junagadh epigraphs show a special acquaintance with the Arthasastra literature. The Junagadh Inscription of Skanda Gupta, for instance, refers to the testing of officials by upadhās-sarv-opadhābhischa visuddhabuddhih, "possessed of a mind that (has been tried and) is (found to be) pure by all the tests of honesty." The verse

> Nyāy-ārjane-rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ syād-arjitasy-āpy-atha rakshaṇe cha gopāyitasy-āpi cha vṛiddhi-hetau Vṛiddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya

"Who is capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and able) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased" (Fleet),

reminds us of Kaut., 1. 1-

Dandanītih; alabdha-lābhārthā labdha-parirakshanī, rakshita-vivardhanī vriddhasya tīrtheshu pratipādanī cha.

"The science of government, it is a means to make acquisitions, to preserve what is acquired, to increase what is protected and to distribute among

the worthy what has been increased."

Johnston (J.R.A.S., 1929, 1 January, p. 77 ff.) points out that the Kauţiliya Arthasāstra is not separated by a great interval from Aśvaghosha, and is distinctly earlier than the Jātakamālā of Āryasūra (who flourished before 434 A.D. Winternitz, Ind. Lit., Vol. II, 276). An early date is also suggested by the absence of any reference to the Denarius in Book II, Chs. 12 and 19. But the mention of Chīnabhūmi and Chīnapaṭṭa in Bk. II, Ch. 11, precludes the possibility of a date earlier than the middle of the third century B.C. The reference must be to the great country of the Far East (Cf. "China which produces silk," Kosmas Indikopleustes, McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 162), and not to any obscure tribe on the outskirts of India. China silk

they contain, comes from persons assignable to a known epoch, makes it more valuable than the Epic and Purāṇic tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist Suttas, Vinaya texts and the Jātakas. Several works of the Buddhist canon are noticed in votive inscriptions at Bharhut and Sāñchī assigned to the second and first centuries B. C. Many of the reliefs found on the railings and gateways of Stūpas of the age depict stories taken from the Jātakas. The texts of the Pali canon are said to have been committed to writing in the first century B.C. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisāra. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories, and vouchsafe light when the light from Brāhmaṇical sources begins to fail.

V. To the fifth class belong the sacred texts of the Jainas. Some of the works may go back to a period earlier than the second century A.D. But the canon as a whole was probably reduced to writing in the fifth or sixth century A.D. It gives interesting information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisārian Age. But its comparatively late date makes its evidence not always reliable.

looms large in the pages of classical Sanskrit writers. The great silk-producing country (as well as Kambu, Kaui., II. 13) clearly lay outside the horizon of the early Mauryas. The name 'Chīna' applied to the famous land can hardly be anterior to the first emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty (249-210 B.C., Mogi and Redman, The Problem of the Far East, p. 15). A post-Chandraguptan date for the Arthasāstra is also suggested by (a) the reference to parapets of brick instead of wooden ramparts (II. 3), in connection with the royal seat, and (b) the use of Sanskrit at the Secretariat (II. 10). The imperial title Chakravarti (IX. 1) is not met with in inscriptions before Khāravela. The official designations Samāhartri and Sannidhātri find mention in epigraphs of a still later age.

¹ Jacobi, Parisishta parvan, p. vii; S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii; XLV, p. xl. Cf. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 432.

CHAPTER II. KURUS AND VIDEHAS

SECTION I. THE AGE OF THE PARIKSHITAS

Janah sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñah Parikshitah —Atharva Veda.

We have taken as our starting point the reign of Parikshit whose accession, according to tradition, took place shortly after the *Bhārata* War.

Was there really a king named Parikshit? True, he is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. But the mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no sure proof of his historical existence unless we have corroborative evidence from external sources.

Parikshit appears in a famous laud of the Twentieth Book of the Atharva Veda Samhitā as a king of the Kurus (Kauravya) whose kingdom (rāshṭra) flowed with milk and honey. The passage runs as follows:—

"Rājño viśvajanînasya yo devo martyām ati vaiśvānarasya sushţutim ā sunotā Parikshitaḥ parichchhinnaḥ kshemamakarot tama āsanamācharan kulāyan kṛiṇvan Kauravyaḥ patirvadati jāyayā katarat ta ā harāṇi dadhi manthām pari śrutam jāyāḥ patim vi pṛichchhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ abhivasvaḥ pra jihîte yavaḥ pakvaḥ patho bilam janaḥ sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ."

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, who is thought of by all men," of Parikshit! Parikshit has

¹ A.V., XX. 127, 7. 10.

For the meaning of Vaisvanara, see Brihaddevata, II. 66.

produced for us a secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

"What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit."

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the Atharva Veda as a divine being. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognize him as a human king, a view supported by the fact that in the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas the famous king Janamejaya bears the patronymic Pārikshita (son of Parikshit). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,² for example, informs us that the priest Tura Kāvasheya "anointed Janamejaya Pārikshita with the great anointing of Indra":

"Etena ha vā Aindrena mahābhishekena Turah Kāva-

sheyo Janamejayam Pārikshitam abhishishecha."

Referring to king Parikshit, Macdonell and Keith observe³: "The epic makes him grandfather of Pratiśravas and great-grandfather of Pratīpa." Now, the epic and the Purāṇas have really two Parikshits. Regarding the parentage of one there is no unanimity. He is variously represented as the son of Avīkshit, Anaśvā, or Kuru, and is further mentioned as an ancestor of Pratiśravas and Pratīpa. The other Parikshit was a descendant of Pratīpa and, according to a unanimous tradition, a son of Abhimanyu. We shall call the former Parikshit I, and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic and the Purāṇas identical with the Vedic Parikshit

Wedic Index, Vol. I, p. 494-

¹ Bloomfield, Atharva Veda, pp. 197.98, with slight emendations. ² VIII, 21.

^{*} Mahābhārata, Adiparva. 54. 52 and 95. 41. Regarding Parikshit I, the Matsya Purāņa says, 50, 23:



as suggested by the authors of the Vedic Index? In support of this view it may be urged that Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka, priest of Janamejaya, son of the Vedic Parikshit, according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa,¹ is represented in several Purāṇas³ as chaplain of the son of Parikshit I who came before the Bhārata heroes. Indrota's son Dṛiti was a contemporary of Abhipratārin Kākshaseni,³ "son of Kakshasena," and the name of Kakshasena actually appears among the sons of Parikshit I in a genealogical list of the Mahābhārata.⁴ Further, like the Vedic Parikshit, Parikshit I had, according to a Purāṇic passage, four sons, viz., Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhīmasena,⁵ and the eldest son had a quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas.

There are, however, other facts which point to an opposite conclusion. The Vedic Parikshit receives in the Atharvan laud the epithet rājā viśvajanîna (universal king) and is called "a deva (god) who is above mortals." In his days the designation Kauravya had ceased to be a mere royal patronymic and was applied to ordinary citizens in Kuru land. Kuru had become the eponymous ancestor of the entire race. And lastly, the people throve merrily (janah sa bhadramedhati) in his realm. These particulars hardly apply to the shadowy Parikshit I of Epic and Puranic lists who is said to have been very near in time to Kuru himself.6 On the other hand the Vedic laud corresponds wonderfully, both in content and phraseology with the famous ākhyāna (story) of Parikshit II, son of Abhimanyu, narrated in Chapters 16 to 18 of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. We are told that this Parikshit undertook a digvijaya, conquest of all the quarters, in the

¹ Vedic Index, i. 78.

² Pargiter, AIHT., 114.

³ Vedic Index, i, 373. 4 Mbh., I. 94, 54.

⁵ Vishnu Purāņa, iv. 20. 1

⁶ In the Vāyu Purāṇa, 93. 21 and the Harivamsa, XXX. 9, Parikshit I seems to be identified with Kuru himself as his son (Pārikshita) is called Kuroh putrah, son of Kuru,

course of which he subjugated all the sub-continents (varshāṇi). He is called the supreme deva who is not to be regarded as the equal of ordinary men (na vai nṛibhir-naradevam parākhyam sammātum arhasi). He is further styled samrāţ (emperor) and under his protection people thrive and have nothing to fear (vindanti bhadrāṇyakuto-bhayāḥ prajāḥ).

Proof of the identity of this Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu) with his Vedic namesake is also furnished by a later passage of the same Purāṇa¹ which mentions Tura Kāvasheya as the priest of his son Janamejaya:

Kāvasheyam purodhāya Turam turagamedharāţ

Samantāt prithivīm sarvām jitvā yakshyati chādhvaraih

It will be remembered that the same sage appears as the priest of Janamejaya Pārikshita in the Aitareya Brāhmaņa.

The Bhagavata Purana is no doubt a late work. But its evidence does not stand alone. This will be made clear by an examination of the names of the sons of Parikshit given in the Vedic texts and the Epic respectively. The Vedic Parikshit, we are told, had four sons namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhīmasena and Śrutasena.2 The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 95. verse 42 of the Adiparva of the Mahābhārata, and seven sons (Janamejaya, Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhīmasena) according to Chapter 94, verses 54-55, and among these the name of Śrutasena does not occur. Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the Java text.3 There is no king of that name immediately after Parikshit I, also in the Kuru-Pāṇḍu genealogy given in the Chellur or Cocanada grant of Virachoda. The Epic poet and the writer of the Choda inscription, which is much older than many

Book IX. Ch. 22, Verses 25-37.
 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 520

³ J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 6.

Hultzsch, S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 57.



extent manuscripts of the Mahābhārata, therefore, were not quite sure as to whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and Śrutasena. On the other hand, according to the unanimous testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus the Mahābhārata, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says.¹

Parikshit khalu Mādravatīm nāmopayeme, tvanmātaram. Tasyām bhavān Janamejayaḥ. "Parikshit married Mādravatī, your mother, and she gave birth to you, Janamejaya."

The Matsya Purāņa informs us that

"Abhimanyoh Parikshittu putrah parapurañjayah Janamejayah Parikshitah putrah paramadhārmikah."

"Abhimanyu's son was Parikshit, the conqueror of his enemy's city. Parikshit's son was Janamejaya who was very righteous."

This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena:—"Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ saha bhrātṛbhiḥ Kurukshetre dīrgha-satram upāste; tasya bhrātarastrayaḥ Śrutasena Ugraseno Bhīmasena iti."

"Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, with his brothers, was attending a long sacrifice of Kurukshetra. His brothers were three, namely,—śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena."

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and the Purāṇic Parikshit II. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned

¹ I. 95. 85.

³ Mbh., 1. 3. 1. In translating Epic passages use has been made of the renderlogs of Ray and Dutt. See also Purāṇic texts cited by Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 4nt. The view that Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena were sons of Janamejaya (Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 113 f.) is clearly opposed to the evidence of the Epic and several Purāṇas, as well as that of Harisvāmin. Speaking about Parikshit, son of Abhimanyu, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, for example, says (iv. 21. 1): "Yo'yaṁ sāmpratam avanipatih tasyāpi Janamejaya-Śrutasena-Ugrasena-Bhimasenah putrās chatvāro bhavishyanti,"

in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa as a performer of the Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice. The priest who performed the famous rite for him was Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka. On the other hand, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which also mentions his Aśvamedha, names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. The statements of the Satapatha, and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas are apparently conflicting, and can be reconciled if we surmise that either we are dealing with two different kings of the same name and parentage or the same Janamejaya performed two horse-sacrifices. Which Janamejaya actually did so? Curiously enough the Purāṇas give the information which is needed. The Matsya Purāṇa speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit II, says:

Dvir asvamedham āhrtya mahāvājasaneyakaḥ pravartayitvā tam sarvam rshim Vājasaneyakam vivāde Brāhmaṇaiḥ sārddham abhisapto vanam yayau.

The quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas, alluded to in the last line, is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. According to that text Janamejaya's priestly opponents were the Kaśyapas. That designation hardly applies to the Gārgyas who quarrelled with the son of Parikshit I because the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra includes them in the Aṅgiras group. On the other hand Vaiśampāyana, who led the opponents of the son of Parikshit II, was undoubtedly a Kaśyapa.

Parikshit II has thus a better claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II represent a bardic duplication of the same original individual regarding whose exact place in the Kuru genealogy no unanimous tradition had survived. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but names of

^{1 50, 63-64.} Cf. N. K. Siddhanta, The Heroic Age of India, p. 42.

B Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, 114; Vayu. 93. 22-25.

⁴ Vol. III. pp. 431 ff. 5 Op. cit., p. 449.



most of the sons (in the Vishnu and Brahma Purānas' the names of all the sons) are common to both, points to the same conclusion. In the case of the son and successor of each of the two Parikshits we have a strikingly similar story of quarrel with the Brahmanas.2 It will further be remembered that while Tura Kāvasheya is mentioned in the Puranic literature as a Purohita of the son of Parikshit II, Indrota Daivapa Saunaka is represented as the priest of the son of Parikshit I. But it is clear from the Vedic texts that both the royal chaplains served the same king who was separated by five or six generations from Janaka, the contemporary of Uddālaka Āruņi, Yājñavalkya and Somaśushma. Doubts may thus be legitimately entertained about the existence of two Parikshits each of whom had sons and successors with identical names, the heroes of tales of a similar character. The probability is that there was really only one Parikshit in the Kuru royal family, father of the patron of both Tura and Indrota.

Did he flourish before or after the Bhārata War? The necessity felt for offering an explanation of the name Parikshit given to Abhimanyu's son at the end of the Bhārata War, and the explanation itself, probably suggest that the tradition of an earlier Kuru king with the name of Parikshit had not yet come into existence when the tenth book of the Mahābhārata was written. Parikshit I was possibly invented by genealogists to account for such anachronisms as the mention of Indrota-Pārikshita-samvāda as an old story by Bhīshma in the twelfth book (Chapter 151). The wide divergence of opinion in regard to the name of the father of the so-called Parikshit I, and his position in the list, is also to be noted

¹ Fishnu, IV. 20. 1; 21. 1; Brahma, XIII, 109.

² Vāyu, 93, 22-25; Matsya, 50, 63-64, etc.

³ Mbh., X. 16. 3.

[&]quot;While the Kuru line will become extinct (parikshīneshu Kurushu) a son will be born to you (=Uttarā, wife of Abhimanyu). The child will, for that reason, be named Parikshit."

in this connection. It shows the absence of a clear tradition. On the other hand there is absolute unanimity in regard to the parentage and dynastic position of the so-called Parikshit II.¹

The identification of the Vedic Parikshit with the son of Abhimanyu who flourished after the Bhārata War does not seem probable to Dr. N. Dutt, the author of The Aryanisation of India, pp. 50 ff., because, in the first place, it goes against the findings of Macdonell, Keith and Pargiter who prefer to identify the Vedic Parikshit with an ancestor of the Pāṇḍus. As to this it may be pointed out that the existence of a Parikshit (father of Janamejaya) before the Pāṇḍus, rests mainly on the testimony of those very genealogies which are regarded by Keith as worthless and unreliable (cf. RPVU., 21. 618). That the name of Janamejaya in this connection is an intrusion into the genealogical texts is evident from its omission from Chapter 95 of the Mahābhārata, the Java text, the Chellur grant, etc.

Dr. Dutt next argues that the Vishnu Purāņa makes the four brothers Janamejaya, Śrutasena, etc., sons of Parikshit I. If he had only perused a subsequent passage (IV. 21. 1) he would have seen that the Purāṇa makes the four brothers sons of "Parikshit II" as well and while this later statement finds corroboration in the Mahābhārata, (I. 3. 1) the earlier does not.

Dr. Dutt next says that it is always risky to attempt identification of kings or the fixing of their dates from an examination of their teacher-priests' names. But why should it be risky if the names and order of succession be genuine? The real risk lies in the rejection of such evidence without sufficient examination. It should be remembered in this connection that the identification of the Vedic Pārikshita Janamejaya with his Epic namesake (descendant of Abhimanyu) does not depend mainly on the teacher-priests' names, but on the following facts, viz., (1) absence of any cogent proof of the existence of an earlier Janamejaya Pārikshita in view of the omission of his name in the Java text, Choda inscriptions etc., and (2) agreement of particulars about the Vedic Parikshit and Janamejaya (e.g., words describing the prosperity of the Kuru realm, the performance of two Asvamedhas, quarrel with the Kasyapas), with what we know of Parikshit and Janamejaya who were descendants of Abhimanyu. The question of the chronological relation between the Vedic Parikshit and the Vedic Janaka is entirely independent of this identification. This relation has been determined on the strength of two different lines of evidence. Materials for one have indeed been taken from the Vamsa list of the Brahmanas. But the succession from Indrota to Somasushma has been reconstructed from incidental notices in the Brahmana texts themselves which no critic has represented as late.

Dr. Dutt adds that identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. This is a truism which is not remembered only by those who identify Dhritarāshtra Vaichitravīrya with Dhritarāshtra of Kāsī. It has never been suggested in the Political History that the Vedic and Epic Parikshits and Janamejayas are identical merely because their names are identical.

As to Dr. Dutt's contention that there could not be want of motives in later times on the part of the authors belonging to rival families and schools to associate a certain teacher-priest with a famous king of old, etc., it is not clear which particular case he has in mind in making the statement. The association of Indrota and Tura with Janamejaya, and that of Uddālaka and



The Vedic hymns throw little light on the domestic life or reign-period of Parikshit. From the epic we learn that he married a Madra princess (Mādravatī) and ruled for 24 years dying at the age of sixty. Little credit, however, can be given to the bardic tales that cluster round his name. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest, Janamejaya, succeeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the realm of the Kurus over which Parikshit

Yājñavalkya with Janaka is found in the Satapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaņas and in the Upanishads. Is it suggested that such association is a deliberate concoction or fabrication? But no shred of evidence has been brought forward to prove such a charge. No doubt misrepresentations are met with in the Epics and the Purāṇas (as pointed out by Pargiter and others). But it would not be reasonable to argue that the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads are guilty of deliberate falsification because forsooth there is confusion in the Purāṇas which are undoubtedly of a later date.

Lastly the credibility of the Vamsa lists in the Vedic texts has been assailed

on the following grounds, viz.—

(1) Silence of Commentators.

(2) Discrepancy between the lists appended to the 10th and 14th books respectively of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in regard to the authorship of the work and ascription of the work to different teachers.

(3) Scant courtesy shown to an alleged teacher by his pupil.

As to (1), the Acharya parampara, succession of teachers, is distinctly alluded to by the commentators. If they did not enter into a detailed explanation, it is because they considered it to be sugamam, spashfam, easily

intelligible, plain.

(2) There is no Vamisa list at the close of the 14th book of the Brāhmaṇa proper excluding the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. There are no doubt lists of teachers at the end of the Upanishad. It is too much to expect that, in the various lists, the entire Brāhmaṇa as well as the Upanishad should be ascribed to the same traditional authority. The Brāhmaṇa and Upanishad texts are not works of single individuals. The question of discrepancy, therefore, does not arise. Reference to different traditions regarding the authorship of a particular work, or of particular portions of a work, does not necessarily vitiate any Achārya-paramparā regarding which we have substantial agreement in the texts.

(3) It is too much to expect that in ancient, as in modern times, all pupils should be equally respectful to teachers. Was not Dhrishtadyumna a

pupil of Dronacharya whom he killed?

1 Mbh., I. 49, 17-26 with commentary. We learn from the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (III. 3. 1) that the Parikshita family was intimately known in the Madra country.

ruled. The kingdom, according to epic tradition, stretched from the Sarasvatī to the Ganges. In the Digvijaya-parva it is taken to extend from the border of the land of the Kulindas (near the sources of the Sutlej, the Jumna and the Ganges) to that of the Sūrasenas and the Matsyas (in the Mathura and Bairat regions respectively), and from the frontier of Rohītaka (Rohtak in the Eastern Punjab) to that of the Panchalas (of Rohilkhand). It was divided into three parts, Kurujāngala, the Kurus proper and Kurukshetra.1 Kurujāngala, as its name implies, was probably the wild region of the Kuru realm that stretched from the Kāmyaka forest on the banks of the Sarasvatī to Khāndava near (samīpataḥ) the Jumna. But in certain passages it is used in a wider sense to designate the whole country (deśa, rāshtra³). The Kurus proper were probably located in the district around Hastinapura (on the Ganges), identified with a place near Meerut. The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the Taittirīya Aranyakas as being Khāndava on the south, the Tūrghna on the north, and the Parīṇah' on the west (lit. hinder section, jaghanārdha). The Mahābhārata' gives the following description of Kurukshetra: "South of the Sarasvatī, and north of the Drishadvatī, he who lives in Kurukshetra really dwells in heaven. The region that lies between Taruntuka and Marantuka or Arantuka, the lakes of Rāma and Macha-

1 Mbh., I. 109. 1; 149. 5-15; II. 26-32; III. 83. 204; Ptolemy. VII. i. 42.

Tatah Sarasvatiküle sameshu marudhanvasu Kāmyakam nāma dadrišur vanam munijanapriyam.

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[&]quot;Then they saw before them the forest of Kāmyaka on the banks of the Sarasvatī on a level and wild plain, a favoured resort to anchorites." Mbh., III. 5. 3. For the location of the Khāṇḍava forest see I. 222. 14; 223. 1.

³ Cf. Mbh., 1, 109 24; viii, 1, 17, xii, 37, 23.

⁴ Smith, Oxford History (1919). p. 31. Cf. Rām., II. 68. 13: Mbh., 1. 128. 29 ff; 133. 11; Pargiter DKA., 5; Patañjali, II. 1. 2. anu Gangam Hāstinapuram. ⁵ Vedic Index 1. pp. 169-70.

⁶ Cf. the Parenos of Arrian (Indika, iv), a tributary of the Indus.

^{7 111, 83. 4; 9; 15; 25; 40; 52; 200; 204-08.}



kruka¹—this is Kurukshetra which is also called Sāmanta-pañchaka and the northern sacrificial altar (uttara vedi) of the grandsire (i.e., Brahmā)." Roughly speaking, the Kuru kingdom corresponded to modern Thanesar, Delhi and the greater part of the Upper Gangetic Doāb. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Aruņā (which joins the Sarasvatī near Pehoa), Aṁśumatī, Hiraṇvatī, Āpayā (Āpagā or Oghavatī, a branch of the Chitang), Kauśikī (a branch of the Rakshī), as well as the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī or the Rakshī.² Here, too, was situated Saryaṇāvat, which the authors of the Vedic Index consider to have been a lake, like that known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of Anyataḥplakshā.

The royal residence according to the Vedic texts was apparently Āsandīvat.³ This city may have been identical with Nāgasāhvaya or Hāstinapura, the capital mentioned in the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. But it is more probably represented by the modern Asandh near the Chitang.⁴

According to epic tradition the kings of Kurukshetra belonged to the Puru-Bharata family. The Paurava connection of the Kurus is suggested by the Rigvedic hymn, which refers to "Kuru-śravaṇa" (lit. glory of the Kurus) as a descendant of Trasadasyu, a famous king of the Pūrus. The connection of the Bharatas with the Kuruland is also attested by Vedic evidence. A Rigvedic ode' speaks of the two Bhāratas, Devaśravas

¹ Machakruka, Taruntuka and Marantuka are Yaksha dvārapālas guarding the boundaries of Kurukshetra.

² For the identification and location of some of the streams see Mbh., III. 83. 95, 151; V. 151. 78; Cunningham's Arch-Rep., for 1878-79 quoted in JRAS., 1883, 363n; Smith, Oxford History, 29; Science and Culture, 1943. pp. 468 ff.

³ Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 72.

⁴ See the map, Smith, Oxford History, p. 29, An Asandi district is mentioned by Fleet in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts (Bombay Gazetteer, 1. 2, p. 492). But there is no reason for connecting it with the Kuru country.

⁵ X. 33, 4-

⁶ Rigueda, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19, 3.

⁷ Rig. iii 23; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 409-10.

and Devavāta, as sacrificing in the land on the Drishadvatī, the Āpayā and the Sarasvatī. Some famous gāthās of the Brāhmaṇas¹ and the epic tell us that Bharata Dauhshanti made offerings on the Jumna, the Ganges (Yamunām anu Gaṅgāyām) and the Sarasvatī. The territory indicated in these laudatory verses is exactly the region which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukshetra.

In the opinion of Oldenberg "the countless small stocks of the Samhitā age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the Brāḥmaṇa period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra."

Among those kings who are mentioned in the genealogical lists of the Mahābhārata³ as ancestors and

¹ Sat. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 11; Ait. Br., viii. 23; Mbh., vii. 66. 8.

² The absorption of the Bharatas by the Kurus is suggested by such passages as Kuravo nāma Bhāratāḥ (Mbh., XII. 349. 44). In the Rām., IV. 33. 11 Bharatas are still distinguished from the Kurus. It has been suggested by some scholars, e.g., C. V. Vaidya (History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. 11, pp. 268 ff.) that the Bharata of Riguedic tradition is not to be identified with Dauhshanti Bharata, the traditional progenitor of the Kuru royal family, but rather with Bharata, the son of Rishabha, a descendant of the first Manu called Svayambhuva. It should, however, be remembered that the story of Bharata, son of Rishabha, is distinctly late. The Bharata princes and people of Riguedic tradition are clearly associated with the Kuru country watered by the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī and the names of their rulers, e.g., Divodāsa and Sudās occur in Purānic lists of kings descended from the son or daughter of Manu Vaivasvata and not of Manu Svayambhuva. The Bharata priests Vasishtha and Visvāmitra Kausika are connected in early literature with the royal progeny of Manu Vaivasvata and his daughter, and not of Manu Svāyambhuva. For the association of Vasishtha with the descendants of Bharata Dauhshanti see the story of Samvarana and Tapati in the Mahabhārata, I. 94 and 171 f. Viśvāmitra Kausika's association with the Pūru-Bharata family is, of course, well-known (Mbh. I. 94. 33). It may be argued that Bharata, ancestor of Viśvāmitra, who is called Bharata-rishabha in the Aitareya Brahmana, must be distinguished from the later Bharata, the son of śakuntalā, daughter of Viśvāmitra. But there is no real ground for believing that the story of Viśvāmitra's connection with the nymphs is based on sober history. The Rigvedic Visvamitra belonged to the family of Kusika. In the Mahābhārata (I. 94. 33) the Kuśikas are expressly mentioned as descendants of Bharata Dauhshanti.

² Adiparva, Chapters 94 and 95.



predecessors of Parikshit, the names of the following occur in the Vedic literature:—

Purū-ravas Aila, Āyu, Yayāti Nahushya, Pūru, Bharata Dauḥshanti Saudyumni, Ajamīḍha, Riksha, Samvaraṇa, Kuru, Uchchaiḥśravas, Pratīpa Prātisatvana or Prāti sutvana, Balhika Prātipīya, Śamtanu, and Dhritarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya.

The occurrence of these names in Vedic texts probably proves their historicity, but it is difficult to say how far the epic account of their relationship with one another or with Parikshit, and the traditional order of succession, are reliable. Some of the kings may not have been connected with the Kurus at all. Others, e.g., Uchchaiḥśravas Kaupayeya, Balhika Prātipīya and Śamtanu, were undoubtedly of the same race (Kauravya) as Parikshit.

Purū-ravas Aila, the first king in the above list, is represented in epic tales as the son of a ruler who migrated from Bāhli in Central Asia to Mid-India." It may be

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1 Rig Veda, X. 95; Sat. Br., XI. 5. 1. 1.
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² Rig Veda, I. 53. 10; II. 14. 7. etc.

³ R. V., I. 31. 17; X. 63. 1.

⁴ R. V., VII. 8. 4; 18. 13.

⁵ Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11-12; Ait. Br., viii, 23.

⁶ R. V., IV. 44. 6. 7 R. V., VIII. 68. 15.

⁸ R. V., VIII. 51. 1. (Vedic Index II. 442).

Frequently mentioned in the Brahmana literature, cf. Kuru-śravana, Rig-Veda, X. 33. 4. see however, foot-note 15 below.

¹⁰ Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmana, III. 29. 1-3.

¹¹ Atharva Veda, XX. 129. 2.

¹² Sat. Br., XII. 9. 3. 3.

¹⁸ R. V., X. 98.

¹⁵ It should, however, be noted that no individual king named Kuru is mentioned in Vedic literature. Kuru is the name of a people in the Vedic texts.

¹⁶ Jaiminīya Up. Br., III. 29. 1; Sat. Br., XII. 9. 3; Nirukta. ed. by Kshemarāja Śrikrishņa Dāsa Śreṣṭhī, p. 130; Brihaddevatā, VII, 155-156; Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷ Rām., VII. 103, 21-22. This Bāhli lay outside the Madhyadeša and is associated with Kārddama kings. The reference is doubtless to Balkh or Bactria in the Oxus Valley. For a discussion about its identity see IHQ. 1933, 37-39. The Matsya Purāṇa, 12. 14 ff. distinctly mentions Ilāvrita-Varsha (in Central Asia) as the realm of the parent of Purū-ravas. Mbh., III. 90. 22-25) however seems to locate the birth place of Purū-ravas on a hill near the source of the Ganges.

noted in this connection that the Papañcha-sūdani refers to the Kurus-the most important branch of the Ailas according to the Mahābhārata and the Purānas-as colonists from the trans-Himālayan region known as Uttara Kuru.' Bharata, another king mentioned in the epic list is described as a lineal descendant of Purū-ravas and of Pūru. But this is doubtful. He is, as we have seen, definitely associated in Brāhmanic and epic gāthās with the land on the Sarasvatī, the Ganges and the Jumna, and is credited with victory over the Satvats. The epic tradition that he was the progenitor of the Kuru royal family is in agreement with the Vedic evidence which connects him and his clansmen. Devasravas and Deva-vāta, with the same territory which afterwards became famous as the land of the Kurus. Uchchaihśravas Kaupayeya had matrimonial relations with the royal family of the Panchalas. But Balhika Prātipīya could ill conceal his jealousy of the ruler of the Srinjayas, a people closely associated with the Panchalas in epic tales. The word Balhika in the name Balhika Prātipīya seems to be a personal designation and there is no clear evidence that it is in any way connected with the Balhika tribe mentioned in the Atharva Veda and later texts. It may, however, point to the northern origin of the Kurus' of the "Middle country," a theory rendered probable by the association of the Kurus with the Mahāvrishas and the fact that a section of the Kuru people dwelt beyond the Himālayas in the days of the Aitareya Brāhmana and the Mahābhā-

Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kşatriya Tribes, p. 16. Note the association of the Kurus with the Mahāvrisha, Vedic Index, II. 279n, and with the Bālhikas, Mbh. II. 63. 2-7. In Mbh. III. 145. 18-19 the Uttara Kurus are apparently placed near Mount Kailāsa and Badarī. In other texts they are located much farther to the north. The Kurus of the Madhya-deśa are called Dakshina-Kurus in Mbh., I. 109. 10.

Note the association of the Pratipeyas of the Kuru assembly with the Balhikas in Mbh. ii. 63. 2-7; Pratipeyah Santanava Bhīmasenāh sa Bālhikāh..... triņudhvam Kāvyām vācham samsadi Kauravāņām.

² Vedic Index, II. 279n 5; Sat. Br. (Kanva text); for Balhikas and Mahāvrishas see also Atharva Veda, V. 22. 4-8.



rata. The history of the Kuru royal line becomes more definite from the time of Samtanu who was fifth in the ascending line from Parikshit. Regarding the events of Parikshit's reign we have little reliable information. We only know that the drought that threatened the Kuru realm in the time of Samtanu had passed away and the people "throve merrily in the kingdom of Parikshit."

The date of Parikshit is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts give no direct information. In the Aihole Inscription of Ravikīrti, panegyrist of Pulakeśin II, dated śaka 556 (expired) = A.D. 634-35, it is stated that at that time 3735 years had passed since the Bhārata War:

Trimsatsu tri-sahasreshu Bhāratād āhavād itah saptābda-sata-yukteshu gateshvabdeshu pañchasu.1

The date of the Bhārata war which almost synchronised with the birth of Parikshit, is, according to this calculation, and the testimony of Aryabhata (A.D. 499), 3102 B.C. This is the starting point of the so-called Kali-yuga era. But, as pointed out by Fleet, the reckoning was not founded in Vedic times. It is an invented one, devised by Hindu astronomers and chronologists for the purposes of their calculations some thirty-five centuries after the initial point which they assigned to it. As a matter of fact another school of Hindu astronomers and historians, Varāhamihira and represented by Vriddha-Garga, Kalhana, placed the heroes of the Bhārata war 653 years after the beginning of the Kali-yuga and 2526 years before the śaka era, i.e., in B.C. 2449.3 This last date is as much open to doubt as the one adopted by Aryabhata and Ravikīrti. The literature that embodies the Vriddha-Garga tradition cannot claim any higher antiquity or reliability than the composition of the great astronomer of Kusumapura. The chronology to which it gives

¹ Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 11, 12.

² JRAS., 1911, pp. 479 ff., 675 ff.

Asan Maghasu munayah sasati prithvim Yudhishthire nyipatau shad-dvika-pañcha-dviyutah Sakakālastasya rājñascha, Brih, S., XIII. 3. Cf. Rajatarangini, I. 48-56.

preference is not accepted by the Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti. A noted writer, who accepts the dating of Vriddha-Garga and Varāha, cites only two late cases (op. cit. p. 401) to prove its currency in India, viz., the commentary on the Bhāgavatāmrita and certain modern Almanacs. His attempts to support this tradition by astronomical calculation based on certain Mahābhārata passages are beset with difficulties. For one thing there is a good deal of uncertainty regarding the starting point of what he calls the "Purāṇic" or "epic" Kaliyuga. He says (p. 399) "most likely the Mahābhārata Kaliyuga truly began from the year 2454 B.C. The year of the Bharata battle according to his finding is however 2449 B.C. In other words the battle was fought five years after the epic Kaliyuga had already begun. But he himself points out (p. 393) that the battle was fought, according to the Mahābhārata, when it was the junction of (antara, really interval between) Kali and Dvāpara, and 36 years before the year of Krishna's expiry (p. 399) which was the true beginning of the Kaliyuga. Thus the dates assigned to the beginning of Kali do not agree. These discrepancies demonstrate the unstable character of the ground on which the chronological edifice is sought to be built. It may be remembered in this connection that Kalhana, who places Gonarda I of Kashmir and the Bhārata War in 2449-8 B.C. fixes a date for Asoka much earlier than Gonarda III (1182 B.C.). This result is opposed to all genuine historical evidence and proves the unreliable character of the scheme of chronology which has for its basis a belief in 2449 B.C. as the date of the Bharata War. Some writers' try to reconcile the conflicting view presented by the schools of Aryabhata and Vriddha-Garga by suggesting that the Saka-kāla, of Varāhamihira is really Śākya-kāla, i.e., the era of the Buddha's Nirvāna. This

¹ Mr. P. C. Sen Gupta, Bhārata Battle Traditions, JRASB. IV, 1938, No. 3 (Sept. 1939, pp. 393-413). ² IHQ, 1932, 85; Mod. Rev., June, 1932, 650 ff.



conjecture is not only opposed to the evidence of Kalhaṇa, but is flatly contradicted by Bhaṭṭotpala who explains śaka-kāla of the Bṛihat Samhitā passage as śaka-nṛipa-kāla, era of the śaka king.¹ Varāhamihira himself knew of no śaka-kāla apart from the śakendrakāla or śaka-bhūpa-kāla, i.e., the era of the śaka king.²

A third tradition is recorded by the compilers of the *Purāṇas*. There is a remarkable verse, found with variants in the historical *Purāṇas*, which places the birth of Parikshit 1050 (or 1015, 1115, 1500 etc. according to some manuscripts), years before Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha:

Mahāpadm-ābhishekāt tu yāvajjanma Parīkshitaḥ evam varshasahasram tu jñeyam pañchāśaduttaram.

If the reading Pañchāśaduttaram be correct, the verse would seem to point to a date in the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. for the birth of Parikshit. It is, however, doubtful if even this tradition can be regarded as of great value. In the first place the divergent readings in the different Mss. take away from the value of the chronological datum. Secondly, the Purāṇas themselves in giving details about the dynasties that are supposed to have intervened between the Bhārata war and the coronation of Mahāpadma mention totals of reigns which when added together neither present a unanimous tradi-

¹ The Brihat-Samhitā by Varāhamihira with the commentary of Bhattotpala, edited by Sudhākara Dvivedī, p. 281.

² Brihat Samhita, VIII, 20-21.

³ Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 58. From the account of Pargiter it appears that the reading Pañcha-ŝatottaram, finds no support in the Väyn and Brahmāṇḍa texts. The variant Satam pañchadaŝottaram occurs only in some Bhāgavata Mss. 'Pañchadaŝ-ottaram' is however unknown to the Matsya. One Matsya Ms. has 'Sato trayam.' The reading generally accepted by the scribes seems to have been Pañchāšad-uttaram. The biggest figure (1500) is probably obtained by the wrong inclusion within the Magadhan list of the Pradyotas of Avanti and taking the period of Bārhadratha rule to cover 1000 instead of 723 years. 1000 (for the Bārhadrathas) + 152 (for the Pradyotas) + 360 (for the Saiśunāgas) = 1512 years.

tion nor correspond to the figure 1050, which alone finds general acceptance in the Matsya, the Vāyu and the Brahmānda manuscripts. The discrepancies may no doubt be partially explained by the well-known fact that the Puranic chroniclers often represent contemporaneous lines e.g. the Pradyotas and the Bimbisarids, as following one another in regular succession. But there is another point which deserves notice in this connection. The same passage which says that "from Mahāpadma's inauguration to the birth of Parikshit, this interval is indeed 1050 years," adds that "the interval which elapsed from the last Andhra king Pulomāvi to Mahāpadma was 836 years." As most of the Purānas agree in assigning a period of 100 years to Mahāpadma and his sons who were followed immediately by Chandragupta Maurya, the interval between Chandragupta and Pulomāvi, according to the Purānic chronology, will be 836-100-736 years. Now Chandragupta could not have ascended the throne before 326 B.C., Pulomāvi, according to the calculation of the Purāṇas, cannot be placed earlier than 410 A.D. But this date can hardly be reconciled with what we know about the history of the Deccan in the first half of the fifth century A.D. Contemporary records show that the territory that had acknowledged the sway of Pulomāvi and his ancestors was at that time under the Vākāṭakas and other dynasties that rose on the ruins of the so-called "Andhra," or śātavāhana empire. This emphasizes the need of caution in utilizing the chronological data of the Purānas.1

An attempt has been made in recent times to support the Purāṇic date for Parikshit and the Bhārata War which is taken to correspond to c. 1400 B.C., by calculations based on the Vamsa lists of teachers and pupils

¹ See also Raychaudhuri. The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, second edition, pp. 62ff.

² Dr. Altekar, Presidential Address to the Archaic Section of the Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Third Session, 1939, pp. 68-77.

preserved in the Vedic literature. The importance of these lists was emphasized in these very pages as early as 1923. But the data they yield have been made to square with the chronological scheme adumbrated in some of the Puranic Mss with the help of a number of assumptions for which no cogent proofs have been adduced. It has, for instance, been taken for granted that the Vamsa list given at the end of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad is virtually contemporaneous with those found in the Vamsa Brahmana and the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa, and that all the lists "must be" dated "not later than c. 550 B.C." (op. cit. p. 70). A few pages further on (p. 77) the date of the Vamsa Brāhmana is stated to be "c. 550 B.C." (the words "not later than" being omitted). The mere fact that the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad and other works of the Sruti literature are generally regarded as Pre-Buddhist cannot be taken to prove that the entire lists of teachers and pupils appended to or inserted in all of them can claim equal antiquity. Scholars in assigning the period before 500 B.C. to the Vedic literature expressly exclude "its latest excrescences." Pāṇini* draws a distinction between Vedic works which, to him, are Purānaprokta and those that he does not obviously regard as equally old. The date "c. 550 B.C." has even less justification than the vague words "not later than c. 550 B.C."

It has been stated further that the period separating the priests of Janamejaya from c. 550 B.C. is 800 years. This figure is obtained by accepting the round number 40 for the intervening generations and assigning to each generation in the gurusishya paramparā a period of 20 years. The probative value of this mode of calculation is impaired by the fact that the actual number of teachers of the period given in the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad is 45 and not 40 (p. 70), and the true average length of a spiritual generation is, according to Jaina and Buddhist

2 IV. 3. 105.



Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, p. 27.

evidence, about 30 and not 20 years.\textsupers.\textsupers Moreover, it should not be forgotten that if the lists which form the basis of calculation are really to be dated 'not later than c. 550 B.C.,' c. 1350 B.C. (550 + 800) can only be regarded as a terminus ad quem. The terminus a quo still remains to be determined. The uncertainty regarding the date of the particular Vam\(\delta \) a lists, on which the whole chronological theory rests, lays even the lower limit open to objection.

Tradition recorded in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara points to a date for the Pārikshitas which is much later than that assigned to them by Purāṇic chroniclers and astronomers of the Gupta Age.² It refers to Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī (c. 500 B.C.), as fifth in lineal succession from Parikshit. The evidence is late but the text professes to embody tradition that goes back to Guṇāḍhya who is known to Bāṇa (c. 600 A.D.) and is assigned to the Śātavāhana period.

A comparatively late date, albeit not the date suggested by the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, can also be inferred from certain passages in the later Vedic texts. We shall show in the next section that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by five or six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka of the Upanishads and his contemporary Uddālaka Āruṇi. At the end of the Kaushītaki or Sānkhāyana Āraṇyaka³ we find a vamsa or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that Āraṇyaka is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus:—

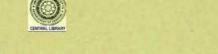
"Om! Now follows the vamsa. Adoration to the Brahman! Adoration to the teachers! We have learnt this text from Guṇākhya śāṅkhāyana, Guṇākhya śāṅkhāyana from Kahola Kaushītaki, Kahola Kaushītaki from Uddālaka Āruṇi"

¹ Jacobi, Parišishtaparvan, and ed. xviii; Rhys Davids, Buddhist, Suttas Introduction, xlvii.

^{*} Kathā-sarit-sāgara, IX. 6-7 ff. Penzer, I. 95.

³ Adhāya 15.

⁴ S.B.E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4.



The passage quoted above makes it clear that Gunākhya Śānkhāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by five or six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Guṇākhya, therefore, lived seven or eight generations after Parikshit. He could not have flourished much later than Āśvalāyana because the latter, or preferably his pupil, honours his guru Kahola.1 It is to be noted that we have no personal name prefixed to Aśvalāyana as we have in the case of Śāńkhāyana. This probably suggests that Vedic tradition knew only of one great teacher named Aśvalāyana. It is significant that both in Vedic and Buddhist literature this famous scholar is associated with one and the same locality, viz., Kosala, modern Oudh. The Praśna Upanishad tells us that Āśvalāyana was a Kausalya, i.e., an inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kabandhi Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi (a city in Kosala) mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya2 as a famous Vedic scholar,3 and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and, hence, of Kakuda⁴ or Pakudha Kachchāyana. The reference to Gotama's contemporary as a master of ketubha, i.e., kalpa or ritual, makes it exceedingly probable that he is to be identified with the famous Aśvalayana of the Grihya Sūtras. Consequently the latter must have lived in the sixth century B.C. Guņākhya Śāņkhāyana, whose teacher Kahola is honoured by the famous Grihyasūtra-kāra, cannot be placed later than that century. That the upper limit of Guṇākhya's date is not far removed from the lower one is suggested in the first place by the reference in his Āraņyaka to Paushkarsādi, Lauhitya and a teacher who is styled Magadhavāsī. The first two figure, in the

¹ Aśwalayana Grihya Sūtra, III. 4. 4.

² II. 147, et seq. 3 "Tinnam

^{*}As to the equation kabandhī=kakuda, see IHQ. 1932, 603 ff. Kabandha in the Atharva Veda, X. 2.3 means śroni and ūru (hips and thighs). According to Amara kakudmati has substantially the same meaning.

Ambaţţha and Lohichcha suttas, among the contemporaries of the Buddha. The attitude of respect towards a Magadhan teacher in the Āraṇyaka points to an age later than that reflected in the Śrauta Sūtras which mention Brāhmaṇas hailing from the locality in question in a depreciatory tone as Brahmabandhu Māgadha-deśiya.¹

Goldstücker points out that Pāṇini used the word Aranyaka only in the sense of 'a man living in the forest'. It is Kātyāyana (c. fourth century B.C.) who vouchsafes in a Vārttika the information that the same expression is also used in the sense of treatises 'read in the forest'. The silence of Pāṇini in regard to this additional meaning of the term, when contrasted with the clear statement of the later grammarian, leaves little room for doubt that Aranyaka in the sense of a forest-treatise was well-known to writers traditionally assigned to the fourth century B.C., but not to Pāṇini. It may be recalled in this connection that, unlike Kātyāyana again, Pāṇini does not include the works of Yājñavalkya, a contemporary of Kahola, the teacher of Gunākhya, among the older (Purāṇa-prokta) Brāhmaṇas.3 Svetaketu, another contemporary of Kahola, teacher of Guṇākhya, is mentioned in the Dharmasūtra of Apastamba' as an avara or modern authority. The reference to Yavanāni in the sūtras of Pāṇini and the tradition recorded in the Kāvya-Mīmāmsās that he made his mark in the city of Pataliputra (founded, as we know, after the death of the Buddha, c. 486 B.C., in the reign of Udayin), clearly suggest that he could not have flourished before the sage of the Śākyas. Pro-

Vedic Index, II. 116. Isolated references to Paushkarasādi and others may not be of much value. What we have to consider is the cumulative effect of the references in the Sānkhāyana Āraņyaka combined with the testimony of Pāṇini and Āpastamba.

² Panini, His Place in Sanskrit Literature, 1914, 99.

² IV. 3. 105 with commentary quoted on page 106n of Goldstücker's Pāṇini, Yājñavalkyādayo hi na chirakālā ityākhyāneshu vārtā.

⁴ Dharmasūtra, 1. 2, 5, 4-6.

⁵ IV. I. 49.

⁶ P. 55.



found as his knowledge is in regard to Vedic literature, Pāṇini is unaware of the existence of Āraṇyakas as a class of forest-treatises. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that he could not have been considerably posterior to the great masters of the Āraṇyakas among whom Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana holds an honoured place. In other words, the upper limit of the date of this teacher almost coincides with the lower. With a date for him in the sixth century B.C. all the evidence accommodates itself.

We are now left with the task of attempting to measure the distance between Guṇākhya and Parikshit. Professor Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas assigns 150 years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. Jacobi, too, informs us that the average length of a patriarchate may be estimated at about 30 years. We may, therefore, assign 240 or 270 years to the eight or nine generations from Parikshit to Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, and place the former in the ninth century B.C.

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kuru throne by his eldest son Janamejaya The Mahābhārata refers to a great snake-sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is stated that the king conquered Taxila.¹ It is clear from the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa² and the Baudhāyana śrauta Sūtra³ that the epic account of the Kuru king's Sarpa-satra cannot be regarded as having any historical basis. There is hardly any doubt that the Satra mentioned in the Vedic texts is the prototype of the famous sacrifice described in the epic. The story seems to have undergone three stages of development. The original tale is concerned with a mythical rite performed by the serpents one of whom was named Janamejaya, who served as an Adhvaryu (priest). "Through this rite the serpents van-

¹ Mbh., 1. 3. 20. For early references to Taxila, see also Pāṇini, IV. 3. 93; Vinaya Texts, Pt. II, p. 174; Malalasekera, Dictionary, I, p. 982.

² XXV. 15; Vedic Index, I, p. 274.

³ Vol. II. p. 298; XVII. 18.

quished death." The next stage is reached in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra. Janamejaya appears among the kings and princes of the serpents assembled for sacrifice in human shape at Khāṇḍavaprastha (in the Kuru country) with the object of obtaining poison. In the epic the performer of the sacrifice is identified with the Kuru king; and the object of the sacrifice is not the acquisition of immortality for the serpents, or of poison, but the extinction of these reptiles. It is impossible to find in the doings of these venomous creatures a reference to an historic strife.¹

The conquest of Taxila by the Kuru king may, however, be an historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says: "Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ Samantam sarvataḥ pṛithivīm jayan parīyāyāśvena cha medhyeneje, tadeshā yajña-gathā gīyate:

Āsandīvati dhānyādam rukmiņam karitasrajam asvam babandha sārangam devebhyo Janamejaya iti"

"Janamejaya Pārikshita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." Regarding this a sacrificial verse is sung:

"In Asandīvat Janamejaya bound for the gods a blackspotted grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands."

In another passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa' it is stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a "Sarvabhūmi", i.e., a universal sovereign:

"Evamvidam hi vai māmevamvido yājayanti tasmād aham jayāmyabhītvarīm senām jayāmyabhītvaryā senayā

¹ Pañchavimsa Brāhmaņa, translated by Dr. W. Caland, p. 641; cf Winternitz, JBBrRAS., 1926, 74. ff; Pargiter, AIHT, p. 285, observes that "the Nāgas killed Parikshit II, but his son Janamejaya III defeated them and peace was made!"

² VIII. 21.

³ Variant-abadhnādasvam sārangam-Sat. Br. xiii. 5. 4. 1-2.

⁴ Keith, Rig-Veda Brāhmanas, 336; Eggeling, Sat. Br. V. p. 396.

⁵ VIII. 11.



na mā divyā na mānushya ishava richhantyeshyāmi sarva-

māyuh sarvabhūmir bhavishyāmīti."

(Janamejaya Pārikshita used to say) "Those who know thus sacrifice for me who know thus; therefore I conquer the assailing host, I conquer with an assailing host. Me neither the arrows of heaven nor of men reach. I shall live all my life, I shall become lord of all the earth."

The possession of Taxila in the extreme north-west implies control over Madra or the central Pañjāb, the homeland of Janamejaya's mother Mādravatī.¹ In this connection it may be remembered that the western frontier of the Kuru country once extended as far as the Pariṇah or Parenos, a tributary of the Indus. Princes of the Paurava race ruled in the territory lying between the Jhelam and the Rāvi down to the time of Alexander, while Ptolemy, the geographer, expressly mentions the Pāṇḍus as the rulers of Śākala (Śiālkoṭ) in the heart of this extensive region.

It was presumably after his victorious campaigns that Janamejaya was consecrated with the Punar-abhisheka and the Aindra mahābhisheka, performed two horse-sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaisampayana and the Brahmanas. The Matsya version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest; but the Vāyu version says he perished and the Brāhmaņas made his son king. The broad facts of the Puranic narrative are confirmed by the evidence of the Brahmanas. The Satapatha Brāhmana refers to one of the horse-sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the rite for him was Indrota Daivāpi Saunaka. The Aitareya Brāhmaņa mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kaśyapas, but the Bhūtavīras. Thereupon a family of the Kasyapas called Asita-mriga forcibly

The Bhāgavata Purāņa (I. xvi. 2) mentions Irāvatī, daughter of Uttara as the mother of Janamejaya and his brothers.

took away the conduct of the offering from the Bhūtavīras. We have here probably the germ of the *Purāṇic* stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brāhmaṇas. Vaiśampāyana, who headed the opponents of Janamejaya, undoubtedly belonged to the Kaśyapa clan. An allusion to the famous quarrel occurs also in the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra (kopāj-Janamejayo Brāhmaṇeshu vikrāntaḥ).

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of Brahmacharya, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is obviously mythical but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as a legendary hero in the time of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

Janamejaya's capital, according to a sacrificial song (yajña-gāthā) quoted above, was Āsandīvat to which reference has already been made. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa affords an interesting glimpse of life in the royal palace or sacrificial hall:

Samānāntsadam ukshanti hayān kāshthabhrito yathā pūrņān parisrutah kumbhān Janamejayasādana' iti

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prizewinning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace (or sacrificial hall) of Janamejaya." "Curds, stirred drink or liquor" were favourite beverages of the Kurus already in the days of Parikshit.

If the Mahābhārata is to be believed, Janamejaya sometimes held his court at Taxila, and it was at Taxila that Vaiśampāyana is said to have related to him the story of the great conflict between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus³ who had for their allies several peoples including the Sṛiñjayas. No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming,

¹ Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, ed. by R. L. Mitra and Harachandra Vidyābhūshana, pp. 25 ff (I. 2. 5). In connection with the legend referred to above we hear of a sage named Dantābala Dhaumra who is identified by some writers with Dantāla Dhaumya of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. The conjecture lacks proof. In the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Vol. III, p. 449. "Dhumras, Dhumrāyaṇas and Dhaumyas" find separate mention as distinct members of the Kasyapa group.

² Sat. Br. XI. 5. 5. 13. Eggeling, V. 95.

³ Mbh., XVIII. 5. 34.



but allusions to the hostility of Kurus and Sriñjayas, which forms an important feature of the epic ballads, are met with in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Moreover Hopkins invites attention to a gāthā in the Chhāndogya Upanishad which alludes to the mare which saves the Kurus:

Yato yata āvartate tat tad gachchhati mānavaḥKurūn aśvābhirakshati.

The verse cannot fail to recall the disaster (Kurūṇāṃ vaišasaṃ) referred to in the Mahābhārata.3

It may be asserted that the Pandus are a body of strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that, therefore, the story of their feuds with the Kurus must be post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an argumentum ex silentio is seldom conclusive, and, secondly, the Pandus are, according to Indian tradition, not a body of strangers but in fact scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges.4 But Patañjali^a calls Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus.^a Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pāndavas as an offshoot of the Kuru race just as the Kurus themselves were an offshoot of the Bharatas. The very name of the Great Epic betrays the Bhārata (Kuru) connection of the principal heroes and combatants. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the Dasa-Brāhmana Jātaka a king "of the stock of Yuddhitthila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya," i.e., Kauravya-belonging to the Kuru race. The polyandrous

¹ The battle of Kurukshetra is very often described a fight between the Kurus and the Sriñjayas (Mbh., VI. 45. 2; 60. 29; 72. 15; 73. 41; VII. 20. 41; 149. 40, VIII. 47. 23; 57. 12; 59. 1; 93. 1). The unfriendly feeling between these two peoples is distinctly alluded to in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa XII. 9. 3.

¹ ff., Vedic Index, II, p. 63). ² IV. 17. 9-10. The Great Epic of India, p. 385.

³ Mbh., IX. 35. 20.

⁴ The Religions of India, p. 388.

⁵ IV. 1. 4-

⁶ Ind. Ant., I, p. 350.

¹ Jätaka No. 495.

marriage of the Pāṇḍavas does not necessarily indicate that they are of non-Kuru origin. The system of Niyoga prevalent among the Kurus of the Madhya-deśa was not far removed from fraternal polyandry, while the law (Dharma) of marriage honoured by the Northern Kurus was admittedly lax.²

Already in the time of Āśvalāyana's Grihya Sūtra's Vaiśampāyana was known as Mahābhāratāchārya. He is also mentioned in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka' and the Ashṭādhyāyi of Pāṇini. Whether the traditional reciter of the original Mahābhārata was actually a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition. The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the Mahābhārata, but they mention Itihāsas. It is well-known that the story supposed to have been recited by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya was at first called an Itihāsa and was named Jaya' or song of victory, i.e., victory of the Pāṇḍus, the ancestors of the king:

Muchyate sarvapāpebhyo Rāhuṇā Chandramā yathā Jayo nāmetihāso' yam śrotavyo vijigīshuṇā.*

"By listening to this story one escapes from all kinds of sin, like the Moon from Rāhu. This Itihāsa (story,

¹ See also my "Political History," pp. 95, 96; Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. IX; and the Early History of the Vaishuava Sect, second edition, pp. 43-45. Also Mbh., I, 103, 9-10; 105, 37-38; Winternitz in JRAS, 1897, 755 ff; Apastamba ii. 27, 3; Bṛihaspati, xxvii. It is to be noted that in spite of the alleged family custom in the Pāṇḍu line no other wife except Draupadī was shared by the Pāṇḍava brothers, and their children had no common wife. In the epic 'Kuru' and 'Pāṇḍu' no doubt often find separate mention. In a similar way historians distinguish between the related houses of 'Plantagenet,' 'York' and 'Lancaster'; 'Capet,' 'Valois,' 'Bourbon' and 'Orleans'; 'Chaulukya' and 'Vāghela.'

² Mbh., I. 122. 7.

³ III. 4.

⁴ I. 7. 5.

⁵ IV. 3. 104.

⁶ A. V., XV. 6. 11-12.

⁷ Cf. V. V. Vaidya, Mahābhārata: A Criticism, p. 2; and S. Levi in Bhand. Com. Vol., pp. 99 sqq.

⁸ Mbh., Adi, 62, 20; Cf. Udyoga, 136, 18.



legend) is named Jaya (Victory); it should be listened to by those that desire victory."

Janamejaya's brothers. Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and śrutasena, appear in the śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ and the śāṇkhāyana śrauta Sūtra² as performers of the horse-sacrifice.³ At the time of the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad their life and end excited popular curiosity and were discussed with avidity in learned circles. It is clear that the sun of the Pārikshitas had set before the time of the Upanishad,¹ and it is also clear that they had been guilty of some sinful deeds which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes a gāthā which says:—

Pārikshitā yajamānā aśvamedhaiḥ paro'varam ajahuḥ karmapāpakam puṇyāḥ puṇyena karmaṇā.

The righteous Pārikshitas, performing horse-sacrifices, by their righteous work did away with sinful work one after another."

It may be presumed that the breach with the 'lords spiritual' of those days was healed in this way and for the time being priests and princes in the Kuru country lived in harmony. The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya was succeeded by Satanika Śatānika's son and successor was Aśvamedha-datta. From Aśvamedha-datta was born dhisima-krAishna famed in the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas. Adhisīma-kṛishṇa's son was Nichakshu. During Nichakshu's reign the city of Hāstinapura is said to have been

¹ XIII. 5. 4. 3.

² XVI. 9. 7-³ Did these three brothers take part in the sacrifices of Janamejaya? Such

a participation is clearly suggested by Mbh. I. 3. 1.

^{*}The question "Whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" does not imply their extinction; Pargiter himself points out that the answer "Thither where Asvamedha sacrificers go" suggests the opposite because such sacrifices procured great blessings. AIHT., 114. The Rāmāyaṇa, too, includes Janamejaya (II. 64- 42) in a list of kings who attained to a glorious destiny.

⁵ Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 3. Cf. Mbh. XII. 152, 38. The sinful deeds of which the eldest of the Pārikshitas was guilty according to the epic, were Brahmahatyā and bhrūṇahatyā (ibid., 150 Verses 3 and 9). Cf. also Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. I.

carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his residence to Kauśāmbī, or Kosam near Allahabad.¹

The Vedic texts do not refer in clear terms to any of these successors of Janamejaya or to the city of Hāštinapura which figures as the principal metropolis of the Kurus in the epic and the Puranas. The antiquity of the city is, however, clearly proved by the evidence of Pāṇini.2 As to the princes the Rig-Veda no doubt mentions a (Bhārata) king named Aśvamedha,3 but there is nothing to show that he is identical with Aśvamedha-datta. A śatānīka Sātrājita is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmana and the Śatapatha Brāhmaņa as a powerful king who defeated Dhritarāshtra a prince of Kāsi, and took away his sacrificial horse. too, was probably a Bharata, but the patronymic Sātrājita probably indicates that he was different from \$atānīka, the son of Janamejaya. The Panchavimsa Brahmana, the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaņa and the Chhāndogya Upanishad mention a Kuru king named Abhipratarin Kākshaseni, who was a contemporary of Girikshit Auchchamanyava, šaunaka Kāpeya and Driti Aindrota. As Driti was the son and pupil of Indrota Daivāpa (Daivāpi) Saunaka, the priest of Janamejaya, Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of the great king. We have already seen that Kakshasena appears in the Mahābhāratas as the name of a brother of Janamejaya. Abhipratārin was thus Janame-

When the city of Nāgasāhvaya (Hāstinapura) is carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu will abandon it and will dwell in Kausāmbi.

Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5.

That Hästinapura stood on the Ganges is clear from the Rāmāyaņa (II. 68.

13), the Mahābhārata (I, 128), and the Mahābhāshya (anugaṅgaṁ Hāstinathuram).

¹ Gangayāpahrite tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye tyaktvā Nichakshur nagaram Kaušāmbyām sa nivatsyati.

² VI. 2, 101.

² V. 27. 4-6.

Sat. Br. XIII, 5. 4. 19-23.

⁵ Vamila Brahmana; Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 27, 373.

⁶ I. 94. 54.



jaya's nephew. The Aitareya Brāhmaņa and the Śānkhāyana Srauta Sūtra' refer to a prince named Vriddhadyumna Abhipratāriņa, apparently the son of Abhipratārin. The Aitareya Brāhmaņa² possibly mentions his son Rathagritsa and priest Suchivriksha Gaupālāyana.3 The Sānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra informs us that Vriddhadyumna erred in a sacrifice, when a Brāhmaṇa uttered a curse that the result would be the expulsion of the Kurus from Kuru-kshetra, an event which actually came to pass.

Sacrifices threatened to have serious repercussions on the fortunes of the royal family even in the days of Janamejaya. The performance of ritual in the approved form by proper persons seems to have excited as much interest in the Kuru country as philosophical discussions did at the court of Videha. Even in the fourth century B.C. the great Chandragupta Maurya had to attend to sacrifices in the midst of his pressing duties relating to war and judicial administration. A sacrificial error was not a trivial matter, especially in the ancient realm of the Kurus, which was the citadel of Brāhmanic ritualism. To religious indiscretions were soon added natural calamities and the effect on the people was disastrous. Mention has already been made of the Puranic tradition about the destruction of Hastinapura by the erosive action of the Ganges. The Chhāndogya Upanishad refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by Matachi (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced migration of the family of Ushasti Chākrāyaņa, who repaired to the village of an unnamed noble or wealthy man, next to a neighbourly prince and ultimately to the court of Janaka of Videha.5

¹ XV. 16. 10-13.

² Trivedi's translation, pp. 322-23.

³ Gaupālāyana also held the important post of the Sthapati of the Kurus (Baudh. Sr. Sūtra, XX. 25; Vedic Index, 1. 128). His relationship with Suchivriksha is however, not known.

⁴ XV. 16 10-13.

⁶ Chhandogya, I. 10. 1; Brihad. Upanishad, III, 4. For earlier vicissitudes, see Rigveda, X. 98 (drought in the time of Samtanu); Mbh. I. 94 (story of Samvarana). The Chhandogya Upanishad says: matachihateshu Kurushu atikya

The Panchavimsa Brahmana affords a clue to the royal seat of the 'Abhipratarina' branch of the Kuru family whose reign witnessed the beginning of those incidents that spelled disaster to the Kurus. We are told that Driti, apparently the priest of king Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena, completed a sacrifice in Khāṇḍava.* The same Brāhmana refers to the Abhipratāriņas as the "mightiest of all their relations." The passage is significant. It suggests that the great Janamejaya was no more in the land of the living in the days of Vbhipratarin and his descendants, and that the line represented by the latter far outshone the other branches of the Kuru royal family. existence of distinct offshoots of the line is clearly implied by tradition. One of them held sway in Hastinapura and later on moved to Kauśāmbī. This is the branch mentioned in the Puranas. Another line reigned in Ishukara. The third and the 'mightiest' branch is, as we have seen, connected with Khāndava, the far-famed region where the great epic locates the stately city of Indraprastha. The famous capital which stood close to the site of modern Delhi finds prominent mention in the Jātakas as the seat of a line of kings claiming to belong to the "Yuddhitthila gotra" (Yudhishthira's gotra or clan).

The prosperity of the Abhipratāriņas was short-lived. Great calamities befell the Kurus and the disintegration of the kingdom went on apace. Large sections of the

sahajāyayā Ushastir ha Chākrāyaṇa ibhya-grame pradrāṇaka uvāsa. "When Kuruland was devastated by hailstones or locusts, Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa repaired with his virgin wife to a magnate's village and there lived in great distress. The plight of the Brāhmaṇa and his wife offers a sad contrast to the condition of the Kauravya and his lady who "throve merrily in the realm of Parikshit." Commentators took maṭachi to mean 'thunderbolt', 'hailstone' or 'a kind of small red bird' or 'locust.' The last meaning accords with the evidence of the Devībhāgavatam, X, 13. 110. maṭachī-yūthavat teshām samudayāstu nirgatāḥ. The Kanarese word midiche has the same sense (Kittel's Dictionary; Jacob, Scraps from Shaddaršana, JRAS, 1911, 510; Vedic Index, II, 119; Bhand. Carm. Lec., 1918, 26-27; Bagchi, IHQ, 1933, 253).

¹ XXV. 3. 6. ² XIV. 1. 12. ³ II. 9. 4. Caland's. ed., p. 27. ⁴ SBE, xlv. 62.

⁵ Cf. Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, III. 156; JAOS, 26. 61. "When Abhipratāraṇa was lying used up with old age his sons divided the inheritance and made a great noise about it.

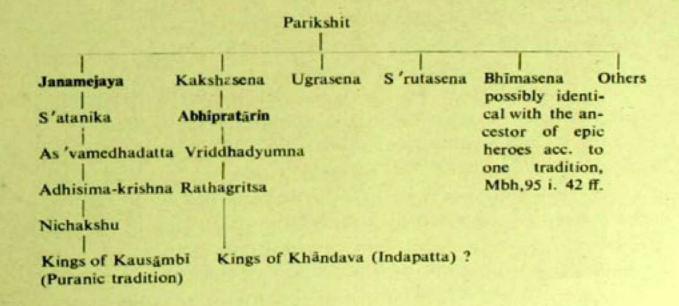


people, including Brāhmaṇas and princes, were apparently forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of one branch of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kauśāmbī is confirmed by the evidence of some of the plays attributed to Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, is described in the Svapnavāsava-datta as a scion of the Bharata or Bhārata family:—

Bhāratānām kule jāto vinīto jñānavānchhuchiḥ tan nārhasi balāddhartum rājadharmasya deśikaḥ

"Thou art born in the family of the Bharatas. Thou art self-controlled, enlightened and pure. To stop her by force is unworthy of thee, who shouldst be the model of kingly duty."

GENEALOGY OF THE PARIKSHITA FAMILY



¹ Ed. Gaṇapati śāstrī, p. 140, Trans. V. S. Sukthankar, p. 79. Cf. Pratijňā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, "Vedākshara-samavāya-pravishţo Bhārato Vamsaḥ" "Bharatakulopabhuktam viṇāratnam," Act II

Bhāratānām kule jāto Vatsānāmūrjitah patih, Act IV.

SECTION II. THE AGE OF THE GREAT JANAKA.

Sarve rājňo Maithilasya Mainākasyeva parvatāḥ nikrishṭabhūtā rājāno.....

-Mahāb hārata.

We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus. The kingdom fell to pieces and one of the princes had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kuru people played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was Janaka, the great philosopher-king of Videha, mentioned in the Vedic texts as the contemporary of Uddālaka Āruņi and Yājñavalkya. The waning power of the Kurus and the waxing strength of the Vaidehas are shown by the fact that while Kuru princes are styled rājan (king) in certain Brāhmaṇas, Janaka of Videha is called samrāţ (supreme king). In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the samrāj is asserted to be of higher dignity than a rājan.

That the great Janaka was later than the Pārikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later on that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu (if Purāṇic tradition is to be accepted), and certainly of Ushasta or Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the notable achievements, as well as the mysterious fate, of the Pārikshitas, still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of general curiosity in the royal court of Mithilā. In the Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, with a question, the solution of which the former is said to have previously

¹ III. 134. 5. As all other mountains are inferior to Maināka so are kings inferior to the lord of Mithilā.

² Ait., VIII. 14. Pañchavimsa, XIV. 1. 12. etc.

¹ V, I, 1, 12-15.

obtained from a being of superhuman power through the medium of a Madra girl:

"Kva Pārikshitā abhavan"—whither have the Pārikshitas gone?"

Yājñavalkya answers: "Thither where the performers of the horse sacrifice abide." From this it is clear that the Pārikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have passed away. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of absorbing interest to men and women in different parts of the country.²

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Purāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the *Mahābhārata* says that Uddālaka, a prominent figure of Janaka's court, and his son Śvetaketu, attended the *sarpa-satra* (snake-sacrifice) of Janamejaya:—

Sadasya śchābhavad Vyāsaḥ putra-śishya-sahāyavān Uddālakaḥ Pramatakaḥ Śvetaketuścha Pingalaḥ³

"Vyāsa, assisted by his son and disciple, Uddālaka, Pramataka, Śvetaketu, Pingala.....officiated as sadasya (priest.)"

The Vishņu Purāņa says that Śatānīka, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yājñavalkya.

The unreliability of the Epic and the Purāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic

¹ Brihad. Upanishad, III. 3.1, E. Roer, Brihad. Up. P. 20.

Weber, Ind. Lit. 126 ff. In the Journal of Indian History, April, 1936, p. 20, edited by Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar and others, appears the amazing insinuation that "Mr. Roy Choudhury has.....attempted to give Weber's thought and language (as rendered) out as his own, without any reference to Weber." A perusal of the Bibliographical Index (pp. 319, 328) appended to the first ed. of the Political History and p. 27 of the text; the foreword to the subsequent editions, etc., will throw interesting light on the veracity of the writer of the article in question in the Journal of Indian History.

Mbh., Adi., 53. 7. Vishnu P., IV. 21. 2.

texts. We learn from the Satapatha Brāhmana that Indrota Daivāpa or Daivāpi Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Driti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the Jaiminīya Upanishad and Vamša Brāhmaṇas. Driti's pupil was Pulusha Prāchīnayoga. The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajña. We learn from the Chhāndogya Upanishad that Paulushi Satyayajña was a contemporary of Budila Aśvatarāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruņi, two prominent figures of Janaka's court.' Satyayajña was, therefore, certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśushma Sātyayajñi Prāchīnayogya is mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaņas as having met Janaka. As Sātyayajñi certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka, his contemporary Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the sixth chapter of the Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was tenth in the ascending line from Sāñjīvīputra, whereas Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka Āruṇi, the contemporaries of Janaka, were only fourth and fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher. The lists are given below:—

Janamejaya. Tura Kāvasheya

Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana

Kuśri Kuśri Vājaśravasa⁶

Śāṇḍilya Upaveśi Vātsya Aruṇa

Vāmakashāyaṇa Uddālaka Āruṇi 5 Janaka Māhitthi Yājñavalkya (the Great

¹ XIII. 5. 4. 1.

² Vedic Index, II. p. 9.

³ V. 11. 1. 2.

^{*} Vide Brihad-āranyaka Upanishad. V. 14. 18: "Janaho Vaideho Budilam Ašvatarāšvim uvācha," and III. 7. 1.

⁵ XI. 6. 2. 1-3.

^{*} IC, III. 747-



Kautsa Āsuri

Māṇḍavya Āsurāyaṇa

Māṇḍūkāyani Prāśnīputra Āsurivāsin

Sāñjīvīputra Sāñjīvīputra

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time.¹ Jacobi and Rhys Davids² agree in estimating the average length of a patriarchate or generation (in lists relating to spiritual succession) at 30 years. To the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somaśushma, and from Tura to Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janaka, we may, therefore, assign a period of 150 or 180 years.³ It is, therefore, reason-

² Parišishta-parvan, 2nd ed. xviii and Buddhist Suttas. Introduction, p. xlvii.

It has been urged by some critics that pupils are not necessarily younger in age than their preceptors. It may freely be admitted that in particular cases pupils may be of the same age with, or even older than, the guru. But it is idle to suggest that in a long list of successive āchāryas and śishyas the presence of elderly pupils must be assumed except where the guru is known to be the father of the pupil. Individual cases of succession of elderly śishyas do not invalidate the conclusion that the average duration of a generation is as is suggested by Jacobi and Rhys Davids.

¹ It has been stated by certain writers that Janamejaya should be placed "only a step above Janaka." They point to the use of lan in the verb bhū in the interrogation Kva Pārikshitā abhavan quoted above. They further identify Dantābala Dhaumra, a contemporary of Janamejaya according to a legend narrated in the Gopatha Brāhmaņa, with Dantāla Dhaumya of the Jaiminiya Brāhmana, who may be assigned to the period of Janaka. It is also suggested that Bhallaveya of a certain Brahmana passage is no other than Indradyumna, JIH., April, 1936, 15 ff, etc. Apart from the fact that in the Vedic texts lan and lit are at times used alternatively to convey the same meaning (Cf. 37 ante.) it should be noted that the question 'Kva Pārikshitā abhavan' with its answer was not framed for the first time at the court of Janaka. It is a mūrdhābhishikta (traditional)-udāharaņa attributed to superhuman agency-and, therefore, it cannot be regarded as establishing the synchronism of Janamejaya Pārikshita and Janaka Vaideha. As to Dantābala it has already been pointed out (p. 39 above), that the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra mentions Dhumras and Dhaumyas as distinct members of the Kaśyapa group. Janamejaya must have passed away in the days of Driti and the Abhipratāriņas. See ante p. 46. See also IHQ, Vol. VIII, 1932. 600 ff. As to Bhāllaveya, serious students should remember that it is a patronymic-like Atreya, Bhāradvāja etc. In the absence of the personal name, it is uncritical to identify every Bhallaveya with Indradyumna himself as it is unreasonable to equate every Atreya with Udamaya or every Bharadvaja with Drona or Pindola.

able to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following a Purāṇic tradition, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B.C., we must place Janaka in the twelfth century B.C. If, on the other hand, we accept a date for Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, the pupil's pupil of Uddālaka according to the Śāṅkhāyana, Āraṇyaka, in the sixth century B.C., we must place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., and Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of Videha, over which Janaka ruled seems to be mentioned for the first time in the Samhitās of the Yajur Veda.¹ It corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in North Bihār.¹ It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānīrā, usually identified with the modern Gaṇḍak which rising in Nepāl, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna.³ Oldenberg, however, points out¹ that the Mahābhārata distinguishes the Gaṇḍakī from the Sadānīrā: "Gaṇḍakīncha Mahāśoṇam Sadānīrām tathaiva cha." Pargiter, therefore, indentifies the Sadānīrā with the Rāptī.⁵ We learn from the Suruchi Jātaka⁵ that the measure of the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues. It consisted of 16,000 villages.¹

Mithila, the capital of Videha, is not referred to in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the Jātakas and the Epics. It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepāl border north of the place where the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet. It is stated in the Suruchi and Gandhāra Jātakas

¹ Vedic Index, II. 298.

² According to Pargiter, JASB, 1897, 89—"Videha comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rāptī to Darabhanga, with Kosala on the west and Aṅga on the east. On the north it approached the hills, and to the south it was bounded by the small kingdom of Vaiśālī."

³ Vedic Index II. 299.

^{*} Buddha, p. 398 n. Cf. Pargiter, JASB, 1897. 87. Mbh. II. 20. 27.

If the epic enumeration of the rivers quoted above follows a geographical order as is suggested by the use of the expression kramena in the Mbh. II. 20. 27. Sadānīrā may be the Burhi Gandak which is distinguished from the Gandak proper. Cf. map in JASB, 1895.

^{1. 48}g.

⁷ J. 406. These are apparently conventional figures.

^{*} I. 489 and 406.



that the city covered seven leagues. At its four gates were four market towns. We have the following description of the city in the Mahājanaka Jātaka.

By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see, With walls and gates and battlements, traversed by streets on every side,

With horses, cows and chariots thronged with tanks and gardens beautified,

Videha's far-famed capital, gay with its knights and warrior swarms,

Clad in their robes of tiger-skins, with banners spread and flashing arms,

Its Brahmins dressed in Kāśi cloth, perfumed with sandal, decked with gems,

Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems.3

According to the Rāmāyaṇa' the royal family of Mithila was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I. The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sītā) and his brother Kuśadhvaja, king of Sāṅkāśya. The Vāyu' and the Vishnu' Purāṇas represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvāku, and give him the epithet Videha.' His son was Mithi whom both the Purāṇas identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Sīradhvaja who is called the father of Sītā, and is, therefore, identical with Janaka II of the Rāmāyaṇa. Then starting from Sīradhvaja the Purāṇas carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kṛiti, and the family is called Janaka-varisśa.

¹ J. 546.

² No. 539; Cowell's Jataka, Vol. VI, p. 30.

For another description of Mithila, see Mbh. III. 206. 6-9.

^{4 1. 71. 3.}

^{5 88. 7-8; 89. 3-4}

^{*} IV. 5, 1.

The story of Vasishthasya Videhah samapadyata—Vāyu P. The story of Vasishtha's curse on a Videhan king is known to the Brihaddevatā (vii. 59).

Dhritestu Bahulāsvo' bhūd Bahulāsva-sutaḥ Kritiḥ tasmin santishṭhate vamso Janakānām mahātmanām'

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Nami Sāpya.' But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithila. On the contrary, a story of the Satapatha Brāhmana seems to indicate that the Videhan kingdom owes its origin to Videgha Mathava who came from banks of the Sarasvatī." We are told that the firegod went burning along this earth from the Sarasvati towards the east, followed by Mathava and his priest, Gotama Rāhūgana till he came to the river Sadānīrā which flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain, and which he did not burn over. No Brāhmanas went across the stream in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvanara (the fire that burns for all men)." At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated, and marshy, but after Mathava's arrival many Brāhmaņas went there, and it was cultivated, for the Brāhmanas had caused Agni, the Fire-god, to taste it through sacrifices. Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," he replied. Even now, the writer of the Śatapatha Brāhmana adds, this stream forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of Mithi Vaideha, the second king in the Epic and the Puranic lists, is reminiscent of Māthava Videgha.

If Māthava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithilā, Namī Sāpya cannot claim that distinction. The Majjhima Nikāyas and the Nimi Jātaka mention Makhā-

¹ Vāyu Furāņa 89, 32. For Janaka as a dynastic designation see also Mbh. III. 133, 17; Rām. I. 67. 8. The use of the expressions Janakānām. Janakaiņ etc., does not necessarily indicate that every member of the line bore the personal name Janaka. Cf. Ikshvākūṇāṃ (Rām. I. 5. 3), which refers to those who were Ikshvāku-vamša-prabhavāḥ (I. 1. 8); Raghūṇām anvayam, etc.

Vedic Index, I, 436.
 Macdonell Sans. Lit., pp. 214-15; Ved., Ind., II. 298; Sat. Br., 1, 4, 1, etc.; Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 398-99; Pargiter, J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 86 et seq.

^{*} This is the territory which the Mahābhārata refers to as "Jalodbhava" i.e., reclaimed from swamp (Mbh., II. 30. 4. Pargiter, Ibid, 88n).

⁵ II. 74-83.



deva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithila, and a Nimi is said to have been born to "round off the royal house, the family of hermits." The evidence of Buddhist texts thus shows that the name Nimi was borne not by the first, but

probably by some later king or kings.1

As the entire dynasty of Maithila monarchs was called Janaka-vamsa, Vamso Janakānām mahātmanām, the family of the high-souled Janakas, in post-Vedic literature, and there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great Janaka of the Vedic texts, the contemporary of Āruņi and Yājñavalkya. But there is one fact which seems to favour his identification with Sīradhvaja of the Purānic list, i.e., the father of Sītā. The father of the heroine of the Rāmāyana is a younger contemporary of Aśvapati, king of the Kekayas (maternal grandfather of Bharata*), Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Aśvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddālaka Āruņi and Budila Āśvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these princes.3 But as the name Aśvapati is also apparently given to Bharata's maternal uncle, it seems that it was possibly not a personal name but a secondary epithet or a family designation like 'Janaka.'5 In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct. The identification seems, however, to have been accepted by Bhavabhūti. Referring to the father of the heroine, the poet says in the Mahāvīra-charita':

Teshāmidānim dāyādo vriddhah Sīradhvajo nripah

¹ The evidence of the Brihad-devatā (vii. 59) suggests that connection was maintained by Videhan monarchs with their old home on the banks of the Sarasvatī, cf. Panchavimša Brāhmana, XXV. 10. 16-18 (story of Namī Sāpya).

² Rāmāyaṇa, II. 9. 22.

³ Ved. Ind., II, 69; Chh. Up. V. 11, 1-4; Brih. Up., III. 7.

⁴ Rāmāyana, VII. 113. 4-5 Against the view that Asvapati was a family designation common to all members of the line it may, however, be urged that in the Mbh. vii. 104. 7: 123. 5 Brihatkshatra, chief of the Kekayas, does not bear that epithet. Act I, Verse 14.

Yājñavalkyo munir yasmai Brahmapārāyaṇam jagau.

It is equally difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. Professor Rhys Davids seems to identify him with Mahā-Janaka of the Jātaka No. 539. The utterance of Mahā-Janaka II of that Jātaka.

'Mithilā's palaces may burn

But naught of mine is burned thereby indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

In the Mahābhārata' we find the saying attributed to Janaka 'Janadeva' of Mithilā. In the Jaina Uttar-ādhya-yana, however, the saying is attributed to Namī.' This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishṭa in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa' may point to the identification of Namī or Nemi with Mahā-Janaka II whom the Jātaka represents as the son of Ariṭṭha. If Mahā-Janaka II be identical with Namī, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Namī in the Vedic texts. One may be tempted to identify the Vedic Janaka with Mahā-Janaka I of the Jātaka. But proof is lacking.

In the Satapatha Brāhmana, the Brihad-āranyaka

¹ Cf. Act II, verse 43; Uttara-Charita. Act IV, verse 9. In the Mbh. III 133.4 the contemporary of Uddālaka and Kahoda seems to be called Aindradyumni. (Cf. AIHT. 96.) In Mbh. XII. 310. 4; 3, 8, 95, the contemporary of Yājñavalkya is styled Daivarāti. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa is attributed to this Yājñavalkya (ibid, XII. 318. 11f). Both Aindradyumni and Daivarāti are patronymics and hardly afford a clue to the personal name of the king in question.

² Bud. Ind., P. 26.

3 XIL. 17. 18-19; 219, 50.

"Mithilāyām pradīptāyām
na me dahyati kinchana"

"Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītam
nagaram upāhitam agninābhivīkshya
na khalu mama hi dahyate' tra kinchit
svayam idam āha kila sma bhūmipālah"

"Seeing his city burning in a fire, the king of Mithila himself sang of old, 'in this (conflagration) nothing of mine is burning'."

⁴ S. B. E., XLV. 37.

IV. 5. 13.



Upanishad and the Mahābhārata¹ Janaka is called Samrāţ. This shows that he was a greater personage than a mere Rājan. Although there is no clear evidence in the Vedic literature of the use of the word Samrāj as emperor in the sense of a king of kings, still the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa distinctly says that the Samrāj was a higher authority than a Rājan; "by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of king is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher." In the Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra³ Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer.

But Janaka's fame rests not so much on his achievements as a king and a sacrificer, as on his patronage of culture and philosophy. The court of this monarch was thronged with Brāhmaņas from Kosala, the Kuru-Pañchāla countries and perhaps Madra, e.g., Aśvala, Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Ushasta(-i) Chākrāyaṇa, Kahoda Kaushītakeya. Gārgī Vāchaknavī, Uddālaka Āruni and Vidagdha Śākalya. The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, who was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruņi.' Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaņas, Oldenberg observes: "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his courtmuch as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

The Brāhmaņas and the Upanishads throw some light on the political condition of Northern India during the age of the great Janaka. From those works we learn that besides Videha, there were nine states of considerable importance, viz.:

¹ III. 133. 17.

² Sat. Br., V, 1. 1. 12-13: XII, S. 3. 4; XIV, 1, 3, 8.

³ X. 3. 14.

⁴ Brih. Up. VI. 5. 3.

⁵ Buddha, P. 398.

1. Gandhāra 4. Ušīnara 7. Pañchāla

2. Kekaya 5. Matsya 8. Kāśi 8. Madra 6. Kuru 9. Kosala

The Vedic texts seldom furnish any definite clue as to the exact geographical position of these states. For the location of most of these territories we must, therefore, turn to the evidence of later literature.

The inhabitants of **Gandhara** are included by epic poets among the peoples of *Uttarāpatha* or the northern-most region of India:—

Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayishyāmi tān api Yauna-Kāmboja-Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.

The country lay on both sides of the Indus,² and contained two great cities, viz., Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvatī, alleged to have been founded by two heroes of epic fame:

Gandhāra-vishaye siddhe, tayoḥ puryau mahātmanoh Takshasya dikshu vikhyātā ramyā Takshasilā purī Pushkarasyāpi vīrasya vikhyātā Pushkarāvatī.

The vishaya (territory) described in these lines must have embraced the Rāwalpindi district of the Western Pañjāb and the Peshāwar district of the North-West Frontier Province. A few miles to the north-west of Rāwalpindī and 2,000 leagues away from Banaras, stood the famous city of Takshaśilā or Taxila. The remains of the great city are situated immediately to the east and north-east of

¹ Mbh., XII. 207. 43.

^{**}Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 113. 11; 114. 11; Sindhor-ubhayataḥ pāršve. According to Jātaka No. 406 the kingdom of Gandhāra included Kaśmīra. Hekataios of Miletus (B. C. 549-486) refers to a Gandaric city called Kaspapyros. Stein (JASB, 1899, extra No. 2, 11) equates Kaspapyros with Kaspatyros of Herodotus and says that it must have been situated in that territory where the Indus first becomes navigable, i.e., in the ancient Gandhāra. Kaspatyros was the place at which the expedition under Skylax, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus, embarked. Stein (pp. 12-13) rejects the view according to which Kaspapyros represents the Sanskrit Kasyapapura from which the name Kasmīr is said to have been derived. Kāsyapapura as a place-name is known to Alberuni (1 298), but he mentions it as an original designation of Multan. Kasyapa's traditional connection with Kasmīr is, however, clear from Rājataranginī, 1, 27.

^{*} Vāyu Purāņa, 88. 189-90; cf. Rāmāyaņa, VII. 114. 11.

⁴ Telapatta and Susima Jatakas, Nos. 96, 163.



Sarai-kala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rāwalpindī. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost (and oldest) of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhirmound."

Pushkarāvatī or Pushkalāvatī, the Lotus City, (Prākrit Pukkalāoti, whence the 'Peukelaotis' of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles northeast of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river.*

Gandhāra is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhāri in the Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda. In the Rig-Veda the good wool of the sheep of these tribesmen is referred to. In the Atharva-Veda the Gandhāris are mentioned with the Mūjavats, apparently as a despised people. The Brāhmaṇa texts refer to Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra, and his son Svarjit. The former receives Brāhmaṇic consecration, but observations of the family on ritual are treated with contempt. In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the Madhya-deśa (Mid-India) changed, and Gandhāra became a resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instruction in the three Vedas and the eighteen branches of knowledge.

In a significant passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad' Uddālaka Āruņi, the contemporary of the Vedic Janaka, mentions Gandhāra to illustrate the desirability of having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil 'learns (his way)

¹ Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, pp. 1-4; AGI, 1924, 120, 128 f.

² Schoff. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, pp. 183-84; Foucher, Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra, p. 11; cf. V. A. Smith, JASB, 1889. 111; Cunningham, AGI, 1924. 57 f. Strabo (XV. 26) extends Gandaritis westwards to the Choaspes (Kunar ?).

³ I. 126. 7.

⁴ V. 22, 14. cf. Mbh. VIII, 44, 46; 45, 8 etc.

⁵ Aitareya, vii. 34. Satapatha, viii, 1, 4. 10. Vedic Index, i. 432.

Cf. Rhys Davids and Stede, Pali-English Dictionary, 76 (Vijja-tthanani); Vāyu, 61, 79. Brahmāṇḍa 67, 82; Milinda I. 9. mentions 19 Sippas; cf. IV. 3. 26.

⁷ VI. 14.

and thus remains liberated (from all worldly ties) till he attains (the Truth or Beatitude, Moksha)." A man who attains Moksha is compared to a blindfold person who reaches at last the country of Gandhāra. The passage runs as follows:

"Yathā somya purusham Gandharebhyo'bhinaddhāksham ānīya tam tato'tijane visrijet, sa yathātatra prān vā udan vādharān vā pratyan vā pradhmāyīta—abhinaddhāksha ānīto' bhinaddhāksho visrishṭaḥ. Tasya yathābhinahanam pramuchya prabrūyād etām diśam Gandhārā etām diśam vrajeti. Sa grāmād grāmam prichchhan paṇḍito medhāvī Gandhārān evopasampadyeta, evam evehāchāryavān purusho veda."

"O my child, in the world when a man with blindfold eyes is carried away from Gandhāra and left in a lonely place, he makes the east and the north and the south and the west resound by crying 'I have been brought here blindfold, I am here left blindfold.' Thereupon (some kindhearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhāra; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from village to village enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhāra. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)."

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the *Uddālaka Jātaka*² represents Uddālaka as having journeyed to Takshaśilā (Takkaśilā) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The Setaketu Jātaka² says that Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, went to Takshaśilā and learned all the arts. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the fact that Uddālaka Āruṇi used to drive about amongst the people of the northern country.¹ It is stated in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*³ that

¹ Cf. Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the Chhandogya Upanishad, v. 114. 2 No. 487.

No. 377.

Sat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1, et seq. Udichyanvrito dhavayamchakara.
VII. 6. Vedic Index, II. 279-

Brāhmaņas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The Jātaka tales are full of references to the fame of Takshaśilā as a university town. Pāṇini, himself a native of Gandhāra, refers to the city in one of his Sūtras. An early celebrity of Takshaśilā was perhaps Kauṭilya.

The Kekayas were settled in the Western Pañjab between Gandhāra and the Beas. From the Rāmāyaṇa¹ we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā or Beas and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra Vishaya. The Mahābhārata¹ associates them with the Madras (Madrāścha saha Kekayaiḥ). Arrian⁵ places the "Kekians" on the river Saranges, apparently a tributary of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi.

The Vedic texts do not mention the name of its capital city, but the Rāmāyaṇa informs us that the metropolis was Rājagriha or Girivraja:

"Ubhau Bharata-Satrughnau Kekayeshu parantapau, pure Rājagrihe ramye mātāmaha-nivešane."

"Both Bharata and Satrughna, repressers of enemies, are staying in Kekaya in the charming city of Rājagriha, the abode of (the) maternal grandfather (of the former)."

"Girivrajam puravaram sīghram āsedur anjasā"."
"(The messengers bound for Kekaya) quickly arrived at

Girivraja, the best of cities."

The journey from Ayodhyā to the Kekaya capital, a distance of about 650 miles, took seven days. Videha could be reached from Ayodhyā on the fourth day. The distance is about 200 miles. The slower rate is explained by Pargiter by absence of good roads. Cunningham identifies the capital of the Kekayas with Girjak or Jalalpur on the river Jhelam.*

¹ Satra iv. 3, 93; AGI (1924), 67.

² Turnour, Mahawanso, vol. I (1837), p. xxxix.

³ II. 68. 19-22; VII. 113-14.

⁴ VI. 61. 12; VII. 19. 7. Madra-Kekayah.

⁵ Indika, iv; Ind. Ant. V. 332; Mc Crindle Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, pp. 163, 196.

Ram., II. 67. 7.

Ram., I. 69. 7; II. 71. 18. AGI, 1924, 188; JASB, 1895, 250 ff.

There was another Rājagriha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rājagriha in Po-ho or Balkh. In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Magadhan capital, the latter city was called "Girivraja of the Magadhas."

The Purāṇas³ tell us that the Kekayas along with the Madrakas and the Uśīnaras, were branches of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the Rig-Veda.⁴ It appears from a hymn of the eighth Maṇḍala⁵ that they dwelt in the Central Pañjab, not far from the Parushṇī, the same territory which we find afterwards in possession of the Kekayas and the Madrakas.

The king of Kekaya in the time of the Vedic Janaka was Aśvapati, a name borne also by the maternal grandfather and maternal uncle of Bharata. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ and the Chhāndogya Upanishad¹ suggest that the Kekaya monarch was a man of learning and that he instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas, viz. Aruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama, Satyayajña Paulushi, Mahāśāla Jābāla, Buḍila, Āśvatarāśvi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākshya, Prāchīnaśāla Aupamanyava, and Uddālaka Āruṇi. The reference to Aruṇa Aupaveśi who belongs to an older generation than Uddālaka, shows that Aśvapati was an elder contemporary of the great philosopher-king of Videha.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviyā". A branch of Kekayas seems to have migrated to Southern India in later times and established its authority in the Mysore country."

The Madra people were divided into several sections viz., the northern Madras, the eastern Madras, the southern

¹ Beal, Si-yu ki, Vol. 1, p. 44-

¹ S. B. E., XIII, p. 150.

³ Matsya, 48. 10-20; Vayu, 99. 12-23.

I. 108. 8, VII. 18. 14; VIII. 10. 5.

^{1 74-}

⁶ Ram. II. 9, 22; VII. 113. 4.

⁷ X. 6. 1. 2.

E V. 11. 4. et seq.

³ Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375-10 A.H.D., 88, 101,



Madras or Madras proper etc. The northern Madras known as Uttara-Madras, are referred to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as living beyond the Himavat range in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, possibly, as Zimmer and Macdonell conjecture, in the land of Kaśmīr. The eastern Madras probably occupied some district to the east of Siālkot, not far from Trigartta or Kangra.¹

The southern Madras were settled in the Central Pañjab in the territory lying to the west of the river Irāvatī or Rāvi.¹ In later times the eastern limits extended to the Amritsar district which was included within the Madradeśa in the days of Guru Govind Singh.¹ The ancient capital (properly puṭa-bhedana) was śākala or Sāgala-nagara (modern śiālkot). This city is mentioned in the Mahābhārata¹ and several Jātakas³ and is probably hinted at in the name 'śākalya,' given to a Vedic teacher who graced the court of Janaka. It stood on the banks of the Āpagā¹ in a tongue of land between two rivers styled the Śākala-dvīpa,¹ apparently corresponding to a part of the Rechna Doāb.

The Madras proper are represented in early post-Vedic works as living under a monarchical constitution. The name of the ruler of the territory in the time of Janaka is not known. It was politically not of much importance. But, like the northern realms described above, it was the home of many famous scholars and teachers of the *Brāhmaṇa* period such as Madragāra Śauṅgāyani and Kāpya Patañchala,* one of the teachers of the celebrated Uddālaka Āruṇi.* The early epic knows

¹ Pāṇini, IV. 2. 107-8; Cf. Association of Mādras and Trigarttas, Mbh. VI. 61. 12. In I. 121. 36 the number of 'Madras' is given as four.

² Cf., Mbh., VIII. 44. 17.

³ Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 55.

⁴ II. 32. 14. Tatah Sākalamabhyetya Madrānām puļabhedanam.

⁵ E. g. Kālingabodhi Jātaka, No. 479; and Kusa Jātaka, No. 531.

Apaga with the Ayak rivulet which rises in the Jammu hills and joins the Chenab.

⁷ Mbh. II. 26. 5.

^{*} Weber, Ind. Lit., 126.

^{*} Brihad, Up., III. 7. 1.

the Madra royal house' as a virtuous family. But in later times Madra earned notoriety as the seat of outlandish peoples with wicked customs.2

The country of the Usinaras was situated in the Madhya-deś or Mid-India. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says "asyām dhruvāyām madhyamāyām pratishthāyām diśi," "in this firmly established middle region," lie the realms of the Kuru-Pañchālas together with Vasas and Usīnaras. In the Kaushītaki Upanishad also the Usīnaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru-Pañchālas and the Vasas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the Madhya-deśa, for in the Gopatha Brāhmana the Uśīnaras and the Vaśas are mentioned just before the Udīchyas or northerners: Kuru-Panchāleshu Anga-Magadheshu Kāsi-Kausalyeshu Śālva-Matsyeshu sa Vaśa-Usīnaresh-ūdīchyeshu.

The Mahābhārata speaks of 'Uśīnara' as sacrificing on two small streams near the Jumna. In the Kathā-saritsāgara Usīnara giri is placed near Kanakhala, the "sanctifying place of pilgrimage at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills."6 It is, doubtless, identical with Usira-giri of the Divyāvadāna and Usira-dhvaja of the Vinaya Texts. Pāṇini refers to the Uśīnara country in several sūtras." Its capital was Bhoja-nagara.10

¹ Cf. Aśvapati and his daughter Sāvitrī.

For detailed accounts of the Madras see Dr. H. C. Ray in JASB, 1922, 257: and Law, Some Kşatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 214. Mr. S. N. Mitra points out that the Paramattha-dipani on the Therigāthā (p. 127) (wrongly) places Sāgala-nagara in Magadha-rattha. But the Apadāna quotations on p. 131 leave no room for doubt that Madra is the correct name of the kingdom of which Sagala (sakala) was the capital.

³ VIII. 14.

⁴ Gop. Br. II. 9.

⁵ Mbh. III. 130. 21.

⁶ Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, third edition, p. 5. Kanakhala stands near Hardwar in the Saharanpur district of the Uttara Pradesh. Cf. also Mbh. V. 111. 16-23.

⁷ P. 22.

Part II, p. 39. See Hultzsch, Ind. Ant., 1905, p. 179.

⁹ II. 4. 20; /V. 2. 118.

¹⁰ Mbh., V. 118. 2. For Ahvara, a fortress of the Uffnaras, see Ind. Ant. 1885, 322.



The Rig-Veda' mentions a queen named Usīnarāṇī. The Mahābhārata, the Anukramaṇī and several Jātakas mention a king named Usīnara and his son Śibi. We do not know the name of Janaka's Usīnara contemporary. The Kaushītaki Upanishad tells us that Gārgya Bālāki, a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka of Videha, lived for some time in the Usīnara country.

Matsva is usually taken to "include parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur," being "the kingdom of the king Virāta of the Mahābhārata, in whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided incognito during the last year of their banishment." But Alwar seems to have been the territory of a neighbouring people—the Sālvas.' The Matsya country lay to the south of the Kurus of the Delhi region and to the west of the Śūrasenas of Mathurā. Southward it may have approached the river Chambal, westward it reached the Sarasvatī. The Mahābhārata mentions a people called the Apara-Matsyas whom Pargiter places on the hill tracts on the north bank of the Chambal. The Rāmāyana has a reference to the Vīra-Matsyas in connection with the Sarasvatī and the Ganges.5 The Matsyacapital has been identified by Cunninghams with Bairat in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks that the capital was

AGI. 1924. 387; I. A. V. 179. For a Virāţa-nagara in South India,

X. 59. 10.
 Mbh., XII. 29. 39; Vedic Index, Vol. I. p. 103; Mahā-Kanha Jātaka,
 No 469; Nimi Jātaka, No. 541; Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jātaka, No. 544. etc.
 Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, p. 53.

[&]amp; Cf. Ind. Ant., 1919. N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary, p. ii.

Mbh. 11. 31. 2-7; III. 24-25; IV. 5-4; Rām. II. 71.5. Pargiter points out (JASB, 1895, 250 ff.) that the Matsya Country lay southward from Khāṇḍava-prastha (Delhi region). Its position to the west of Śūrasena (Mathurā district) is brought out clearly by the description of the journey of the Pāṇḍu princes to the court of Virāṭa. Crossing the Jumna the heroes passed through the territory, north of the Daśārṇas and south of the Paṇchālas and then proceeded through the countries of the Yakrillomas and the Śūrasenas to the Matsya realm. From Upaplavya, a suburb of the Matsya capital, to Hāstinapura, the metropolis of the Kurus in the epic age, was less than two days' journey by chariot. Vṛikasthala on the way could be reached by a traveller in the evening on the first day.

see Bomb. Gaz. I. ii, 558.

⁷ JASB, 1895, 252.

Upaplavya. But according to Nīlakantha, the commentator, Upaplavya was "Virāţa-nagara-samīpastha-nagarānta-ram," a city close to the metropolis, but not identical with it.

The Matsyas first appear in a passage of the Rig-Veda² where they are ranged with the other antagonists of Sudās, the great Rigvedic conqueror. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa² mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated a horse-sacrifice near the Sarasvatī. The Brāhmaṇa quotes the following gāthā (song):—

Chaturdaśa Dvaitavano rājā samgrāmajidd-hayān

Indrāya Vritraghne' badhnāttasmād Dvaitavanam sara(iti).

'Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vritrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)". The Mahābhārata mentions the lake as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī.

In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa's the Matsyas appear in connexion with the Śālvas, in the Kaushītaki Upanishad's in connexion with the Kuru-Pañchālas, and in the Mahābhārata in connexion with the Trigarttas' of the Jālandar Doāb, and the Chedis of Central India. In the Manu-Saṁhitā's the Matsyas together with Kuru-kshetra, the Pañchālas, and the Śūrasenakas comprise the holy enclave of the Brāhmaṇa sages (Brahmarshi-deśa).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country was important in the time of the great philosopher-king of Videha, is known from the Kaushītaki Upanishad.

¹ Mbh. IV. 72. 14. Cf. Ind. Ant., 1882, 327.

² VII. 18.6

³ XIII. 5.4.9.

⁴ Mbh. III. 24-25.

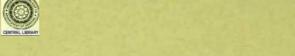
^{5 1. 2. 9.}

⁶ IV. 1.

⁷ Mbh., Bk, IV. 30-1-2; 32-1-2.

V. 74. 16.

[·] II. 19.



The Kuru country tried to maintain its reputation as a home of Brāhmanical culture in the age of Janaka. But scholars hailing from that region appear now in the role of students thirsting for philosophical knowledge rather than authorities on sacrificial ritual. This probably points to a new development in the social life of the people, a development that synchronises with the end of the period of prosperity under Parikshit and his immediate successors and the beginning of economic distress hinted at in the Chhandogya Upanishad. The time was soon to come when they would listen even to the heterodox teaching of new faiths that grew up in Eastern India. For the present Kuru Brāhmanas (e.g., Ushasti Chākrāyaņa) took an active part in discussions about Brahman and ātman at the court of Videha. The intellectual life of the eastern kingdom must have been greatly stirred by the exodus of Kurus and perhaps also of the Pañchālas that took place about this time. An exodus from Constantinople in a like manner enriched the life of the people of western Europe in the fifteenth century A.D.

If the Purāṇic list of Janamejaya's successors be accepted as historical, then it would appear that Nichakshu was probably the Kuru king of Hāstinapura in the time

of Janaka.

... Janamejaya ... 1. Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka.

2. Šatānīka ... 2. Driti Aindrota (son and pupil)

3. Aśva-medha-datta 3. Pulusha Prāchīnayogya (pupil)

4. Adhisīma-krishna 4. Pulushi Satyayajña (pupil)

5. Nichakshu ... 5. Somasushma Sātyayajñi (pupil);

Janaka's contemporary.

Curiously enough, it is Nichakshu who is represented in the *Purāṇas* as the remover of the seat of government from Hāstinapura to Kauśāmbī. We have some indication that the city of Kauśāmbī really existed about this time. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* makes Proti Kauśāmbeya

^{1 1. 10. 1-7.} 2 Cf. Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 123; Vedic Index, I. 193.

a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruni who figured in the court of Janaka. It is thus clear that Kausambeya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Satapatha Brāhmana understood Kausambeya to mean a 'native of the town of Kauśāmbi." It is, therefore, permissible to think that Kauśāmbī existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichakshu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Purāņic statement. According to the Puranas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps the devastation of the Kuru country by Matachī. It is also possible that the attitude of the Abhipratāriņa branch of the royal family towards sacrificial ritual had something to do with the exodus. From this time the Kurus in the homeland appear to have gradually lost their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power. But the memory of the majesty and power of the Bharata dynasty survived till the time of the Satapatha Brāhmana.2

Pañchāla comprised the Bareilly, Budaun, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab in the modern Uttar Pradesh. It appears to have been bounded on the east by the Gumti and on the south by the Chambal. On the west lay the Yakrillomas and the Śūrasenas of Mathurā. Belts of dense forests separated it from the Ganges and the realm of the Kurus on the north-west. Northward it approached the jungles that cover the region near the source of the Ganges. There is no clear trace in the Vedic literature of the Epic and Jātaka division of the Pañchālas into northern (Uttara) and southern (Dakshina). But it knew an eastern division because the Samhit-opanishad Brāhmaṇa makes

¹ Kausāmbeya may no doubt also mean "a descendant of Kušāmba". Even then the city can hardly be dissociated from the eponymous hero of the family. Cf. Kramadīšwara, p. 794—Kušāmbena nirvyittā Kaušāmbī-nagarī.

² XIII. 5. 4. 11-14; 21-23.

Mahadadya Bharatānām na pūrve nāpare janāḥ divyam martya iva pakshābhyām nodāpuḥ saptamānavā (iti). 1 Rig-Veda, V. 61. 17-19; Mbh. I. 138. 74; 150f; 166; IV. 5. 4; IX. 41



mention of the *Prāchya* (eastern) Pañchālas.¹ The existence of the other two may, however, be hinted at in the expression *tryanīka*, "threefold", occurring in the Vedic texts.² One of the ancient capitals of Pañchāla was Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaun and Furrukhabad.³ Another Pañchāla town Parivakrā or Parichakrā is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.⁴ It is identified by Weber with Ekachakrā of the Mahābhārata.⁵

The Pañchālas, as their name indicates, probably consisted of five clans—the Krivis, the Turvaśas, the Keśins, the Sṛiñjayas and the Somakas. Each of these clans is known to be associated with one or more princes mentioned in the Vedic texts—the Krivis with Kravya Pañchāla, the Turvaśas or Taurvaśas with Sona Sātrāsaha, the Keśins with Keśin Dālbhya, the Sṛiñjayas with Daivavāta, Prastoka, Vītahavya, Suplan or Sahadeva Sārñjaya and Dush-tarītu, and the Somakas with Somaka Sāhadevya. Of the kings only the first three are definitely associated with Pañchāla.

The Krivis appear in a Riguedic hymn which also mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asiknī (Chenāb). But their actual habitation is nowhere clearly indicated. They are identified with the Pañchālas in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and connected with Parivakrā.

A gāthā of the same works says, "When Sātrāsāha (King

India and Mediterranean men, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig) suggests

¹ Ved. Ind., I. 469. Cf. also Patañjali (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 12) and Ptolemy's Prasiake (vii. 1. 53) which included the towns of Adisdara (? Ahi chhatra) and Kanagora (? Kanauj).

² Vedic Index, I. 187.

³ Vedic Index, I. 149; Cunn. in JASB, 1865, 178; AGI, 1924. 413.

⁴ XIII. 5. 4. 7.

⁵ Ved. Ind., I. 494.

⁶ According to the Purāṇas (Brahma P. XIII. 94 f. Cf. Matsya, 50. 3) 'Mudgala', 'Sriñjaya', 'Brihadishu', 'Yavīnara' and 'Krimilāśva' were the constituent elements of the Pañchāla Janapada.

 ⁷ xiii, 5. 4. 7; Krivaya iti ha vai pură Pañchălân ăchakshate. Vedic Index, 1. 198. According to Kasten Rönnow. Acta Orientalia, XVI. iii, 1937.
 p. 165 Krivis were named after a dragon-demon who was their tribal divinity.
 8 Oldenberg. Buddha, p. 404; Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 16. H. K. Deb (Vedic

of the Pañchālas) makes the Aśvamedha offering, the Taurvaśas arise, six thousand and six (sic) and thirty clad in mail."

Sātrāsahe yajamāne' svamedhena Taurvaśāḥ udīrate trayastrimsāh shatsahasrāni varmiņām.

This points to a very close connexion between the Pañchālas and the Taurvaśas. The fusion of the two folks does not seem to be improbable in view of the Purāṇic statement that, after Marutta, the line of Turvaśu (Turvaśa, Taurvaśa) was merged into the Paurava line¹ of which the Pañchālas are represented as an offshoot. The line of rulers to which śona belonged seems to be connected in later times with Ahichchhatra (in the Bareilly District).¹

The Keśina³ who are connected with the Pañchālas in Vedic literature probably dwelt on the Gumti. The Srinjayas⁴ are associated with the Pañchālas in post-Vedic tradition. In the Mahābhārata,⁵ Uttamaujas is called a Pāñchālya as well as a Sriñjaya. The clan probably lived on the Jumna in epic times.⁴ As to the Somakas, their connection with the Pañchālas is known throughout the great epic.¹ They occupied Kāmpilya and its neighbourhood.

The royal family of the Panchalas is represented in

the identification of the Turvasas with the Teresh, or Tursha, one of the allied peoples who fought against Merneptah, or Meneptah, Pharaoh of Egypt (c. 1254-25 B.C.). Breasted, however, identifies the Teresh with the Tyrsenians or Etruscans (A History of Egypt, p. 467).

1 A. I. H. T., p. 108. Turvasoh Pauravam vamsam pravivesa purā kila

(Vayu. 99, 4).

² Camb. Hist., Ind. I. p. 525.

³ Ved. Ind., I. 186-187. The name Kesin Dālbhya suggests a close connexion between the Kesins and the Dālbhyas whom the Rig-Veda (V, 61, 17-19) places on the Gomatī. From Mbh. IX. 41, 1-3 it is clear that this Gomatī connected with the Dālbhya family or clan, could not have been far away from Naimisha and the country of the Pañchālas. It must, therefore, be identified with the Gumti which flows past Nimsār near Sītāpur.

* Pargiter, Mārkandeya Purāņa, p. 353; Mbh., I. 138. 37; V. 48. 41.

Brahmapurāņa, XIII, 94 f.

5 Mbh. VIII. 11, 31; 75- 9.

Mbh. iii. 90. 7. with commentary.

1 Cf. Mbh., I. 185. 31; 193. 1; II. 77. 10: Dhrista-dyumnah Somakānāth pravarhah; Saumakir Yajñasena iti.



bardic tradition as an offshoot of the Bharata dynasty.1 Divodāsa, Sudās (a) and Drupada are included among the kings of this line. Divodasa and Sudas also figure in the Rig-Veda where they are closely connected with the Bharatas. But they are not mentioned as Pañchāla kings. In the Mahābhārata Drupada is also called Yajñasena and one of his sons is named Śikhandin. A Śikhandin Yājñasena is mentioned in the Kaushītaki Brāhmana,* but it is not clear whether we are to regard him as a prince, or as a priest of Keśin Dālbhya, King of the Pañchālas.

The external history of the Panchalas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The Mahābhārata preserves traditions of conflict between these two great peoples. We are told by the epic that Uttara-Pañchāla was wrested from the Pañchālas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor.5 Curiously enough, the Somanassa Jātaka places Uttara-Pañchāla-nagara in Kuru rattha. The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and Pañchālas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Keśin Dālbhya or Dārbhya, king of the Panchālas, was sister's son to Uchchaihsravas, king of the Kurus.' In the epic a Pañchāla princess is married to the Pāṇḍavas who are represented as scions of the Kuru royal family.

Of the famous kings of the Panchalas mentioned in the Vedic literature Pravahana Jaivali is known definitely to have been Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Āruņi, Śvetaketu, Śilaka Śālāvatya, and Chaikitāyana

¹ Mbh., Adi., 94. 33; Matsya, 50. 1.16; Vāyu, 99. 194-210.

¹ Ved. Ind., I, p. 363; II., pp. 59- 454-¹ Mbh., Adi., 166. 24; Bhīshma, 190, et seq.

⁴ VII. 4-5 Mbh. i. 166.

No. 505. The union of Kuru-Panchalas is hinted at in Jaim. Up. Br. III. 7. 6.

⁷ Ved. Ind., I. 84, 187, 468. Uchchaih-śravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the Mahabharata, I. 94. 53.

Dālbhya.1 The first two teachers are known to have met the Vedic Janaka.

The kingdom of Kasi was 300 leagues in extent.3 It had its capital at Vārāņasī (Benares) also called Ketumatī, Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahma-vaddhana, Pupphavatī, Ramma, and Molini.3 The walls of the city were twelve

leagues round by themselves."

The Kāśis, i.e., the people of Kāśi or Kāsi, first appear in the Paippalada recension of the Atharva-Veda.5 They were closely connected with the Kosalas and the Videhas. Jala Jātūkarņya is mentioned in the Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtras as having obtained the position of Purohita or priest of the three peoples of Kāsi, Videha and Kosala in the lifetime of Svetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough, a king named Janaka is mentioned in the Sattubhasta Jātaka as reigning in Benares. This prince cannot be the Janaka of the Upanishads, for we learn from those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka, Ajātaśatru was on the throne of Kāsi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajātaśatru. His name does not occur in the Purānic lists of Kāsi sovereigns," nor does the name of Dhritarāshtra, king of Kāsi, who was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāśis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmana gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. A clue to the lineage of Dhritarashtra is afforded by the Mahāgovinda-Suttanta' which represents "Dhatarattha," King of Kāsi, as a Bharata prince. The Purāṇas repre-

¹ Brihad. Up., VI. 2; Chh. Up., 1. 8. 1; V. 3. 1.

³ A stock phrase, Dhajavihetha Jātaka, No. 391.

³ Dialogues, Part III, p. 73. Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 50-51. The name Vārāņasī is derived from two little rivers between which the city was situated-Varaņāyāstathā ch Āsyā madhye Vārāņasi puri (Pādma, Svarga khanda, xvii. 50).

[·] Tandulanāli Jātaka, No. 5.

⁵ Ved Ind., II, 116 n.

^{*} XVI. 29. 5.

⁷ No. 402.

^{*} Vāyu, 99. 21-74; Vishņu, IV, 8. 2-9.

Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270.

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sent the Kāsi family as a branch of the house of Purūravas, the traditional ancestor of the Bharatas. Of the kings mentioned in the chronicles the names of two only (Divodāsa and his son or descendant Daivadāsi Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the later Vedic texts connect them with the Naimishīyas and not with Kāsi.¹

The Jātakas often refer to the failure of heirs at Benares (aputtakaṁ rājakulam), or the deposition of princes in favour of more competent rulers taken from other families. It is clear that tradition does not regard the Kāsi monarchs as belonging to one and the same dynasty. Some of the kings hailed from Magadha.² Several others were probably of Videhan origin. Many of the princes belonging to these groups had the cognomen, 'Brahmadatta.' That Brahmadatta was not the name of one individual ruler, has been suggested by Mr. Hāritkṛishṇa Dev.³ The Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas refer to a group of one hundred (i.e. many) Brahmadattas:

Satam vai Brahmadattānām vīrāṇām Kuravaḥ satam.

The "hundred" Brahmadattas are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata.⁵ In the Dummedha Jātaka⁶ the name is borne both by the reigning king and his son (Kumāra).⁷ In the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka⁸ king Udaya of Benares is addressed by a Pachcheka Buddha as "Brahmadatta" which is distinctly stated to be a kulanāma or family designation.

The Brahmadattas were not, however, all of the same extraction. The king-elect of the Darīmuka Jātaka was originally a Magadhan prince. Some of the other Brahma-

¹ Kaush. Br., xxvi. 5.

² Cf. Jātakas, 378, 401, 529.

³ The suggestion has been accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 56.

⁴ Matsya, Ch. 273, 71; Vayu, Ch. 99, 454-

⁵ II. 8. 23.

⁶ No. 50; Vol. I. p. 126.

⁷ Cf. also the Susima Jātaka (411), the Kumma Sapinda Jātaka (415), the Atthāna Jātaka (425), the Lomasa Kassapa Jātaka (433), etc.

^{* 421.}

dattas were of Videhan lineage. The Mātiposaka Jātaka, for instance, referring to a Brahmadatta of Kāsi, has the following line:

mutto'mhi Kāsirājena Vedehena yasassinā ti. In the Sambula Jātaka prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, is called Vedehaputta:

Yo putta Kāsirājassa Sotthiseno ti tam vidū tassāham Sambulā bhariyā, evam jānāhi dānava, Vedehaputto bhaddan te vane vasati āturo.

Ajātaśatru, Janaka's contemporary on the throne of Kāsi, may have been a Brahmadatta though his exact lineage is not known. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddālaka. The Uddālaka Jātaka tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddālaka was Brahmadatta.

Ajātaśatru appears in the *Upanishads* as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gārgya Bālāki. In the *Kaushītaki Upanishad* he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions a person named Bhadrasena Ajātaśatrava who is said to have been bewitched by Uddālaka Āruṇi. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kāsi. He may have been the son and successor of Ajātaśatru.'

The kingdom of Kosala⁵ corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It seems to have extended northward to the foot of the Nepāl hills. In the east it was separated from Videha by the river Sadānīrā, which was for a time the limit of the Aryan world in that direction. Beyond it was an extensive marshy region, not frequented by Brāhmaṇas which, after Māthava Videgha's occupation, developed into the flourishing kingdom of Videha. The story of Māthava makes it clear that the Kosalas fell later than the peoples dwelling on the banks of the Sarasvatī

¹ No. 455

² No. 519.

V. 5. 5. 14. S. B. E., XLI. p. 141.

^{*} The form Kośala is met with in the Gopatha Brahmana (Vedic Index I. 195) and later literature.



but earlier than the Videhas under the influence of Brāhmaṇical civilization. In the south Kosala was bounded by the river Sarpikā or Syandikā¹ and on the west probably by the Gumti which flowed past the famous Naimisha forest and apparently formed the boundary between the Kosalas and sundry peoples including the Pañchālas.² In the epic Kosalas proper are distinguished from the Uttara-Kosalas, the Kosalas near the Venvā (Waingaṅgā) and the Prāk-Kosalas. The last two peoples were clearly in South India.³ The Pūrva-Kosalas, apparently not identical with the Prāk-Kosalas of the Deccan, dwelt between the river Sarayū and Mithilā.⁴

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the Rāmāyaṇa is to be believed the capital of Kosala (Kosalapura) in the time of the Janakas was Ayodhyā. It stood on the banks of the Sarayū and covered twelve yojanas. The Rig-Veda mentions the river Sarayū and refers to an Aryan settlement on its banks. One of the Ārya settlers bears the name of Chitraratha which occurs also in the Rāmāyaṇa, as the appellation of a contemporary of Daśaratha. A prince styled Daśaratha is eulogised in a Rigvedic hymn, but there is nothing to identify him with the Ikshvāku king of that name who appears in the Rāmāyaṇa as the Kosalan contemporary of Sīradhvaja Janaka. Daśaratha's eldest son, according to the epic, was Rāma who married Sītā, daughter of Janaka. The Rig-Veda mentions an Asura

Ram. 11. 49. 11-12; 50, 1; Cf. Sundarika, Kindred Sayings I. 209.

Rām. II. 68. 13; 71. 16-18; VII. 104. 15. (Kosalan king sacrificing in the Naimisha forest on the Gumti); cf. Mbh. XII. 355. 2; IX. 41. 3 (Panchālas apparently not far from Naimisha). In Rig V. 61. 17-19. the Dālbhyas, a Panchāla people, are placed on the Gumti.

³ Mbh. II. 30. 2-3; 31. 12-13.

⁴ Mbh. II. 20. 28.

^{*} Rām. I. 55. 7. If is in the Fyzabad District of Oudh. For the name Kosalapura see Rām. II. 18. 38.

^{*} IV. 30. 18.

⁷ II. 32. 17.

^{*} I. 126. 4.

¹ X. 93. 14-

(powerful being) named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The Daśaratha Jātaka makes Daśaratha and Rāma kings of Vārāṇasī and disavows Sītā's connection with Janaka.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's hotri priest, Aśvala, who was very probably an ancestor of Āśvalāyana Kausalya¹ mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad as a disciple of Pippalāda and a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and of Hiranyanābha, a Kosalan prince. The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

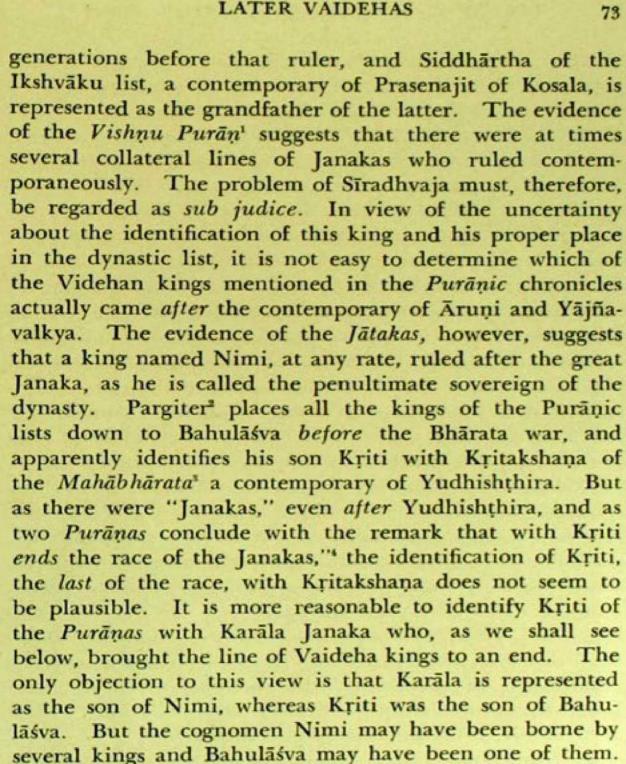
SECTION III. THE LATER VAIDEHAS OF MITHILA:

NIMI AND KARALA

The Purānas give long lists of the successors of Sīradhvaja Janaka² whom Bhavabhūti seems to identify with the contemporary of Yājñavalkya.3 With one or two exceptions none of the kings in these lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the lists are reliable. The identification of any of the kings named in the bardic chronicles with the Vedic Janaka is the most knotty of all problems. We have already noted the arguments that can be urged in support of the view of Bhavabhūti. The mere fact that Sīradhvaja is placed high in the Purānic lists does not necessarily prove that he actually flourished long before the extinction of the dynasty. It should be remembered in this connection that Pradyota who was in reality a contemporary of Bimbisara, king of Magadha, is placed by the Puranic chroniclers or scribes some nine

¹ Aśvalasyāpatyam Aśvalāyanaḥ (Śamkara's commentary on Praśna Upanishad, 1. 1).

Vāyu, 89. 18.23; Vishņu, IV. 5. 12-13; 4th edition of this work. pp. 67 ff.
 Mahāvīra-charita, I, verse 14; II, verse 43; Uttara-Rāma-Charita, IV.
 verse 9.



The Vedic texts mention besides Māthava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Namī Sāpya and Para

An alternative theory would be to represent Kriti and Karāla as the last members of two collateral lines of

Janakas.

¹ VI. 6. 7 ff. Cf. Rāmāyana, I. 72. 18.

² AIHT, p. 149. 3 II. 4. 27.

⁴ AIHT, pp. 96, 330,

Ahlara. Macdonell and Keith identify the latter with Para Āṭṇāra, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Namī Sāpya is mentioned in the Pañchavimsa or Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa' as a famous sacrificer. His identification with king Namī of the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra Nemi of the Vishņu Purāņa, and Nimi of the Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, and the Kumbhakāras and Nimi Jātakas is more or less problematical. In the last-mentioned work it is stated that a Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra he was a contemporary of Dummukha (Dvimukha), king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Naggati) of Gandhāra and of Karandu (Karakandu) of Kalinga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence. Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, had a priest named Brihaduktha' who was the son of Vāmadeva. Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva'. Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra'. From this it seems very probable that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra,

The Nimi Jātaka says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the soothsayers said, "Great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."

Nimi's son Kalāra Jaņaka' is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently iden-

¹ XXV. 10. 17-18.

³ S.B.E., XLV. 87.

³ No. 408.

No. 541.

^{*} Vedic Index, I. 370.

^{*} Ibid., II. 71.

Rig-Veda, IV. 15, 7-10 with Anukramoni.

^{*} Aitareya Brāhmaņa, VII 34.

Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya. II. 82; Nimi Jātaka.



tical with Karāla Janaka of the Mahābhārata.1 In the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauţilya it is stated that "Bhoja, known by the name of Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaņa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also Karāla, the Vaideha." Karāla, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with Kalāra (Karāla) who, according to the Nimi Jātaka, brought the line of Videhan kings to an end. The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic-the Vajjian Confederacy.

There is reason to belieive that the Kāsi people had a share in the overthrow of the Videhan monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru, king of Kāsi, could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan king's fame. The passage "yathā Kāśyo vā Vaideho vā Ugraputra ujjyam dhanur adhijyam kritvā dvau vānavantau sapatnātivyādhinau haste kritv-opatishthed" probably refers to frequent struggles between the heroes of Kāsi and Videha. The Mahābhārata' refers to the old story (itihāsam purātanam) of a great battle between Pratardana, king of Kāsi according to the Rāmāyaṇa,5 and Janaka, King of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pāli commentary Param-attha jotika that the Lichchhavis who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in North Bihar, and formed the most important element of the

¹ XII. 302. 7.

The evidence of the Arthasastra is confirmed by that of the Buddhacharita of Aśvaghosha (IV. 80). "And so Karāla Janaka, when he carried off the Brahmana's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love."

Brihad Upanishad, III. 8. 2. "As the Ugra's son from Kasi or from Videha strings the slackened bow and arises with two foe-piercing arrows in his hand" (Winternitz, Ind. Lit. translation I, 229 with slight emendations).

⁴ XII. 99. 1-2

⁵ VII. 48. 15.

⁸ Vol. I, pp. 158-165.

Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kāsi. This indicates a belief in later ages that cadets from the royal family of Kāsi established themselves in Videha.

SECTION IV. THE DECCAN IN THE AGE OF THE LATER VAIDEHAS

The expression "Dakshināpadā" occurs in the Rig-Veda1 and refers to the region where the exile goes on being turned out. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the south" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. Dākshinātya is found in Pāṇini, Dakshināpatha is mentioned by Baudhāyana coupled with Surāshtra.3 It is difficult to say what Pāṇini or Baudhāyana exactly meant by Dākshinātya or Dakshināpatha. In early Pāli literature the name Dakshināpatha is sometimes coupled with Avanti (Malwa), and in one text it is placed on the banks of the upper Godavari. In the Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, Dakshināpatha is placed beyond Avanti and the Vindhyas, and to the south of the Vidarbhas and the (Southern) Kosalas. The last mentioned peoples lived on the banks of the Wardha and the Mahānadī. In the Digvijaya-parva, Dakshināpatha is distinguished from the Pāṇḍyan realm in the southernmost part of the Madras Presidency. In the Gupta Age it certainly stretched from the land of the Kosalas to the kingdom of Kāñchī. In later times it embraced the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India from the Setu (Adam's Bridge) to the Narmadā.

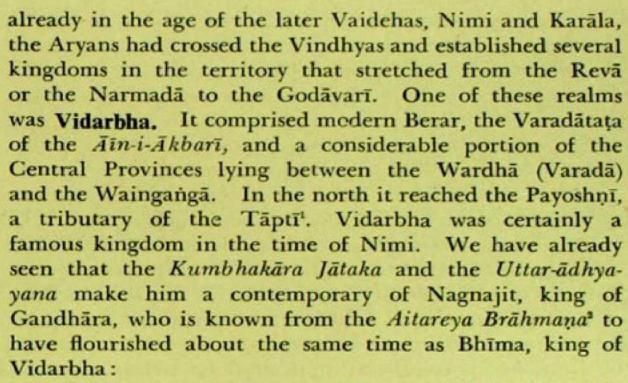
Whatever may have been the exact denotation of the terms discussed above in the earliest times it is certain that

¹ X. 61. 8. Vedic Index, I. 337.

[#] IV. 2. 98.

³ Baudh. Satra, I. 1. 29.

⁴ DPPN, 1, 1050; Mbh. II. 31. 16-17; III. 61. 21-23. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta; Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 341 n. The Periplus distinguishes Dachinabades (Dakshināpatha) from Damirica (Tamil land).



"Etamu haiva prochatuḥ Parvata-Nāradau Somakāya Sāhadevyāya Sahadevāya Sārñjayāya Babhrave Daivāvṛidhāya Bhīmāya Vaidarbhāya Nagnajite Gāndhārāya."

"This Parvata and Nārada proclaimed to Somaka Sāhadevya, Sahadeva Sārñjaya, Babhru Daivāvridha, Bhīma Vaidarbha (i.e. of Vidarbha) and Nagnajit of Gandhāra."

Vidarbha, therefore, existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. From the Purāṇic account of the Yadu family it appears that the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage. The country is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. It was famous for its Māchalas, perhaps a species of dog, which killed tigers—"Vidarbheṣu mācalās sārameyā apīha śārdūlān mārayanti." The Praśna Upanishad mentions a sage of Vidarbha named Bhārgava as a contemporary of Āśvalāyana. Another sage called Vidarbhī Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. The name Kauṇḍinya is appar-

¹ Mbh. III. 61. 22-23; 120. 31.

² VII. 34.

³ Matsya Purāṇa, 44. 36; Vāyu Purāṇa, 95. 35-36.

⁴ II. 440: Ved. Ind., II. 297.

^{*} JAOS, 19, 100.

[.] I. 1; II. 1.

⁷ Vedic Index, II. 297.

ently derived from the city of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha,¹ represented by the modern Kauṇḍinya-pura on the banks of Wardhā in the Chāṇḍur tāluk of Amraoti.³ The association of Vidarbha with Kuṇḍina clearly suggests that Vidarbha of the Vedic texts lay in the Deccan, and not in some hitherto unknown region outside its boundaries as contended by a well-known writer.³

If the evidence of the Kumbhakāra Jātaka has any value, then Nimi, king of Videha, mentioned in the work, Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra, and Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, must be considered to have been contemporaries of Karandu of Kalinga. It follows from this that the kingdom of Kalinga too, was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmana period. The evidence of the Jātaka is confirmed by that of the Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta, makes Sattabhu, king of Kalinga, a contemporary of Renu, king of Mithila and of Dhatarattha, or Dhritarashtra, king of Kasi, mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaņa.5 There can thus be no doubt that Kalinga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brahmanas speak. It is mentioned both by Pāṇinis and Baudhāyana.7 The latter regards it as an impure country but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans. According to epic tradition it comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitarani'

¹ Mbh., III. 73. 1-2; V. 157. 14; Harivarhša, Vishņuparva, 59-60.

² Gaz., Amraoti, Vol. A. p. 406.

³ Indian Culture, July, 1936, p. 12. Curiously enough, the same writer, who characterises the provisional acceptance of the uncontradicted testimony of the Purāṇas and lexicons in locating tribes mentioned in Vedic literature as unhistorical, has no hesitation in identifying the Satvats of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Yādavas and in placing them in the Mathurā region and adjoining districts (ibid., 15). He has not referred to any Vedic text which supports his conjecture regarding the identity of the Satvats and their association with the particular city named by him.

Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270.

⁵ XIII. 5. 4. 22.

⁶ IV. I. 170.

⁷ I. I. 30-31.

⁵ There was a considerable Brahmana population in Kalinga in the days of Asoka (cf. Edict XIII).

⁹ Mbh., III. 114. 4.



in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory. The southern boundary of the Janapada was not well-defined. It reached Yellamanchili and Chipurupalle in Vizagapatam district and at times even Pishţapura or Pithapuram, north-east of the Godavari, but not the river itself which flowed through the Andhra country. Pargiter says that Kalinga as a settled kingdom appears to have consisted properly of the plain between the Eastern Ghats (Mahendra range) and the sea. But its kings seem to have exercised suzerainty over the Jungle tribes which inhabited the hills far inland, for the Amarakantaka range, in which the Narmada rises, is said to be in the western part of Kalinga. That large tracts of the country were covered with forests appears from references to Kalingāranya in Pāli texts. The windows of the capital city in the days of Kālidāsa looked out on the sea, and the deep roar of the waves drowned the sound of trumpets.1 In the days of Yuan Chwang Kalinga occupied a much smaller area. It is distinguished from Wu-t'u (Orissa) and Kung-yü-t'o (Kongoda in the Ganjam district) in the north, and An-to-lo (Andhra or Vengī) in the south, and seems to have embraced parts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. We learn from the Jātakas that an ancient capital of Kalinga was Dantapura-nagara.' The Mahābhārata mentions Rājapura as the metropolis.3 The Mahāvastu' refers to another city named Simhapura.

¹ Ind. Ant., 1923, 67; Ep. Ind. XII. 2; JASB, 1897, 98 ff; Kürma, p. II. 39. 9; Pädma, Svarga-Khaṇḍa, VI. 22; Vāyu, 77, 4-13; Malalasekera, DPPN. 584; Raghuvaṁśa, vi. 56.

² Cf. Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 361. Danta-pura-vāsakāt; Dantakūra, Mbh. V. 48. 76. Dandagula (Pliny. M'Cridle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, p. 144). The name of the city probably survives in that of the fort of Dantavaktra near Chicacole in the Gañjām district. Many other Kalinga capitals stood in the same district, e.g., Simhapura (Singupuram) near Chicacole, Dubreuil, A.H.D., p. 94. Kalinga-nagara (Mukhalingam on the Vamsadharā, Ep. Ind., IV. 187; Kalinga-pātam is preferred in Ind. Ant., 1887, 132; JBORS, 1929, pp. 623 f. But the arguments adduced are not all plausible).

³ XII. 4. 3.

^{*} Senart's edition, p. 432.

The Jaina writers mention a fourth town called Kam-

chanapura.1

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to another southern realm, namely, Assaka or Aśmaka on the God(h)āvarī, which existed in the time of the monarchs Reņu and Dhata-raṭṭha (Dhṛita-rāshṭra). It was ruled by king Brahmadatta who held his Court at Potana.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa alludes¹ to princes of the South who are called Bhojas and whose subjects are called Satvats: "dakshiṇasyām diśi ye ke cha Satvatām rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Bhoj-etye-nān-abhishiktān-āchakshata—" "in the southern region whatever kings there are of the Satvats, they are anointed for Bhaujya; 'O Bhoja' they style them when consecrated (in accordance with the action of the deities)." In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice are referred to. These Satvats must have been living near Bharata's realm, i.e., near the Ganges and the Yamunā. But in the time of

1 Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375. The Bhūmikhanda of the Padmapurāņa (47. 9)

mentions Śrīpura as a city in Kalinga.

² Sutta Nipāta, 977. SBE, X, pt. ii, 184 Cf. Asmagi (Bomb. Gaz. I. 1. p. 532; Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, 145) of classical writers. Asmaka is also mentioned by Pāṇini, IV. I. 173. As the name signifies "the stony region", it can hardly refer to Aśvaka, the land of the Assakenoi in the north-west, which the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, connects with the Sanskrit asva, and Iranian aspa, horse. The Commentator Bhattasvāmin identifies Aśmaka with Mahārāshtra. The capital was Potali or Potana (Chullakālinga Jātaka No. 301; Assaka J. (207); D. 2. 235; Parisishta parvan, I. 92. nagare Potanābhidhe. Bomb. Gaz. I. 1. 535; Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, 74; Mbh. 1. 177. 47; cf. Pāḍana of Lūders' List, 616, and N. G. Majumder's List, 658 (Monuments, p. 365-Visākhasa Pādā(m)yasa). Dr. Sukthankar points out that the Paudanya of the printed editions of the Mahābhārata is a late corruption. The older Mss. give the name as Potana or Podana. This name reminds one of Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions which lies to the south of the confluence of the Manjira and the Godavari. The city of Podana is said to have been founded by a prince of the Ikshvāku family, who is the eponymous hero of the land of Asmaka. The neighbouring people of Mūlaka also claimed Ikshvāku descent (Vāyu, 88. 177-178).

³ VIII. 14.

⁴ XIII. 5. 4. 21.

⁵ Ibid., XIII. 5. 4. 11.



the Aitareya Brāhmana they probably moved farther to the south. They are placed in the southern region (dakshinā dis) beyond the "fixed middle region"—the land of the Kurus, Pañchālas and some neighbouring tribes. The Pañchāla realm, according to epic testimony, extended as far south as the Chambal.1 The Satvat people of the "southern region" mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmana, therefore, in all probability, lived beyond that river. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brāhmanic statements, accords with Puranic evidence. It is stated in the Puranas that the Satvat(a)s and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family which dwelt at Mathura on the banks of the Yamuna.2 We are further told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha.3 We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and the last-mentioned territory. A place called Bhojakata, is included within Vidarbha both by the Mahābhāratas and the Harivamsa. The Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakata territory included the Ilichpur district in Berar, a part of ancient Vidarbha. As pointed out by Dr. Smith, the name of Bhojakata, 'castle of the Bhojas,' implies that the province was named after a stronghold formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka.' Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamsas calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja."

But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The

¹ Mbh., I. 138. 74; Dakshināmschāpi Pānchālān yavach Charmanvati nadī.

² Matsya 43. 48; 44. 46-48; Vayu, 94. 52; 95. 18; 96. 1-2 Vishnu, IV. 13. 1-6.

Mat., 44. 36; Vayu, 95. 35-36.

¹ V. 157. 15-16. 5 Vishnu parva, 60. 32.

⁶ JRAS., 1914. p. 329.

⁷ In Ind. Ant., 1923, 262-63, Bhojakata is identified with Bhat-kuli in the Amraoti district.

^{*} V. 39-40.

^{*} Cf. also Mbh., V. 48. 74; 157. 17; Harivarilla, Vishnu parva, 47. 5.

Aitareya Brāhmaņa refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled Dandaka. A passage in the Kauţilīya Arthaśāstra¹ runs thus:—

"Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām abhimanyamānas sabandhu-rāshṭro vinanāśa"—a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya, or king of Daṇḍaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka³ that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki (Daṇḍaka) had its capital at Kumbhavatī. According to the Rāmāyaṇa³ the name of the metropolis was Madhumanta, while the Mahāvastu⁴ places it at Govardhana (Nāsik).

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the treatises called Brāhmaṇas, many kingdoms in the south, both Aryan and non-Aryan, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Daṇḍaka, as well as Aśmaka and Kaliṅga. With the exception of these organised states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (dasyu) tribes such as the Andhras, śavaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas.5

In the opinion of Dr. Smith the Andhras were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. Mr. P. T. Śrīnivās Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā valleys. Dr. Bhandarkar points out that the Serivāṇij Jātaka places Andhapura, i.e., the pura or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha which he

¹ Ed. 1919, p. 11.

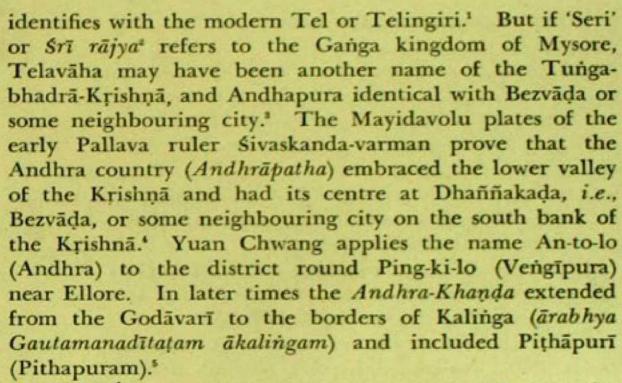
¹ No. 522.

¹ VII. 92. 18.

⁴ Senart's Edition, p. 363.

⁵ Ait. Br., VII. 18.

^{*} Ind. Ant., 1913, pp. 276-78.



The Savaras and the Pulindas are described in the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas as Dakshiṇā-patha-vāsinaḥ, inhabitants of the Deccan, together with the Vaidarbhas and the Dandakas:

Teshām pare janapadā Dakshinā-patha-vāsinah

Kārūshāścha saha-Ishīkā Āṭavyāḥ Śavarās tathā
Pulindā Vindhya-Pushikā (?) Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha.
Ābhīrāḥ saha cha-Ishīkāḥ Āṭavyāḥ Śavarāścha ye
Pulindā Vindhya-Mūlikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha.

3 Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, 38. 'Seri' may also refer to \$17

Vijaya or śrī Vishaya (Sumatra ?).

The name Telavāha, oil-carrier, reminds one of the passages "Vikhyāta-Krishņā-verņā (=Krishņā)-taila-snehopalabdha-saralatva' (IA, VIII. 17, cf. Ep. XII. 153)—"with a smoothness caused by sesame oil of the famous (river) Krishnā."

4 Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. VI. 85) identified the city with Amarāvatī. Burgess suggested Dharanikota which lies about 18 miles to the westward from Bezvāda, on the right bank of the Krishnā. Fergusson, Sewell and Watters prefer Bezvāda itself (Yuan Chwang, II. 216). In the days of the great Chinese pilgrim An-to-lo (Andhra) had its capital at Ping-ki-lo or Vengīpura in the Krishnā district.

¹ Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 71. There is also a river called 'Ter' in South India, Ep. Ind., XXII. 29.

⁵ Watters: II. 200f IA, xx, 93; Ep. Ind., IV. 357.

⁶ Matsya, 114, 46-48.

⁷ Väyu, 45. 126.

The Mahābhārata also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Savaras in the Deccan:

Dakshinā-patha-janmānah sarve naravar-Āndhrakāh Guhāh Pulindāh Savarās Chuchukā Madrakaih (?) saha.

The precise position and extent of the country of the Savaras in the Brāhmaṇa period cannot be shown. They are usually identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the Savaralu, or Sauras of the Vizagapatam Hills, and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory.²

The capital of the Pulindas (Pulinda-nagara) probably lay to the south-east of the Daśārṇas' who dwelt on the river Dasān (Dhasan) in Bundelkhand.

The location of the territory of the Mūtibas, another Dasyu tribe mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa along with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Śavaras, is not so certain. Pliny refers to a tribe called "Modubae," and places them along with other peoples between the "Modogalingae," who inhabited a very large island in the Ganges and the Andaræ (Andhras). The Modubae are associated with the Molindae and the Uberae, perhaps corresponding to the Pulindas and the Śavaras of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. In the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* the Mūtibas are called Mūvīpa or Mūchīpa. It is not altogether improbable that the last name is connected with that of the river Musi in the Deccan on which Hyderabad now stands.

¹ Mbh., XII. 207. 42.

² Ind. Ant., 1879, p. 282; Cunn. AGI, new ed., pp. 583, 586; The Imp. Gaz., The Indian Empire, I, 384. Savaras are also found in the south-east portion of the district of Raipur (JASB, 1890, 289), in Sambalpur and Ganjam (ibid., 1891, 33), the western part of the Cuttack district as well as the north-western portion of Vizagapatam (ibid., 1897, 321).

³ Mbh., II. 5-10.

⁴ JASB, 1895, 253; Kālidāsa places them in the Vidišā or Bhilsa region (Meghadūta, 24-25).

⁵ M'Crindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, p. 139-140.

⁶ XV. 26, 6.

¹ Cf. Mūshikas, Pargiter, Mārkandeya Purāņa, p. 366.



CHAPTER III. MAHĀJANAPADAS AND KINGSHIP

SECTION I. THE SIXTEEN MAHAJANAPADAS

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political condition of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy, probably early in the sixth century B.C., to the rise of Kosala under Mahākosala, the fatherin-law of Bimbisara, about the middle of that century. But we learn from the Buddhist Anguttara Nikāya that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the "Solasa Mahājanapada." These states were: -

1.	Kāsi (Kāśi)	
2.	Kosala (Kośala)	
0	Anga	

4. Magadha 5. Vajji (Vriji)

6. Malla 7. Chetiya (Chedi) 8. Vamsa (Vatsa)

9. Kuru 10. Pañchāla

11. Machchha (Matsya)

12. Śūrasena

13. Assaka (Asmaka)

14. Avanti 15. Gandhāra 16. Kamboja

These Mahājanapadas flourished together during a period posterior to Karāla-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, apparently rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely, Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan empire in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtrat gives a slightly different

list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas:

Anga 1. 2. Banga (Vanga) 3. Magaha (Magadha) 4. Malaya 5. Mālava (ka)

Achchha

7. Vachchha (Vatsa)

8. Kochchha (Kachchha?) 10. Lādha (Lāţa or Rādha)

Pāḍha (Pāṇḍya or Pauṇḍra)

1 PTSI., 213; IV, 252, 256, 260. The Mahawastu (I. 34) gives a similar list, but omits Gandhara and Kamboja, substituting in their place Sibi and Dasarņa in the Punjab (or Rājputānā) and Central India respectively. A less complete list is found in the Jana-wasabha-suttanta.

2 Saya xv Uddessa I (Hoernle, the Uvāsagadasāo, II Appendix); W. Kirfel,

Die Kosmographie Der Inder, 225.

11. Bajji (Vajji) 12. Molī (Malla)

13. Kāsi (Kāśi)

14. Kosala 15. Avāha

16. Sambhuttara (Sumhottara ?)

It will be seen that Anga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the Bhagavatī is probably identical with Avanti of the Anguttara. Molī is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavatī are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the Bhagavatī clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Anguttara. We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka.

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas Kāsi was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kāsi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several Jātakas bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The Guttila Jātaka² says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues³ whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.⁴ Several Kāsi monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of the chief king of all kings (sabbarājunam aggarājā), and lord of the whole of India (sakala-Jambudīpa).⁵ The Mahāvagga also mentions the fact that Kāsi was in former

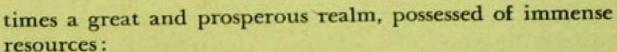
¹ Mr. E. J. Thomas suggests (History of Buddhist Thought, p. 6) that the Jaina author who makes no mention of the northern Kambojas and Gandhāras but includes several south Indian peoples in his list, "wrote in South India and compiled his list from countries that he knew." If the writer was really ignorant of the northern peoples his Mālavas could not have been in the Punjāb and must be located in Central India. In that case his account can hardly be assigned to a very early date.

² No. 243.

³ Dvādasa-yojanikam sakala-Bārāṇasī-nagaram"—Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Sarabha-miga J., 483; Bhūridatta J., 543.

Suruchi., J., 489; Vidhurapandita J., 545.

⁵ Bhaddasāla Jātaka, 465; Dhonasākha Jātaka, 353.



"Bhūtapubbam bhikkhave Bārānasiyam Brahmadatto nāma Kāsirājā ahosi addho mahaddhano mahābhogo mahadbalo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripunnakosa-kotthāgāro."

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāsi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their Tirthankara Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvīra, i.e., in or about 777 B.C.

Already in the Brāhmaṇa period a king of Kāsi, named Dhritarāshtra, attempted to offer a horse-sacrifice, but was vanquished by śatānīka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāśis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.² Some of the other Kāsi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the Brahāchatta Jātaka3 a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Sāvatthī and took the king prisoner. The Kosāmbī Jātaka, the Kunāla Jātaka, and the Mahāvagga refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the Brahmadattas of Kāsi.7 The Assaka Jātaka8 refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka on the Godāvarī, as a city of the kingdom of Kāsi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kāsi. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Anga and Magadha. In the

¹ Mahāvagga, X, 2. 3; Vinaya Piţakam, I, 342.

² Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 19.

³ No. 336.

⁴ No. 428.

⁵ No. 536.

⁶ SBE., Vol. XIII, pp. 294-99-

The reference in the Mahābhārata (I. 105. 47 ff; 106. 2. 13; 113. 43; 114. 3f; 126. 16; 127. 24) to Kasi princesses, the mothers of Dhritarashtra and Pāṇḍu, as Kausalyā, possibly points to the traditional union of the two realms of Kāsi and Kosala in the period when part of the epic was compiled. The expression Kāsi-Kauśalya already occurs in the Gopatha Brāhmana (Vedic Index. I. 195).

⁸ No. 207.

⁹ No. 582.

Mahābhārata¹ Pratardana, king of Kāsi, is said to have crushed the power of the Vītahavyas or Haihayas.² In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the Jātakas and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many Jātakas and the Mahāvagga clearly proves that Kāsi was at one time a great, almost an imperial power, stronger than many of its neighbours including Kosala.

We learn from the *Bhojājāniya Jātaka*³ that 'all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares. Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediæval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

The Kingdom of Kosala as we have seen, was bounded on the west by the Gumti, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river, on the east by the Sadānīrā which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepāl hills. It included the territory of the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, possibly on the Gumti, and that of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Tarai. In the Sutta Nipāta the Buddha says, "Just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala." They are Ādichchas

¹ XIII. 20.

² Dr. Bhandarkar points out that several Kāsi monarchs, who figure in the Jātakas, are also mentioned in the Purāṇas, e.g., Vissasena of Jātaka No. 268. Udaya of Jātaka No. 458, and Bhallāṭiya of Jātaka No. 504 are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Vishvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallāṭa. Matsya, 49. 57 et seq. Vāyu, 99. 180 et seq.; Vishṇu, IV. 19. 13.

No. 23.
 Jätaka, 181.

⁵ Ram. II. 49. 11-12; 50. 1; VII. 104. 15.

⁶ Anguttara Nikāya, I. 188 (PTS); IC. II. 808. In the Rig-veda, V, 61, the Dālbhyas, a family or clan closely connected with the Keśins (who possibly gave their name to Kesaputta), are placed on the Gumti.

⁷ SBE., X, Part II, 68-69.

^{*} Kosalesu niketino. As pointed out by Rhys Davids and Stede, Niketin means 'having an abode,' 'being housed,' 'living in,' cf. J. III, 432—duma-sākhā-niketinī.

Belonging to the Aditya (Solar) race (cf. Lüders, Ins., 929 i)

by family, śākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures." The Majjhima Nikāya,1 too, mentions the Buddha as a Kosalan:

"Bhagavā pi Kosalako aham pi Kosalako"

The political subjection of the Śākyas to the king of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. is clear from the evidence of the Aggañña Suttantat and the introductory portion of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka.3

Kosala proper contained three great cities, namely Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī, besides a number of minor towns like Setavya' and Ukkattha.' Ayodhya (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayū now included in the Fyzabad district. Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā, but Professor Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster. Savatthi is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Achiravatī or Rāptī called Sāhēţ-Māhēţ, which is situated on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the present Uttar-Pradesh.'

In the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Purāṇas the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvāku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Kusinārā," at Mithilā" and at Vīśālā or Vaiśālī.10 A prince named Ikshvāku is mentioned in a passage of the

¹ II. 124.

² Dīgha Nikāya, III (PTS), 83; Dialogues, III. 80.

³ No. 465; Fausboll, IV. 145.

⁴ Pāyāsi Suttanta.

⁵ Ambattha Sutta.

Buddhist India, p. 39.

⁷ Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, 1924, 6. 469; Smith, E. H. I., 3rd ed., p. 159. The royal palace at \$ravasti overlooked the Achiravati (DPPN, II, 170n).

The Kuša Jātaka, No. 531. The Mahāvastu (III. 1) places an Ikshvāku

king in Benares-Abhūshi Rājā Ikshvāku Vārāņasyārh mahābalo.

² Vayu P., 89. 3.

¹⁰ Rāmāyaņa, I. 4. 11-12.

Rig-Veda.¹ In the Atharva-Veda² either this king, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero. The Purāṇas give lists of kings of the Aikshvāka dynasty from Ikshvāku himself to Prasenajit, the contemporary of Bimbisāra. The names of many of these kings are probably found in the Vedic literature. For example:—

Mandhātri Yuvanāśva³ is mentioned in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.⁴ Purukutsa³ is referred to in the Rig-Veda.⁴ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ he is styled an Aikshvāka.⁴ Trasadasyu,³ too, finds mention in the Rig-Veda.⁴ Tryaruṇa¹¹ is also mentioned in the same Veda.¹¹ In the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa¹³ he is called an Aikshvāka Triśaṅku¹¹ is referred to in the Taittirīya Upanishad.¹⁵

Hariśchandra¹⁶ figures in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹⁷ and is styled Aikshvāka. Rohita, the son of Hariśchandra¹⁸ is also alluded to in the same Brāhmaṇa.¹⁹ Bhagīratha²⁰ figures prominently in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa under the slightly different name of Bhageratha²¹ and is called Aikshvāka and 'Ekarāţ' (sole ruler). Under the name of Bhajeratha he is probably referred to in the Rig-Veda²² itself. Ambarīsha²³ is mentioned in the same Veda.²⁴ The name Rituparṇa²⁵ finds mention in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.²⁵ Daśaratha and Rāma²⁷ bear names that are known to the Rig-Veda.²⁵ But these personages and a few others men-

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15 1. 10. 1.
1 X. 60. 4.
2 XIV. 39. 9.
                                           16 Vāyu, 88. 117.
                                           17 VII. 13. 16.
1 Vāyu 88. 67.
4 I. 2. 10 et seq.
                                           18 Vāyu, 88. 119.
5 Vāyu, 88. 72.
                                           19 VII. 14.
6 I. 63. 7; 112. 7, 14; 174. 2, VI. 20. 10.
7 XIII. 5. 4. 5.
                                           20 Vāyu, 88. 167.
                                           21 IV. 6. 1 ff.
* Cf. reference to the Rig-Veda,
 IV. 42. 8 in this connection.
                                           22 X. 60. 2.
9 Väyu, 88. 74.
                                           23 Väyu, 88. 171.
                                           24 I. 100. 17.
10 IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3, etc.
11 Väyu, 88. 77.
                                           25 Vāyu, 88. 173.
12 V. 27.
                                           26 XVIII. 12 (Vol. II, p. 357).
13 XIII. 3. 12.
                                           27 Vāyu, 88. 183-184.
14 Vāyu, 88, 109.
                                           28 I. 126. 4: X. 98. 14.
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tioned above are not connected in the Vedic texts with the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala.

Hiranyanābha Kausalya,1 is mentioned in the Prasna Upanishad as a rājaputra or prince.2 He is undoubtedly connected with Para Atnāra (Ahlāra), the Kosala-Videhan king, mentioned in a gāthā (song) occurring in the Satapatha Brāhmana and the Śānkhāyana Śrauta Śūtra, as well as a passage of Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa.5 The gāthā as quoted in the Śatapatha Brāhmana gives to Para the patronymic 'Hairanyanābha', while the Śrauta Śūtra identifies Para with Hiranyanabha himself. It is difficult to say whether the original gatha extolling the deeds of Para Āṭṇāra (Āhlāra) gave to that conqueror the name 'Hiranyanābha' or the patronymic 'Hairanyanābha.' The Satapatha Brāhmana is the older of the two works mentioning the prince's exploits and is, therefore, more likely to preserve the original text than the sūtra. According to the Praśna Upanishad, Hiranyanabha, the father, was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja,6 who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana.' If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthī mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya* as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in sixth century B.C. Consequently Hiranyanabha and his son, Hairanyanābha too, must have flourished in that century.

¹ Väyu, 88. 207.

² VI. 1. In the Jaim. Up. Br. II. 6. he (cf. Sānkh. Sr. Sutra, XVI. 9. 13) or his son (Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 4) is styled a māhārāja. Too much significance should not be attached to the designation rajaputra (as distinguished from raja). In the Mbh. V. 165. 18, Brihadvala is a rājā of Kosala (Kausalya). In a later passage of the epic (XI. 25. 10) the same ruler is referred to as Kosalānāmadhipatim rājaputram Brihadbalam,

³ XIII. 5. 4. 4. Atnārasya Parah putro'svam medhyamabandhayat Hairanyanabhah Kausalyo disah purna amamhata (iti).

⁴ XVI. 9. 13.

⁵ II. 6.

⁶ VI. 1.

⁷ Praśna, I. 1.

⁸ II. 147 et seq.

Some of the later princes of the Puranic list, e.g., śākya, Suddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula and Prasenajit, are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The exact relations of Hiranyanābha (and Hairanyanābha) with Prasenajit, who also flourished in the sixth century B.C. are not known. The Puranic chroniclers make Hiranyanabha an ancestor of Prasenajit, but are not sure about his position in the dynastic list.1 Further they refer to Prasenajit as the son and successor of Rāhula, and grandson of Siddhārtha (Buddha). This is absurd, because Prasenajit was of the same age as the Buddha and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvāku line. Tibetans represent him as the son of Brahmadatta. It is clear that no unanimous tradition about the parentage of Prasenajit and the position of Hiranyanabha in the family tree has been preserved. Hiranyanābha, or preferably his son, performed an Asvamedha sacrifice and was apparently a great conqueror. Is this ruler identical with the "Great Kosalan" (Mahākosala) of Buddhist tradition? If he really flourished in the sixth century B.C., he may have been identical with 'Mahākosala' of Buddhist texts.

Pargiter admits that several Purāṇic passages make Hiraṇyanābha (and therefore also his son) one of the "future" kings after the Bhārata battle. He was the only prince of antiquity who is styled in the Vedic literature both a Kausalya and a Vaideha. That description admirably fits Mahākosala whose daughter, the mother of Ajātaśatru according to Buddhist tradition, is called Kosalādevī as well as Vedehī (Vaidehī).

A word may be added here regarding the value of the Purāṇic lists. No doubt they contain names of some real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects, defects which are apt to be forgotten by writers who make these the basis of early Indian chronology.

¹ AIHT, 173.

¹ Essay on Gunādhya, p. 178.

^{*} AIHT, 178.



- (1) Ikshvākuids of different branches and perhaps princes of other tribes, e.g., Trasadasyu, king of the Pūrus, Pituparņa, king of Śaphāla, Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, have been mixed up in such a way as to leave the impression that they formed a continuous line of monarchs who ruled in regular succession.
- (2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, e.g., Prasenajit, king of śrāvastī, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhārtha and Rāhula, though he was actually a contemporary of Siddhārtha, i.e., the Buddha, and belonged to a separate line of the Ikshvākuids.
- (3) Certain individuals have been omitted, e.g., Vedhas (father, or ancestor of Hariśchandra), Para Āṭṇāra (unless he is identical with Hiraṇyanābha), and Mahākosala.

(4) Names in the list include Śākya, the designation of a clan, and Siddhārtha (Buddha) who never ruled.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Purāṇic chronicles who actually ruled over Kosala. Some of the earlier princes, e.g., Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Rohita, Rituparṇa and a few others, are omitted from the list of the kings of Ayodhyā given in the Rāmāyaṇa. We gather from the Vedic literature that many, if not all, of these monarchs ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or princes in the Purāṇic list who are known from the Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some outlying part of it, are Hiraṇyanābha, Prasenajit and Śuddhodana.

¹ Rig-Veda, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3. ² Baud. Srauta Sūtra, XVIII. 12 (Vol. II, p. 357); Apas. Sr. Sūtra, XXI. 20. 3. Rituparņa is, however, not distinctly called an Aikshvāka. But from the rarity of the name it is possible to surmise that the epic and Purāṇic king of that designation is meant.

³ I. 70. ⁴ In the Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 4-5. Hairaņyanābha is described as Kausalyarāja, but not as an Aikshvāka. On the other hand Purukutsa Daurgaha is styled Aikshvāka-rājā but not as Kausalya, as if a distinction between Kausalyas

The Buddhist works mention a few other sovereigns of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Purāṇic accounts. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa, and the rest at Śrāvastī. Of the princes of Ayodhyā, the Ghaṭa Jātaka¹ mentions Kālasena. A Kosalarāja reigning in Sāketa is mentioned in the Nandiyamiga Jātaka.¹ Vaṅka, Mahākosala and many others¹ had their capital at Sāvatthī or Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in the Buddha's time,⁴ but Sāketa and Śrāvastī were included among the six great cities of India.⁵

The chronology of ancient Kosala is in a state of utmost confusion. If the Purānas are to be believed, a prince named Divākara occupied the throne of Ayodhyā in the time of Adhisīma-Krishņa, great-great-grandson of Parikshit. But, as has already been pointed out above, the princes who are mentioned as his successors did not form a continuous line of rulers who reigned over the same territory in regular succession. It is, therefore, a hopeless task to measure the distance separating him from the Buddha and his contemporary with the help of the traditional dynastic lists alone. It is also not known when the older capitals were abandoned in favour of Śrāvastī. But it must have been some time before the accession of Prasenajit, the contemporary of the Buddha, of Bimbisāra, and of Udayana of Kauśāmbī, supposed to be a descendant of Adhisīma-Krishna.

and Aikshvākas is meant. The two terms need not refer to kings of the same dynasty ruling over exactly the same territory. As a matter of fact Trasadasyu is known to be a king of the Pūrus. An Ikshvākuid styled Vārshņa, connected with the Vṛishṇis (?), is mentioned in Jaim. Up. Br. 1. 5. 4.

¹ No. 454.

² No. 385.

² E.g., the Kosalarāja of J. 75; Chatta (336); Sabbamitta (512); and Prasenajit.

^{*} Buddhist India, p. 34.

⁵ Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E., XI, p. 99.

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We learn from the Mahāvagga¹ that during the period of the earlier Brahmadattas of Kāsi, Kosala was a poor and tiny state with slender resources: Dīghīti nāma Kosalarājā ahosi daliddo appadhano appadhogo appabalo appavāhano appavijito aparipuṇṇa-kosa-koṭṭhāgāro.

In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., however, Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kāsi, and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of the upper Ganges valley. The history of these struggles is reserved for treatment in later sections. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

Aṅga was the country to the east of Magadha and west of the chieftains who dwelt in the Rajmahal Hills (Parvatavāsinaḥ). It was separated from Magadha (including Modāgiri or Monghyr) by the river Champā, probably the modern Chāndan. The Aṅga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and probably extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka describes Rājagriha as a city of Aṅga. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata refers to an Aṅga king who sacrificed on Mount Vishṇupada (probably at Gayā). The Sabhāparva mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one Vishaya or kingdom. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara says that Viṭaṅkapur, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea. The imperial glory of Aṅga is doubtless reflected in the

¹ S.B.E., XVII, p. 294.

² According to Pargiter (JASB, 1897, 95) Anga comprised the modern districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr, and also extended northwards up the river Kauśikī or Kośī and included the western portion of the district of Purnea. For it was on that river that Kāśyapa Vibhāndaka had his hermitage. His son Rishyaśringa was beguiled by courtesans of Anga into a boat and brought down the river to the capital. In Mbh. ii. 30. 20-22, however, Modāgiri (Monghyr) and Kauśikī-Kachchha had rulers who are distinguished from Karna whose realm (Anga) clearly lay between the Māgadhas and the Rājās styled Parvatavāsin.

³ No. 545.

^{4 29. 35.} JASB, 1897. 94.

^{5 44. 9:} cf. VI. 18. 28. Angas and Prāchyas.

^{6 25. 35; 26. 115; 82. 3-16,}

songs of the Aitareya Brāhmaņa' which describe the 'worldconquest' (Samantam sarvatah prithivīm jayan) of one of its ancient kings in the course of which girls of aristocratic families (ādhya-duhitri) were brought as prizes from different climes.

Champa, the famous capital of Anga, stood at the confluence of the river of the same name' and the Ganges.3 Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhāgalpur two villages, Champānagara and Champāpura, which most probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the Mahābhārata, the Purānas and the Harivamsa that the ancient name of Champā was Mālinī: 4

> Champasya tu puri Champā yā Maliny-abhavat purā.

In the Jātaka stories the city is also called Kāla-Champā. The Mahā-Janaka Jātakas informs us that Champa was sixty leagues from Mithila. The same Jātaka refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls. Down to the time of Gautama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rājagriha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, and Benares.5 Champa was noted for its wealth and commerce, and traders sailed from it to Suvarna-bhūmi in the Trans-Gangetic region for trading purposes.7 Hindu emigrants to southern Annam and Cochin China are supposed to have named their settlement after this famous Indian city."

¹ Ait. Br. VIII. 22. 2 Jātaka, 506.

³ Mbh., iii. 84. 163; 307. 26 (Gangāyāh Sūtavishayam Champamanu yayau purim); Watters, Yuan Chwang, II. 181; Dalakumāra Charita, II. 2.

⁴ Matsya, 48. 97; Vayu, 99. 105-106; Hariv., 31. 49; Mbh., XII. 5. 6-7; XIII. 42. 16.

[#] No. 539. 6 Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta.

⁷ Jātaka, 539. Fausboll's Ed., VI, p. 34. ⁸ Ind. Ant., VI. 229, Itsing, 58, Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 35. Nundolal Dey, Notes on Ancient Anga, JASB, 1914. For the Hindu colonisation of Champa, see Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, pp. 137 ff. and R. C. Majumdar, Champa. The oldest Sanskrit inscription (that of Vo-can) dates, according to some scholars, from about the third century A.D. . The inscription mentions a king of the family of \$rī Māra-rāja.



Other important cities in Anga were Assapura (Aśvapura)

and Bhaddiya (Bhadrika).1

The earliest appearance of Anga is in the Atharva Veda² in connection with the Gandharis, Mūjavats, and Magadhas. The Rāmāyaṇa tells an absurd story about the origin of this Janapada. It is related in that epic that Madana or Ananga, the god of love, having incurred the displeasure of the God Siva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (anga)" has since been known by the name of Anga.3 The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas attribute the foundation of the kingdom to a prince named Anga. The tradition may claim some antiquity as Anga Vairochana is included in the list of anointed kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.5 The consecration of this ruler with the Aryan ritual styled the Aindra mahābhisheka causes some surprise as the Bodhāyana Dharma Sūtra groups the Angas with peoples of mixed origin, and the Mahābhārata brands an Anga prince who, by the way, is distinguished from Karna, and is described as skilful in handling elephants, as a Mlechchha or outlandish barbarian. In the Matsya Purāṇa the father of the eponymous hero of the Angas is styled Dānavarshabhah (chief among demons).6

3 JASB, 1914, p. 317; Rām., I. 23. 14.

Mbh. 1. 104. 53-54; Matsya P., 48. 19.

Dašanāgasahasrāni dattvā!reyo' vachatnuke śrantah parikuțan praipsad danen Angosya Brahmanah.

The epithet 'Vairochana' given to the Anga King reminds one of

'Vairochani' of the Matsya P., 48, 58.

¹ Malalasekera, DPPN, 16; Dhammapada Commentary, Harvard Oriental Series, 29. 59. Cf. Bhaddiya (Bhadrika or Bhadrika of Jaina writers). It is possibly represented by Bhadariya, 8 miles south of Bhagalpur (JASB, 1914. 337)-

⁵ VIII. 22; cf. Pargiter, JASB, 1897, 97. In connection with the gifts of the Anga King mention is made of a place called Avachatnuka:

⁶ Bodh. Dh. S., I. 1. 29; Mbh. VIII. 22. 18-19; Mat. P., 48. 60. Note also the connection of Angas with Nishādas in Vāyu, 62, 107-23. The Purāņa describes the royal family as Atrivamsasamutpanna. In the Aitareya Brahmana, however, an Atreya appears as the priest of the Anga King. For a discussion of the origin of the Angas and other kindred tribes, see S. Lévi, pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l' Inde, J. A. Juillet-septembre, 1923.

About the dynastic history of Anga our information is meagre. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to king Dhatarattha of Anga.1 The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gaggarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Champa. The Puranas give lists of the early kings of this country. One of these rulers, Dadhivāhana, is known to Jaina tradition. The Puranas and the Harivamsa represent him as the son and immediate successor of Anga. Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Chandanā or Chandrabālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvīra had attained the Kevaliship. Satānīka, king of the Vatsas of Kausambī, near Allahabad, is said to have attacked Champa, the capital of Dadhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order.

Between the Vatsas and the realm of Anga lived the Magadhas, then a comparatively weak people. A great struggle was going on between this kingdom and its great eastern neighbour. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka describes Rājagṛiha, the Magadhan capital, as a city of Anga while the Mahābhārata refers to a sacrifice which an Anga king probably performed at Gayā. These details may indicate that Anga succeeded in annexing Magadha. Its frontier thus approached the Vatsa Kingdom whose monarch's alarm may have been responsible for an attack on Champā. The Anga king preferred to have friendly relations with Kausāmbī, possibly because he was threatened by the reviving power of Magadha. Śrī Harsha speaks of a ruler of Anga named Dṛiḍhavarman who gave

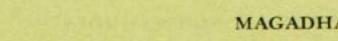
¹ Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270.

² Matsya, 48. 91. 108; Vāyu, 99. 100-112.

^{3 32. 43.}

^{*} JASB, 1914, pp. 320-21. For the story of Chandanabālā see also Ind, Culture, II. pp. 682 ff.

⁵ Champeyya Jātaka.
6 Cowell, VI. 133.



his daughter in marriage to Udayana, son and successor of Śatānīka¹ and secured his help in regaining his throne.

The success of Anga did not last long. About the middle of the sixth century B. C. Bimbisāra Śrenika, the Crown Prince of Magadha, is said to have killed Brahmadatta, the last independent ruler of Ancient Anga. He took Champa, the capital, and resided there as his father's Viceroy.2 Henceforth Anga becomes an integral part of the growing empire of Magadha.

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayā districts of South Bihār. It seems to have been bounded on the north and the west by the rivers the Ganges and the Son, on the south by spurs of the Vindhyan range, and on the east by the river Champa which emptied itself into the Ganges near the Anga capital.3 Its earliest capital was Girivraja, the mountaingirt city, or old Rājagriha, near Rājgir among the hills in the neighbourhood of Gaya. The Mahavaggas calls it "Giribbaja of the Magadhas" to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, e.g., Girivraja in Kekaya. The Mahābhārata refers to it not only as Girivraja, but as Rājagriha, Bārhadratha-pura and Māgadha-pura, and says that it was an almost impregnable city, puram durādharsham samantatah, being protected by five hills, viz. Vaihāra, the grand rock (Vipulah śailo), Varāha,

¹ Priyadaršikā, Act IV.

² Hardy, A Manual of Buddhism, p. 163n (account based on the Tibetan

Dulva), JASB, 1914, 321,

³ Mbh. II. 20. 29: Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta (Dialogues ii. 94) and DPPN, I. 331 which show that the Vriji frontier commenced from the northern bank of the Ganges as Ukkāvelā or Ukkachelā, was included within the limits of that state; Champeyya Jātaka (506); Fleet, CII, 227; DPPN, 403. In the epic period the eastern boundary of Magadha proper may not have extended as far as the Champā river as Modāgiri (Monghyr) finds mention as a separate state.

Broadley in JASB, 1872, 299. Girivraja was at one time identified with Giryek on the Panchana river about 36 miles north-east of Gaya, 6 miles east of Räjgir (Pargiter in JASB, 1897, 86).

⁵ S. B. E., XIII. 150.

⁶ Mbh. I. 113. 27; 204. 17; II. 21. 34; III. 84, 104.

⁸ Goratham girimāsādya dadršur Māgadham puram, II, 20. 30; 21. 13.

Vrishabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka¹ with their compact bodies (rakshantīvābhisamhatya samhatāngā Girivrajam). From the Rāmāyana we learn that the city had another name, Vasumatī.² The Life of Hiuen Tsang mentions still another name, Kuśāgra-pura.³ Indian Buddhist writers give a seventh name, Bimbasāra-purī.⁴

In a passage of the Rig-Veda's mention is made of a territory called Kīkaṭa ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yāska's declares that Kīkaṭa is the name of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kīkaṭa is given as a synonym of Magadha.'

Like Yāska the author of the Brihad-dharma Purāṇa apparently regarded Kīkaṭa as an impure country which however, included a few holy spots:—

Kīkaţe nāma deśe' sti Kāka-karṇākhyako nṛipaḥ prajānām hitakṛinnityam Brahma-dveshakarastathā tatra deśe Gayā nāma puṇyadeśo' sti viśrutaḥ nadī cha Karṇadā nāma pitṛīṇām svargadāyinī Kīkaṭe cha mṛito' pyesha pāpabhūmau na samśayaḥ It is clear from these verses that Kīkaṭa included the Gayā district, but the greater part of it was looked upon

¹ The names given in the Pāli texts (DPPN, II, 721) are Pāṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla (or Vaṅkaka). The Pāli evidence may suggest that Vipula in the Mbh. verse is a name, and not an epithet. In that case Dr. J. Wenger suggests Chaityakapañchakāḥ (five goodly Chaityakas) for Chaityakapañchamā (with Chaityaka as the fifth). For a note by Keith see IHQ, 1939, 163-64.

³ I. 32. 8.

³ P. 113. Apparently named after an early Magadhan prince (Vāyu. 39, 224; AIHT, 149).

Law, Buddhaghosha, 87 n.

⁵ HL. 53. 14.

⁶ Nirukta, VI, 32.

¹ Kīkaţeshu Gayā puṇyā puṇyam Rājagṛiham vanam Chyāvanasyāśramam puṇyam nadī puṇyā Punaḥpunā.

Cf. Väyu, 108. 73; 105. 23. Bhāgavata Purāņa, 1. 3. 24: Buddho nāmnāñjanā-sutaḥ Kīkaţeshu bhavishyati: ibid. vii. 10, 19; Śrīdhara: "Kīkaţeshu madhye Gayā-pradeśe". Abhidhāna-chintāmaņi: "Kīkatā Magadhāhvayāḥ." For an epigraphic reference to Kīkaţa see Ep. Ind. II. 222, where a prince of that name is connected with the Maurya family. See also 'Kekaţeyaka' (Monuments of Sānchi, I. 302).

Madhya-Khandam, XXVI. 20, 22.

^{*} XXVI. 47; cf. Vayu P. 78. 22, Pādma Pātālakhanda, XI. 45.



as an unholy region (pāpabhūmi, doubtless corresponding to the anārya-nivāsa of Yāska). Kāka-karņa, of line 1, may be the same as Kāka-varņa of the Śaiśunāga family.

The name Magadha first appears in the Atharva-Veda' where fever is wished away to the Gandharis, Mūjavats, Angas and Magadhas. The bards of Magadha are, however, mentioned as early as the Yajur-Veda. They are usually spoken of in the early Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the Vrātya book of the Atharva Samhitā,3 the Vrātya, i.e., the Indian living outside the pale of Brāhmanism, is brought into very special relation to the pumischalī (harlot) and the Māgadha. "In the eastern region (Prāchyām diśi)" faith is his harlot, Mitra his Māgadha (bard or panegyrist). In the Srauta Sūtras the equipment characteristic of the Vrātya is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brāhmaņical community, to the so-called Brāhmanas living in Magadha, Brahmabandhu Māgadhadesīya.5 The Brāhmaṇas of Magadha, are here spoken of in a disparaging tone as Brahmabandhu." In the Sānkhāyana Āranyaka, however, the views of a Magadhavāsī Brāhmaņa are quoted with respect. The Vedic dislike of the Magadhas in early times was due, according to Oldenberg⁷, to the fact that the Magadhas were not wholly Brāhmanised. Pargiter suggests' that in Magadha the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of Pramaganda no king of Magadha appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature. The earliest dynasty of Magadha according to the

¹ V. 22. 14.

² Vāj. Sam. XXX. 5; Vedic Index, II. 116. For the connection of the Māgadhas with Magadha, see Vāvu P. 62. 147.

XV. ii. 5-Sraddhā Pumschalī Mitro Māgadho...etc.; Griffith, II. 186.

Cf. Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 112.

⁵ Vedic Index, II, 116.

⁶ Note also the expression rājānah kshatra-bandhavah applied to Magadhan kings in the Purāṇas (Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 22).

^{*} Buddha, 400 n.

* JASB, 1897, 111; JRAS, 1908, pp. 851-53. Bodh. Dh. Sūtra, I. i. 29
refers to Angas and Magadhas as sankīrņa-yonayaḥ, "of mixed origin".

Mahābhārata' and the Purāṇas is that founded by Bṛihadratha, the son of Vasu Chaidya-Uparichara, and the father of Jarasandha. Rāmāyana makes Vasu himself the founder of Girivraja or Vasumatī. A Brihadratha is mentioned twice in the Rig-Veda,3 but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of Jarasandha. The Puranas give lists of the "Brihadratha kings" from Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva to Ripuñjaya, and apparently make Senajit, seventh in descent from Sahadeva, the contemporary of Adhisīma-Krishna of the Pārikshita family and Divākara of the Ikshvāku line. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Purāṇic chronology and order of succession of the princes as authentic. Brihadrathas and certain princes of Central India are said to have passed away when Pulika (Punika) placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti,5 i.e., the Ujjain territory. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and as the Purāņic passage, "Brihadratheshvatīteshu Vītihotreshu-Avantishu, 'when the Brihadrathas, Vītihotras and Avantis (or the Vītihotras in Avanti) passed away'," suggests that the events alluded to here were synchronous, it is reasonable to conclude that

¹ I. 63. 30.

² I. 32. 7.

³ I. 36. 18; X. 49. 6.

⁴ Cf. supra, pp. 80 f, 104, discussion about later Vaideha and Kosalan kings. The number of 'the future Bṛihadrathas' is given as 16. 22 or 32, and the period of their rule, 723 or 1000 years (DKA, 17, 68). The last King Ripuñjaya or Ariñjaya (iòid. 17, 96) reminds one of Arindama of the Pāli texts (DPPN, ii. 402).

Expression of the Kali Age, p. 18: cf., IHQ, 1930, p. 683. There is no reason to believe with the late authors of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara and certain corrupt passages of the Purāṇas, (IHQ, 1930, pp. 679, 691), that there was a Pradyota of Magadha distinct from Mahāsena of Avanti who is called Pradyota by several earlier writers, Buddhist as well as Brāhmaṇical. The use of the expression 'Avantishu' (DKA, 18) in the Purāṇic passage which refers to the dynastic revolution brought about by Pulika, the identity of the names of the Purāṇic family of Pradyota with those of the Avanti line of Mahāsena, and the mention in reference to Pradyota of the Purāṇas, of epithets like 'Praṇata-sāmanta' and 'nayavarjita' which remind one irresistibly of Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti as described in Buddhist literature, leave little room for doubt that the Pradyota of the Purāṇas and Pradyota of Avanti cannot be regarded as distinct entities.



the Brihadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth

century B.C.

Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagriha named Samudra-vijaya and his son Gaya. Gaya is said to have reached perfection which had been taught by the Jinas. But little reliance can be placed on uncorroborated assertions of this character.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the less corrupt texts of the Purāṇas, was the Śaiśunāga line which is said to have been founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra, the contemporary of the Buddha, is assigned to this family. Aśvaghosha, an earlier authority,² refers however, in his Buddha-charita³ to Śrenya, i.e., Bimbisāra, as a scion, not of the Śaiśunāga dynasty, but of the Haryaṅka-kula, and the Mahāvaṁśa makes 'Susunāga', i.e., Śiśunāga, the founder of a distinct line of rulers which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The Purāṇas themselves relate that Śiśunāga "will take away the glory of the Pradyotas" whom we know from other sources to be contemporaries of the Bimbisārids:—

Ashţa-trimśachchhatam bhāvyāḥ Pradyotāḥ pañcha te sutāḥ hatvā teshām yaśaḥ kritsnam Śiśunāgo bhavishyati.

If this statement be true, then śiśunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, who was, judged by the evidence of the Pāli texts, which is confirmed in important details by the ancient Sanskrit poets and dramatists, a contemporary of Bimbisāra and his son. It follows that śiśunāga according to the last-mentioned authorities, must be later than those kings.

¹ S.B.E. XLV. 86. A king named Gaya is mentioned in Mbh., vii. 64. But he is described there as a son of Amūrtarayas.

² Aśvaghosha was a contemporary of Kanishka (c. 100 A.D.) (Winternitz, Ind. Lit., II. 257). On the other hand the Purāṇic chronicles pre-suppose Gupta rule in the Ganges Valley (DKA, 53), c. 320 A.D.

³ XI. 2; Raychaudhuri, IHQ, I. (1925), p. 87.

⁴ Vāyu Purāņa, 99; 314. 5 Indian Culture, VI. 411.

But we have seen above that the Purānas make Śiśunāga an ancestor of Bimbisara and the progenitor of his family. This part of the Purāṇic account is not corroborated by independent external evidence.1 The inclusion of Vārānasī and Vaiśālī within Śiśunāga's dominions proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan rule in those regions. The Mālālankāravatthu, a Pali work of modern date, but following very closely the more ancient books, tells us that śiśunāga had a royal residence at Vaiśālī which ultimately became his capital.3 "That monarch (Śiśunāga) not unmindful of his mother's origin' re-established the city of Veśālī (Vaiśālī), and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagriha lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered. The last statement indicates that Śiśunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagriha, i.e., the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. It may be argued that the Purāņas make Girivraja, and not Vaiśālī, the abode of Śiśunāga (Vārāṇasyām sutam sthāpya śrayishyati Girivrajam); and as Udāyin, son of Ajātaśatru was the first to transfer the capital from that stronghold to the newly founded city of Pāṭaliputra, Śiśunāga's residence in the older capital points to a date earlier than that of the founder of the more famous metropolis. But the fact that Kālāśoka, son and successor of Śiśunāga, is known to have ruled in Pāṭaliputra shows that he came after Udāyin, the founder of that city. The further fact of removal of

ete sarve bhavishyanti
ekakālam mahīkshitam (DKA, 24).
Dynasties of the Kali Age, 21; S.B.E., XI, p. xvi.

If the Dvātrimsat-Puttalikā is to be believed, Vaisālī continued to be graced by the presence of the king till the time of the Nandas.

¹ We may go even further and characterise certain statements of the Purăņic bards as self-contradictory. Thus (a) Pradyota is said to have been anointed when the Vītihotras had passed away, (b) Siśunāga destroyed the prestige of the Pradyotas and became king, and yet (c) contemporaneously with these saiśunāga kings 20 Vītihotras (and other lines) are said to have endured the same time.

^{*} Śiśunāga, according to the Mahāvarhšaţīkā (Turnour, Mahāwarhša, xxxvii), was the son of a Lichchhavi rāja of Vaišālī. He was conceived by a nagarašobhinī and brought up by an officer of state.



capital in his reign too—which must be regarded as a second transfer¹—shows that his predecessor had reverted to the older stronghold apparently as a place of refuge. The event alluded to in the words "śrayishyati Girivrajam" need not necessarily imply that Girivraja continued to be the capital uninterruptedly till the days of Śiśunāga.

The origin of the Haryańka line, to which Bimbisāra belonged according to Aśvaghosa, is wrapped up in obscurity. There is no cogent reason why this dynastic designation should be connected with Haryańga of Champā mentioned in the Harivaṁśa² and the Purāṇas. Haryaṅka-kula may simply be an expression like "aulikara-lāñchhana ātma-vaṁśa" of a Mandasor Inscription, pointing to the distinctive mark or emblem of the family.³ Bimbisāra was not the founder of the line. The Mahāvaṁśa states that he was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old.⁴ He avenged a defeat of his father⁵ by the Aṅgas and launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga.

The Vajji (Vṛiji) territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepāl hills. On the west the river Gaṇḍak possibly separated it from the Mallas and perhaps also the Kosalas. Eastwards, it may have approached the forests that skirted the river Kośī and the Mahānandā. It

¹ SBE, XI, p. xvi.

^{2 31, 49;} Vāyu, 99, 108; J.C. Ghosh in ABORI, 1938 (xix), pp. i. 82.

³ Hari has the sense of 'yellow', 'horse', 'lion', 'snake', etc.

Geiger's translation, p. 12. This disposes of the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Carm. Lec., 1918) who makes Bimbisara the founder of his dynasty and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis.

of the father. The Tibetans, on the other hand, call him Mahāpadma. Turnour, Mahāwamsa, I. p. 10; J. A. S. B., 1872, i. 298; 1914, 321; Essay on Guṇādhya, p. 173. The Purāṇas name Hemajit, Kshemajit, Kshetrojā or Kshatraujā as the father of Bimbisāra. If the Purāṇic account is correct Bhātiya or Bhattiya may have been a secondary name or epithet comparable to the names 'Seniya' and Kūṇiya of Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru respectively. But it is not safe to rely on an uncorroborated statement of the Purāṇas, particularly when there is hardly any unanimity with regard to the form of the name.

is said to have included eight confederate clans (atthakula), of whom the old Videhas, the Lichchhavis, the Jñātṛikas and the Vṛijis proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted that in a passage of the Śūtrakṛitāṅga, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas and the Kauravas are associated with the Jñātṛis and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly. The Aṅguttara Nikāya, too, refers to the close connection of the Ugras with Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛijian confederation.

The old territory of the Videhas had, as already stated in an earlier section, its capital at Mithilā which has been identified with Janakpur within the Nepāl border. The Rāmāyaṇa clearly distinguishes it from the region round Vaiśālī. But in Buddhist and Jaina texts the distinction is not always maintained and Videha is used in a wider sense to include the last-mentioned area.

The Lichchhavi capital was definitely at Vaiśālī which is represented by modern Besarh (to the east of the Gaṇḍak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār. It is probably identical with the charming city called Viśālā in the epic.⁵

Viśālām nagarīm ramyām divyām svargopamām tadā.

We learn from the introductory portion of the Ekapanna Jātaka that a triple wall encompassed the town, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The Lichchhavi territory may have extended northwards as far as Nepāl where we find them in the seventh century A.D.

¹ S. B. E., XLV, 339. cf. Hoerne, Uvāsaga-dasāo, II. p. 138, fn. 304.

² I. 26; III. 49; IV. 208.

³ Rām. I. 47-48.

The Achārānga Sūtra (II. 15, § 17; S. B. E., XXII, Intro.) for instance places the Samnivesa of Kundagrāma near Vaisālī in Videha. The mothers of Māhavīra and Ajātasatru are called Videha-dattā and Vedehī (Vaidehī) respectively.

⁵ Rām. Ādi, 45. 10.

⁶ No. 149.



The Jnātrikas were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, the Jina. They had their seats at Kuṇḍa-pura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of Vaiśālī. In the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta,¹ however, the abode of the "Nādīkas" (identified by Jacobi with the Nātikas or Jñātṛikas)² is distinguished from Koṭigāma (Kuṇḍagrāma?). Though dwelling in suburban areas Mahāvīra and his fellow clansmen were known as "Vesālie," i.e., inhabitants of Vaiśālī.³

The Vriis proper are already mentioned by Pāṇini. Kautilyas distinguishes them from the 'Lichchhivikas'. Yuan Chwange too, draws a distinction between the Fu-lichih (Vriji) country and Fei-she-li (Vaiśālī). It seems that Vriji was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of its constituent clans. But the Vrijis, like the Lichchhavis, are often associated with the city of Vaiśālī (including its suburbs) which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.7 A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill8 mentions the city proper as consisting of three districts. These districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining peoples of the confederacy, viz., the Ugras, Bhogas, Kauravas, and Aikshvākas resided in suburbs, and in villages or towns like Hatthigama, Bhoganagara, etc.3

¹ Ch. 2.

² S. B. E. XXII, Intro.

³ Hoernle Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, p. 4 n.

⁴ IV. 2. 131.

⁵ Arthasastra, Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378.

Watters, II, 81. Cf. also DPPN, II. 814; Gradual sayings, III. 62; IV. 10. According to Smith (Watters, II. 340) the Vriji country is roughly equivalent to the northern part of the Darbhanga district and the adjacent Nepalese Tarai.

⁷ Cf. Majjhima Nikāya, II. 101: The Book of the Kindred Sayings, I. (Samyutta Nikāya), by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 257—"A certain brother of the Vajjian clan was once staying near Vesālī in a certain forest tract".

⁸ Life of Buddha, p. 62.

For the Ugras and Bhogas see Hoernle, Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, p. 139 (210); Brih. Up. III. 8. 2; S. B. E., XLV, 7ln, in the Anguttara Nikāya, I. 26 (Nipāta I. 14. 6), the Ugras are associated with Vaisālī (Uggo gahapati Vesāliko), and

We have seen that during the Brāhmaṇa period Videha (Mithilā) had a monarchical constitution. The Rāmāyana1 and the Purānas2 state that Viśālā, too, was at first ruled by "kings". The founder of the Vaiśālika dynasty is said to have been Viśāla, a son of Ikshvāku according to the Rāmāyaṇa, a descendant of Nabhāga the brother of Ikshvāku, according to the Purāṇas. Viśāla is said to have given his name to the city. After him came Hemachandra, Suchandra, Dhūmrāśva, Sriñjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākutstha and Sumati. We do not know how many of these Vaiśālika "kings" (nripas) can be accepted as historical and as having actually ruled as monarchs in North Bihār. A king named Sahadeva Śārñjaya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaņa.3 In the Aitareya Brāhmaņa' he is mentioned with Somaka-Sāhadevya. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaiśālī in the Vedic literature. The Mahābhārata speaks of a Sahadeva (son of Sriñjaya) as sacrificing on the Jumna,5 and not on the Gandak. The presence of Ikshvākuids as a constituent element of the Vrijian confederacy, which had its metropolis at Vaiśālī, is, however, as already stated, suggested by the Sūtrakritānga.

The Vṛijian confederation must have been organised after the decline and fall of the royal houses of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the developments in the ancient cities of Greece where also

in IV. 212 with Hatthigāma. A city of Ugga is mentioned in the Dhamma-pada commentary, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 30, 184. Hoernle refers (Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, App. III, 57) to a place called Bhoganagara, or 'City of the Bhogas'. The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta mentions Bhaṇḍagāma, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma and Bhoganagara on the way from Vaisālī to Pāvā (Digha, II, 122-26). Cf. also Sutta Nipāta, 194. The association of a body of Kauravas with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. Kuru Brāhmaṇas, e.g., Ushasti Chākrāyāṇa had begun to settle in the capital of Videha long before the rise of Buddhism. For the Aikshvākas of Vaisāli, see Ram. I. 47. 11.

¹ I. 47. 11. 17.

² Vayu, 86. 16-22; Vishnu, IV. 1. 18.

B II. 4. 4. 3.4.

^{*} VII. 34. 9.

⁵ Mbh. HI. 90. 7. with commentary.



the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics. The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury: "In some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king; in other cases if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king, although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta; of its survival as a mere magistracy, in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic in Mithilā has already been stated. Regarding the change at Viśālā we know nothing.

Several scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vṛijian confederacy (Vajjiraṭṭhavāśi hi pasatthā)¹, were of foreign origin. According to Smith they had Tibetan affinities. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead, viz., exposing them to be devoured by wild beasts.¹ Pandit S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa held that the name Lichchhavi (Nichchhivi of Manu) was derived from the

¹ DPPN, II, 814.

as against the seven tribunals of the Lichchhavis (viz. those of the Vinichchhaya mahamattas) (inquiring magistrates), the Vohārikas (jurist-judges), Suttadharas (masters of the sacred code), the Aṭṭhakulakas (the eight clans, possibly a federal court), the Senāpati (general), the Uparāja (Viceroy or Vice-Consul), and the rājā (the ruling chief) who made their decisions according to the paveņi potthaka (Book of Precedents). Further, we know very little about the relative antiquity of the Tibetan procedure as explained by S. C. Das which might very well have been suggested by the system expounded in the Aṭṭhakathā. This fact should be remembered in instituting a comparison between Tibetan and Vajjian practices. Regarding the disposal of the dead attention may be invited to the ancient practices of the 'Indus' people (Vats, Excavations at Harappā, I. ch. VI.) and the epic story in Mbh. IV. 5. 28-35.

Persian city of Nisibis.¹ The inadequacy of the evidence on which these surmises rest has been demonstrated by several writers.² Early Indian tradition is unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we read in the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta: "And the Lichchhavis of Vesālī heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusināra. And the Lichchhavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying: 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One." In the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra Triśalā, sister to Cheṭaka of Vesālī, is styled Kshatriyāṇī.³

Manu concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis

are Rājanyas or Kshatriyas.

Jhallo Mallascha rājanyād vrātyān Nichchhivireva cha Naţascha Karaṇaschaiva Khaso Drāvida eva cha.

It may be argued that the Lichchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas when they were admitted into the fold of Brāhmaņism like the Drāvidians referred to in Manu's śloka and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of mediæval times. But unlike the Pratīhāras and Dravidas, the Lichchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards the orthodox form of Hinduism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brāhmaṇical creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. Manu testifies to their heterodoxy when he brands them as the children of the Vrātya Rājanyas. The great mediæval Rājput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were

¹ Ind. Ant., 1902, 143, ff; 1908, p. 78. There is very little in Vidyābhū-shaṇa's surmise except a fancied resemblance between the names Nichchhivi and Nisibis. Inscriptions of the Achaemenids are silent about any Persian settlement in Eastern India in the sixth or fifth century B.C. The Lichchhavi people were more interested in Yaksha Chaityas and the teaching of Mahavira and the Buddha than in the deities and prophets of Irān.

¹ Modern Review, 1919. p. 50; Law, Some Kşatriya Tribes, 26ff.

³ SBE, XXII, pp. xii, 227.

⁴ X, 22,

supplied with pedigrees going back to Śrī Rāma, Lakshmana, Yadu, Arjuna and others. A body of foreigners who did not observe ceremonies enjoined in the Brahmanic code, could hardly have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Lichchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātya when they neglected Brāhmaņic rites and showed a predilection for heretical doctrines. The Rāmāyaṇa, as we have seen, represents the Vaiśālika rulers as Ikshvākuids. The Pāli commentary Paramatthajotikā' traces their origin to Benares. The comparison of the Lichchhavis to the "Tāvatimsa gods" hardly accords with the theory that represents them as kinsmen of snub-nosed peoples who lived beyond the Himalayas.1 "Let those of the brethren" we are told by a personage of great eminence "who have never seen the Tāvatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis-even as a company of Tāvatimsa gods."

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was well established in the days of Mahāvīra and Gautama, in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and was already on the wane in the next century.

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha (Mahāli), generals Sīha and Ajita, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta. In the introductory portion of the Ekapaṇṇa and Chulla Kāliṅga Jātakas it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling

¹ Vol. I. pp. 158-65.

² S. B. E., XI, p. 32; DPPN, II, 779.

³ Anguttara Nikāya. Nipāta III, 74 (P. T. S., Part I, p. 220 f.); Mahāli Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 198, Part III, p. 17. Mahāvagga, S. B. E., XVII, p. 108; Majjhima N., I. 234; 68; II. 252; The book of the Kindred Sayings, I, 295. For a detailed account of the Lichchhavis, see now Law, Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India,

^{• 149-}

^{\$ 301.}

family numbered 7,707.¹ There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. Too much importance should not be attached to these figures which are merely traditional and may simply point to the large number of mahallakas³ or elders in the clan. The real power of administration especially in regard to foreign affairs seems to have been vested in a smaller body of nine Gaṇarājās or archons. The Jaina Kalpasūtra³ refers to the nine Lichchhavis as having formed a league with nine Mallakis and eighteen clan-lords of Kāśī-Kośala.⁴ We learn from the Nirayāvalī Sūtra that an important leader of this alliance was Cheṭaka, whose sister Triśalā or Videha dattā was the mother of Mahāvīra, and whose daughter Chellanā or Vaidehī was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

² Cf. The Vajji Mahallakā referred to in Dīgha, II. 74; Anguttara. IV. 19.

3 § 128.

Nava Mallaī (Mallatī) nava Lechchhaī (Lechchhatī) Kāšī Kosatagā (variant Kosalakā) aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāyāno.

The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, ed by Hermann Jacobi, 1879, finacarita.
p. 65 (§ 128); Nirayāvaliyā Suttam (Dr. S. Warren), 1879, § 26; SBE, XXII,

1884. p. 266.

Dr. Barua is inclined to identify the nine Lichchhavis and the nine Mallakis with the eighteen gaņarājās who belonged to Kāšī and Košala. He refers in this connection to the Kalpadrumakalikāvyākhyā which represents the Mallakis as adhipas (or overlords) of Kāsī-desa, and the "Lechchhakis" as adhipas of Kośala-deśa, and further describes them as sāmantas or vassals of Chetaka, maternal uncle of Mahāvīra (Indian Culture, Vol. II. p. 810). It is news to students of Indian history that in the days of Mahāvīra the kingdoms of Kāśī and Kośala acknowledged the supremacy of the Mallas and Lichchhavis respectively, and formed part of an empire over which Chetaka presided. Even Dr. Barua hesitates to accept this interpretation of the late Jaina commentator in its entirety and suggests that the nine Mallas and the nine Lichchhavis ...derived their family prestige from their original connection with the dynasties of Kāsī and Kosala. The Paramattha-jotikā (Khuddaka-pāṭha commentary), however, connects the Lichchhavis not with the dynasty of Kośala but with that of Kasī. The divergent testimony of these late commentators shows that they can hardly be regarded as preserving genuine tradition. There is no suggestion in any early Buddhist or Jaina text that either the Lichchhavis or the Mallas actually ruled over any grama or nigama in Kāšī-Košala (see Indian Culture, II, 808). The ganarajās of Kāsī-Kosala apparently refer to the Kālāmas, Sākyas and other clans in the Kosalan empire,

Another tradition puts the number at 68,000 (DPPN, II. 781 n). The Dhammapada Commentary (Harvard Oriental Series, 30, 168) informs us that the rājās ruled by turns.

The league was aimed against Magadha. Tradition says that even in the time of the famous Bimbisāra the Vaiśālians were audacious enough to invade their neighbours across the Ganges.¹ In the reign of Ajātaśatru the tables were turned, and the great confederacy of Vaiśālī was utterly destroyed.²

The Malla territory, ancient Malla-rattha, the Mallarāshtra of the Mahābhārata,3 was split up into two main parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusāvatī or Kusinārā and Pāvā. The river Kakutthā, the Cacouthes of the classical writers, identified with the modern Kuku, probably formed the dividing line.5 The division of the people is also known to the great epic6 which draws a distinction between the Mallas proper and the Dakshina or Southern Mallas. There is no agreement among scholars regarding the exact site of Kusinārā. In the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta it is stated that the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana (outskirt or suburb)' of Kusinārā, lay near the river Hiraņyavatī. Smith identifies the stream with the Gandak and says that Kuśīnagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Rapti with the Gandak." He, however, admits that the discovery in the large stūpa behind the Nirvāna temple near Kasiā on the Chota Gandak, in the east of the Gorakhpur district, of an inscribed copper-plate bearing the words "[parini]r vāṇa-chaitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti," supports the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains near Kasiā represent Kuśī-nagara.

¹ Si-yu-ki, Bk. IX.

² DPPN, II. 781-82.

³ VI. 9. 34.
4 Kusa Jātaka, No. 531; Maha-parinibbāna Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 136 ff. 161-62.

^{*} AGI (1924), 714.

⁶ Mbh., II. 30. 3 and 12.

¹ JRAS, 1906, 659; Dīgna, 11. 137.

^{*} EHI, third ed., p. 159 n.

about 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur (AGI, 493).

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Pāvā was identified by Cunningham¹ with the village named Padaraona, 12 miles to the N.N.E. of Kasiā, and separated from it by the Bādhi Nala (identified with the ancient Kakutthā). Carlleyle, however, proposes to identify Pāvā with Fāzilpur, 10 miles S.E. of Kasiā and separated from it by the Kuku.³ In the Saṅgīti Suttanta we have a reference to the Mote Hall of the Pāvā Mallas named Ubbhaṭaka.³

The Mallas together with the Lichchhavis are classed by Manu as Vrātya Kshatriyas. They, too, like their eastern neighbours were among ardent champions of Buddhism.

Like Videha, Malla had at first a monarchical constitution. The Kusa Jātaka mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikshvāku). The name probably suggests that like the Śākyas' the Malla princes also claimed to belong to the Ikshvāku family. And this is confirmed by the fact that in the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta they are sometimes called Vāsetthas, i.e., "belonging to the Vasishtha gotra." The Mahāsudassana Sutta mentions another king named Mahāsudassana.6 These rulers, Okkāka and Mahāsudassana, may or may not have been historical individuals. But the tales that cluster round their names imply that Mallarattha was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Mahābhārata' which refers to an overlord (adhipa) of the Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled Kusāvatī. Other important cities were Anupiyā and Uruvelakappa.*

¹ AGI, 1924, 498.

² Kukutthä; AGI., 1924. 714.

^{*} DPPN, II. 194.

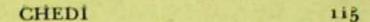
^{*} Cf. Dialogues, Part I. pp. 114-15.

⁵ Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181. Vasishtha figures in the Rāmāyaņa as the purohita of the Ikshvākuids.

⁶ S. B. E., XI, p. 248.

⁷ II. 30. 3.

^{*} Law. Some Kşatriya Tribes, p. 149. Dialogues, Pt. III (1921), 7; Gradual Sayings, IV. 293. Anupiya stood on the banks of the river Anoma which lay thirty leagues to the east of Kapilavastu. It was here that the



Before Bimbisāra's time the monarchy had been replaced by republics and the chief metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattel and daub town," a "branch township" surrounded by jungles. It was then styled Kusinārā.

The relations of the Mallas with the Lichchhavis were sometimes hostile and on other occasions friendly. The introductory story of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*³ contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian, Commander-in-chief of the king of Kośala, and 500 elders of the Lichchhavis. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, however, refers to "nine Mallakis" as having combined with the Lichchhavis, and the seigniors of Kāsi-Kośala against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus, paritah Kurūn, and lay near the Jumna. It was closely connected with the Matsyas beyond the Chambal, the Kāśis of Benares, and the Kārushas in the valley of the Śon, and is distinguished from the Daśārnas who lived on the banks of the Dhasan. In ancient times it corresponded roughly to the eastern part of modern Bundelkhand and some

future Buddha cut off his hair and put on the robes of the ascetics. (DPPN, 1, 81, 102).

1 Cf. S. B. E., XI, p. 102; Kautilya's Arthasastra, 1919, p. 378.

2 Khudda-nagaraka, ujjangala-nagaraka, sākhā-nagaraka.

³ No. 465.

* Pargiter, JASB, 1895, 253 ff; Mbh. I. 63. 2-58, IV. i. 11.

Santi ramyā janapadā
bahvannāḥ paritaḥ Kurūn
Pañchātāš-Chedi-Matsyāscha
Sūrasenāḥ Paṭachcharāḥ
Dašārṇā Navarāshṭrāšcha
Mallāḥ Sālvā Yugandharāḥ.

⁸ Mbh. V. 22, 25; 74. 16; 198. 2; VI. 47. 4; 54. 8.
8 Princesses of Daśārņa were given in marriage to Bhīma of Vidarbha and Vīrabāhu or Subāhu of Chedi (Mbh. III, 69. 14-15).

adjoining tracts. In the mediæval period, however, the southern frontiers of Chedi extended to the banks of the Narmadā (Mekala-Sutā):—

Nadīnām Mekala-sutā nripāņām Raņavigrahah kavīnām cha Surānandas Chedi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanam.

We learn from the Chetiya Jātaka³ that the metropolis was Sotthivatī-nagara. The Mahābhārata gives its Sanskrit name Śuktimatī, or Śukti-sāhvaya.⁴ The Great Epic mentions also a river called Śuktimatī which flowed by the capital of Rājā Uparichara of the Chedi-vishaya (district).⁴ Pargiter identifies the stream with the Ken, and places the city of Śuktimatī in the neighbourhood of Banda.⁴ Other towns of note were Sahajāti,³ and Tripurī,⁵ the mediæval capital of the Janapada.

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the Rig-Veda. Their king Kasu Chaidya is praised in a Dānastuti (praise of gift) occurring at the end of one hymn. Rapson proposes to identify him with 'Vasu' of the Epics.

The Chetiya Jātaka gives a legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings, taking their descent from Mahāsammata

¹ Pargiter (JASB, 1895, 253) places Chedi along the south bank of the Jumna from the Chambal on the north-west as far as Karwi on the south-east; its limits southwards may have been, according to him, the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand.

² Attributed to Rājašekhara in Jahlaņa's Sūktīmuktāvalī, Ep. Ind. IV. 280. Konow, Karpūramanjarī, p. 182.

³ No. 422.

⁴ III. 20. 50; XIV. 83. 2; N. L. Dey, Ind. Ant., 1919, p. vii of Geographical Dictionary.

s I. 63. 35.

⁴ JASB, 1895, 255, Mārkaņdeya P., p. 359.

⁷ Anguttara, III. 355 (P.T.S.). Ayasmā Mahāchundo Chetisu viharati Sahajātiyam. Sahajāti lay on the trade route along the river Ganges (Buddhist India, p. 103). Cf. the legend on a seal-die of terra-cotta found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad (Arch. Expl. Ind., 1909-10, by Marshall, JRAS, 1911, 128 f.)—Sahijitiye nigamaša, in letters of about the third century B.C. see also JBORS, XIX, 1933, 293.

^{*} Tripuri stood close to the Nerbudda not far from modern Jubbalpore. In the Haimakosha it is called Chedinagari (JASB, 1895, 249). The city finds mention in the Mbh. III. 253. 10, along with Kośalā, and its people, the Traipuras are referred in VI. 87. 9 together with the Mekalas and the Kurubindas.

⁹ VIII. 5- 37-30-

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and Māndhāta. Upachara, a King of the line, had five sons who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sīhapura, Uttarapañchāla and Daddarapura.¹ This monarch is probably identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Paurava king of Chedi, mentioned in the Mahābhārata,² whose five sons also founded five lines of kings.³ But epic tradition associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya (Kanauj) and Girivraja.⁴

The Mahābhārata speaks also of other Chedi kings like Damaghosha, his son Śiśupāla Sunītha and his sons Dhṛishṭaketu and Śarabha who reigned about the time of the Bhārata war. But the Jātaka and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

We learn from the *Vedabbha Jātaka*^s that the road from Kāśi to Chedi was unsafe being infested with roving bands of marauders.

Vamsa or Vatsa was the country south of the Ganges of which Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, on the Jumna, near Allahabad, was the capital. Oldenberg is inclined to identify the Vamsas with the Vasas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But the conjecture lacks proof. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions a teacher named Proti Kauśām-

¹ Hatthipura may be identified with Hatthinipura or Hästinapura in the Kuru country. Asssapura with the city of that name in Anga, and Sihapura with the town of Läla from which Vijaya went to Ceylon. There was another Simhapura in the Western Punjab (Watters I. 248). Uttarapanchāla is Ahichchhatra in Rohilkhand. Daddarapura was apparently in the Himalayan region. (DPPN, I. 1054).

² I. 63. 1-2.

¹ I. 63. 30.

⁴ Rāmāyaņa, I. 32. 6-9; Mahābhārata, I. 63. 30-33.

⁵ No. 48.

⁶ Rām. II. 52. 101.

⁷ Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, *Priyadaršikā*, Ixxvi; the *Bṛihat-Kathā-Sloka-Saṃgraha* (4. 14. cf. 8, 21) explicitly states that Kaušāmbī was on the Kālindī or Jumna. Ma'alasekera, DPPN, 694. The reference in one text to the position of the city on the Ganges is possibly due to its proximity to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna in ancient times, or to a copyist's error.

⁸ Buddha, 393 n.

beya¹ whom Harisvāmin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town of Kauśāmbi.¹ Epic tradition attributes the foundation of this famous city to a Chedi prince³. The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kāśi.¹ It is stated in the Purāṇas that when the city of Hāstinapura was washed away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kauśāmbī. We have already seen that the Purāṇic tradition about the Bhārata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kauśāmbī is confirmed by two plays attributed to Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī, is described in the Svapnavāsavadatta and the Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa⁵ as a scion of the Bhārata-kula.

The Purāṇas give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka, and cite the following genealogical verse:—

Brahma-kshatrasya yo yonir vamso devarshi-satkritah Kshemakam prāpya rājānam samsthām prāpsyati vai kalau.

"The family honoured by gods and sages (or divine sages), from which sprang Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas (or those who combined the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya status) will verily, on reaching Kshemaka, come to an end (or be interrupted) in the Kali Age."

The criticism that has been offered in this work in regard to the Ikshvāku and Magadhan lists of kings applies with equal force to the Paurava-Bhārata line. Here, too, we find mention of princes (e.g., Arjuna and Abhimanyu) who can hardly be regarded as crowned nripas or monarchs.

¹ Sat. Br., XII. 2. 2. 13.

² Sec p. 70 ante.

⁸ Rām., I, 32. 3-6; Mbh., I. 63. 31.

⁴ Harivamsa, 29. 73; Mbh., XII. 49. 80.

⁵ Svopna, ed. Ganapati śāstrī, p. 140; Pratijnā, pp. 61, 121.

^{*} Cf. Brahma-Kshatriyanam kula of the inscriptions of the Sena kings who claimed descent from the Lunar Race to which the Bharatas, including the Kurus, belonged.



It is also by no means improbable that, as in the case of the Ikshvākus and the royal houses of Magadha and Avanti, contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals described as lineal descendants. There is, moreover, no unanimity in regard to the names of even the immediate predecessors of Udayana, the most famous among the later kings of the family. These facts should be remembered in determining the chronology and order of succession of the Bhārata dynasty of Kauśāmbī. earliest king of the line about whom we know anything definite is Satānīka II of the Purāņic lists. His father's name was Vasudana according to the Puranas, and Sahasrānīka according to 'Bhāsa.' Śatānīka himself was also styled Parantapa.1 He married a princess of Videha as his son is called Vaidehīputra. He is said to have attacked Champa, the capital of Anga, during the reign of Dadhivāhana.3 His son and successor was the famous Udayana, the contemporary of the Buddha and of Pradyota of Avanti and therefore, of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru of Magadha.

The Bhagga (Bharga) state of Sumsumāragiri, 'Crocodile Hill', was a dependency of Vatsa.' The Mahā-bhārata' and the Harivamśa' testify to the close connection of these two territories and their proximity to the principality of a Nishāda chieftain, while the Apadāna seems to associate Bharga with Kārusha.' The evidence points to the location of Sumsumāragiri between the Jumna and the lower valley of the Son.

¹ Buddhist India, p. 3-

² Svapna-vāsavadatta, Act VI, p. 129.

¹ JASB, 1914, p. 321.

⁴ Jātaka, No. 353: Carmichael Lec., 1918, p. 63.

⁵ II. 30. 10-11.

Vatsabhūmiñcha Kaunteyo vijigye balavān balāt Bhargāṇāmadhipañchaiva Nishādādhipatim tathā.

[&]quot;The mighty son of Kunti (i.e. Bhīmasena) conquered by force the Vatsa country and the lord of the Bhargas and then the chieftain of the Nishādas".

^{\$ 29. 73.} Pratardanasya putrau dvau Vatsa-Bhargau babhūvatuh.

[&]quot;Pratardana had two sons, Vatsa and Bharga."

⁷ DPPN, II. 345-

The Kuru realm was according to the Mahā-Sutasoma jātaka¹ three hundred leagues in extent. The reigning dynasty according to the Pali texts belonged to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta, i.e., the family of Yudhishṭhira.² The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, i.e., Indraprastha or Indrapat near modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues.³ We hear also of another city called Hatthinipura,¹ doubtless, the Hāstināpura of the epic, and a number of nigamas or smaller towns and villages besides the capital, such as Thullakoṭṭhita, Kammāssadamma, Kuṇḍi and Vāraṇāvata.⁵.

The Jātakas mention the Kuru kings and princes styled Dhanañjaya Koravya, Koravya, and Sutasoma. We cannot, however, vouch for their historical existence in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king named Ishukāra ruling at the town called Ishukāra in the Kuru country. It seems probable that after the removal of the elder branch of the royal family to Kauśāmbī and the decline of the Ābhipratāriņas, the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukāra were apparently the most important. "Kings" are mentioned as late as the time of the Buddha¹¹ when one of them paid a visit to Raṭṭhapāla, son of a Kuru magnate, who had become a disciple of the Śākya Sage.

¹ No. 537.

² Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413; Dasa Brāhmaņa Jātaka, No. 495.

³ Jātaka, Nos. 537. 545.

^{*} The Buddhist Conception of Spirits; DPPN, II. 1319.

⁵ The epic (Mbh. V. 31, 19; 72, 15 etc.) has a reference to four villages, viz., Avisthala Vṛikasthala, Mākandī, Vāraṇāvata.

⁶ Kurudhamma Jātaka, No. 276; Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413; Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka, No. 545. Dhanañjaya is, as is well-known, a name of Arjuna.

[†] Dasa Brāhmana Jātaka, No. 495; Mahā-Sutasoma Jātaka, No. 537.

^{*} Mahā-Sutasoma Jātaka, Cf. the Mahābhārata, I. 95. 75 where Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma.

^{*} S. B. E.,, XLV. 62.

¹⁹ DPPN, II. 706 f.



Later on, the little principalities gave place to a Sangha possibly, a republican confederation.1

Pañchāla, as already stated, comprised Rohilkhand and a part of the Central Doab. The Mahabharata, the Jātakas and the Divyāvadāna2 refer to the division of this country into two parts, viz., Uttara or Northern Pañchāla and Dakshina or Southern Pañchāla. The Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) formed the dividing line.3 According to the Great Epic, Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhatra or Chhatravatī, the modern Rāmnagar near Aonla in the Bareilly District, while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal.4 A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañchālas for the possession of Northern (Uttara) Pañchāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañchāla was included in Kururattha (-rāshtra)5 and had its capital at Hastinapura,6 at other times it formed a part of Kampilla-rattha (Kāmpilya-rāshtra). Sometimes kings of Kāmpilya-rāshtra held court at Uttara Pañchāla-nagara, at other times kings of Uttara Pañchālarāshţra held court at Kāmpilya.*

The history of Pañchāla from the death of Pravāhaņa Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisara of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may perhaps be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha), the contemporary of Nimi," who is probably to be identified with the penultimate sovereign of Mithila.10 In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka it is stated that Durmukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha (-rāshṭra); his capital was

¹ Arthasastra, 1919, 378.

P. 485.

³ Mbh., I. 138. 70. For divisions in Vedic times see 70 f ante.

⁴ Mbh., I. 138. 73-74-

⁵ Somanassa Jātaka, No. 505; Mahābhārata, I. 138.

⁶ Divyāvadāna, p. 435.

⁷ Brahmadatta Jataka, No. 323; Jayaddisa Jataka, No. 513 and Gandatindu Iātaka, No. 520.

⁸ Kumbhakāra Jātaka, No. 408.

⁹ Jataka, No. 408.

¹⁰ Jataka, No. 541.

not Ahichchhatra but Kampilla (Kāmpilya)-nagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karaṇḍu, king of Kaliṅga, Naggaji (Nagnajit), king of Gandhāra, and Nimi, king of Videha. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹ credits him with extensive conquests and names Bṛihaduktha as his priest:—

"Etam ha vā Aindram Mahābhishekam Brihaduktha Rishir Durmukhāya Panchālāya provācha tasmādu Durmukhaḥ Panchālo Rājā san vidyayā samantam sarvataḥ

prithivim jayan parīyāya."

"This great anointing of Indra Brihaduktha, the seer proclaimed to Durmukha, the Pañchāla. Therefore, Durmukha Pañchāla, being a king, by this knowledge, went round the earth completely, conquering on every side."

A great Pañchāla king named Chulani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka,3 the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, the Svapna-vāsavadattā and the Rāmāyana.6 In the last-mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (kanyāḥ) of Kuśanābha who were made hump-backed (kubja) by the Wind-god. In the Jātaka, Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithilā. In the Uttar-ādhyayana Brahmadatta is styled a universal monarch. The story of this king is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Rāmāyaņic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Panchalas with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyākubja (Kanauj) whose name (city of the hump-

¹ VIII. 28.

² Keith, Rig. Veda Brahmanas, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25.

² 546.

⁴ S. B. E., XLV. 57-61.

⁵ Act V.

⁴ I. 32.



backed maiden) is accounted for by the curse to which the story refers.1

The Uttar-ādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king of Kāmpilya named Sañjaya who gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas.3 We do not know what happened after Sanjaya renounced his throne. But there is reason to believe that the Pañchālas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a Sangha form of government of the Rāja-śabd-opajīvin type.3

Matsya was the extensive territory between the hills near the Chambal and the forests that skirted the Sarasvatī, of which the centre was Virāta-nagara or Bairāt in the modern Jaipur State. The early history of the kingdom has already been related. Its vicissitudes during the period which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha are not known.' It is not included by the Kautilīva Arthaśāstra among those states which had a Sangha or non-monarchical form of government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The Mahābhāratas refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over the Chedis as well as the Matsyas. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Asoka have been found at Bairāt.

A family of Matsyas settled in the Vizagapatam region in mediæval times.6 We are told that Jayatsena, the lord

¹ Cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, I. 341-42. The point seems to be missed by Ratilal Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, 43 n. The name Kanyākubja or Kānyakubja is already met with in the Mahābhārata, I. 175. 3: V. 119. 4. Kānyakubjī occurs in the Mahābhāshya, IV. 1. 2. (233), along with Ahichchhatrī. Kannakujja appears in Pāli texts (DPPN, I. 498).

³ S.B.E., XLV, 80-82.

⁸ Arthasastra, 1919, p. 378. The Elders of this type of corporations or confederations took the title of Rājā. One of these rājās was apparently the maternal grandfather of Viśākha Pañchālīputra, a disciple of the Buddha (DPPN, II. 108).

^{4 66} ff ante.

⁵ V. 74. 16; cf. VI. 47, 67; 52. 9.

⁵ Dibbida plates, Ep. Ind., V. 108.

of Utkala, gave to Satyamārtaṇḍa of the Matsya family in marriage his daughter Prabhāvatī, and appointed him to rule over the Oḍḍavādi country. After twenty-three generations came Arjuna who ruled in 1269 A.D.

The Śūrasena country had its capital at Mathurā which, like Kauśāmbī, stood on the Jumna. Neither the country nor its metropolis finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisobora. Buddhist theologians make complaint about the absence of amenities in Mathurā. They were apparently not much interested in its kettledrums,¹ or in the śāṭakas (garments) and kārshāpaṇas (coins) about which Patañjali speaks in the Mahābhāshya.² A highroad connected the city with a place called Verañjā which was linked up with Śrāvastī and the caravan-route that passed from Taxila to Benares through Soreyya, Saṅkassa (Sāṅkāśya), Kaṇṇakujja (Kanyākubja or Kanauj), and Payāga-Patiṭṭhāna (Allahabad).³

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the ruling family of Mathurā is styled the Yadu or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various sects, namely, the Vītihotras, Sātvatas etc. The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, e.g., the Daivāvridhas, Andhakas, Mahā-bhojas and Vṛishṇis.

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the Rig-Veda. He is closely associated with Turvaśa and, in one place, with Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. This association is also implied by the epic and Purāṇic legends which state that Yadu and Turvaśu were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru were their step-brothers.

We learn from the Rig-veda' that Yadu and Turvasa

¹ Gradual Sayings, II, 78; III. 188.

¹ I. 2. 48 (Kielhorn, I. 19).

¹ Gradual Sayings, II, p. 66; DPPN, II. 438, 930, 1311.

Matsya, 43-44; Vayu, 94-96.

⁵ Vishnu, IV. 13. 1: Vayu, 96. 1-2.

⁴ I, 108. 8.

⁷ I. 96. 18; VI. 45. 1.



came from a distant land, and the former is brought into very special relation to the Parsus or Persians.1 The Sātvatas or Satvats also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the Satapatha Brāhmaņa2 the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha sacrifice, are referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Sarasvatī, the Jumna and the Ganges.3 The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Purāņic tradition which places them in the Mathura district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats seems to have migrated farther to the south, for in the Aitareya Brāhmana' the Satvats are described as a southern people who lived beyond the Kuru-Pañchāla area, i.e., beyond the river Chambal, and were ruled by Bhoja kings. In the Purāṇas also we find that a branch of the Satvats was styled Bhojas: -

VIII. 6. 46. Epigraphic evidence points to a close connection between Western Asia and India from about the middle of the second millennium B.C. Rig-Vedic Gods like Sürya (Shurias), Marut (Maruttash), Indra, Mitra, Varuna, the Näsatyas, and even Daksha (dakash, star, CAH. 1. 553) figure in the records of the Kassites and the Mitanni.

2 XIII. 5. 4. 21 Satānīkah samantāsu medhyam Sātrājito hayam ādatta yajñam Kāšīnam Bharatah Satvatāmiva.

The Mbh., vii. 66. 7 (mā sattvāni vijījahi) seems to miss the import of the Brāhmaņic gāthā.

3 Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11. Ait. Br., VIII. 23; Mbh., VII. 66. 8.

Ashţāsaptatim Bharato Dauhshantir Yamunāmanu
Gangāyām Vritraghne' badhnāt panchapanchāsatam hayān
Mahākarma (variant mahadadya) Bharatasya na pūrve nāpare janāh
divyam martya iva hastyābhyām (variant bāhubhyām)
nodāpuh pancha mānavā (iti).

So svamedhasateneshtvā Yamunāmanu vīryavān trisatāsvān Sarasvatyām Gangāmanu chatuhsatān.

4 VIII. 14. 3.

5 Vishnu IV. 13. 1-6. In Mbh., VIII. 7. 8. the Satvata-Bhojas are located in Anartta (Gujrāt).

It is further stated that several southern states, Māhishmatī, Vidarbha etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage.1 Not only the Bhojas, but the Devāvridha branch of the Satvatas finds mention in the Vedic literature. Babhru Daivāvridha is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmana as a contemporary of Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and of Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. The Andhakas and Vrishnis are referred to in the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini. In the Kauţilīya Arthaśāstra' the Vrishņis are described as a Sangha, i.e., a republican corporation. The Mahābhārata, too, refers to the Vrishnis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a Sangha, and Vasudeva, the Vrishni prince, as Sanghamukhya (Elder or Seignior of the confederacy). The name of the Vrishni corporation (gana) has also been preserved by a unique coin.' It is stated in the Mahābhārata and the Puranas that Kamsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and that Krishna-Vāsudeva, a scion of the Vrishņi family, killed him. The slaying of Kamsa by Krishna is referred to by Patanjali and the Ghata Jātaka. The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Krishna-Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā (Uttara Madhurā).9

Several scholars reject the identification of Krishna of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas with the historical Krishna of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (III. 17). But we should remember that—

(a) Both the Krishnas have the metronymic Devakīputra, son of Devakī, which is rare in early times.

¹ Mat., 43. 10-29; 44. 36; Vāyu, 94. 26; 95. 35.

² Vāyu, 96. 15; Vishnu., 13. 3-5.

³ VII. 34-

⁴ IV. 1. 114; VI. 2. 34.

⁵ P. 12.

⁶ XII. 81. 25.

⁷ Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 119; Allan, CCAI, pp. clvf, 281.

^{*} No. 454-

The city is so called to distinguish it from Madura in South India. The question of the historical existence of Krishna Väsudeva has been discussed in my Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, 1st ed., pp. 26-35; 2nd ed., pp. 51 ff. and my Political History of Ancient India, 1st ed., 1923, p. 312.



The final overthrow of the Vṛishṇis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to note that the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas are branded

(b) The teacher of the Upanishadic Krishņa belonged to a family (Angirasa) closely associated with the Bhojas (Rig-Veda, III, 53. 7), the kindreds of the Epic Krishņa (Mbh., II. 14. 32-34).

(c) The Upanishadic Krishna and his Guru Ghora Angirasa were worshippers of Sürya (the Sun-god). We are told in the Sāntiparva (335. 19) that the Sātvata-vidhi taught by the Epic Krishna was prāk-Sūrya-mukha-nihsrita.

(d) An Angirasa was the Guru of the Upanishadic Krishna. Angirasi Śruti is quoted as "Śrutīnāmūttamā Śrutiḥ" by the Epic Krishna (Mbh., VIII. 69. 85).

(e) The Upanishadic Krishna is taught the worship of the Sun, the noblest of all lights (jyotir-uttamamiti), high above all darkness (tamasaspari). This has its parallel in the Gītā (XIII. 18—jyotishāmapi tajjyotis tamasaḥ param uchyate).

(f) The Upanishadic Kiishna is taught to value, not any material reward (dakshinā), but rather the virtues of tapodānam ārjjavam ahimsā satyavachanam. The Gītā also eulogises action performed not for the material fruit thereof. Stress is laid in Gītā, XVI. 1-2, on the virtues enumerated in the Upanishads.

The Purāṇas no doubt represent Sāndipani, and not Ghora, as the great teacher of Kṛishṇa. But it has to be remembered that according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (V. 21. 19) Kṛishṇa went to the sage Sāndipani to learn lessons in the science of arms (astrašikshā):

Tatah Sändipanim Kāsyam Avantīpuravāsinam astrārtham jagmaturvīrau Baladeva-Janārdanau.

The Harivamsa, too, informs us (Vishnuparva, 33, 4 ff.) that the residence of Krishna, who was already a śrutidhara, with his Guru Sandipani was due to his desire of receiving lessons in the science of the bow (dhanurvedachikīrshārtham). The Veda that he learnt from this teacher is not termed akhila Veda, or Trayi, but simply sanga-Vedam, the Veda with its auxiliary treatises. The only Veda that is expressly mentioned is the Dhanurveda (and not the Trayi) together with its four divisions (chatushţāda), etc. The compilers of the Bhagavata and Brahma-Vaivarta Puranas (Bhag., X. 45. 31 ff.; BV, Janmakhanda, 101-102) introduce details about the study of all the Vedas, Upanishads, treatises on law, philosophy, polity, etc., which are not found in the relevant passage of the Vishnu Purana, which, according to critics like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, represents an earlier and more reliable tradition. Residence with Săndipani, therefore, does not conflict with the view that Krishņa accepted the discipleship of Ghora for purposes of religious and philosophical studies (see EHVS, 2nd ed., pp. 73-74. Săndîpani already knew him to be a Srutidhara (versed in the Sruti or the Vedas; Harivarisa, Vishnuparva, 33. 6).

Real discrepancies in regard to certain names are sometimes met with in Vedic and epic versions of several legends, e.g., the story of sunalsepa. But even these are not regarded as adequate grounds for doubting the identity of the leading character of the Vedic Akhyāna with that of the corresponding epic tale.

1 Mahābhārata, Maushala parva, I. 15-22; 2. 10; Arthašāstra, 1919, p. 122; Jātaka Eng. trans. IV. pp. 55-56 V. p. 138. Fausboll, IV. 87f; V. 267.

as Vrātyas, i.e., deviators from orthodoxy in the Droṇa parva of the Mahābhārata.¹ It is a remarkable fact that the Vṛishṇi-Andhakas and other Vrātya clans, e.g., the Lichchhavis and Mallas, are found in historical times on the southern and eastern fringe of the "Dhruvā Madhyamā diś" occupied by the Kuru-Pañchālas and two other folks. It is not improbable that they represent an earlier swarm of Aryans who were pushed southwards and eastwards by the Pūru-Bharatas, the progenitors of the Kuru Pañchālas. It may be remembered that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa actually refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats—the progenitors of the Vṛishṇi-Andhakas. And the Great Epic refers to the exodus of the Yādavas from Mathurā owing to pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha, and probably also from the Kurus.²

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta, king of the Śūrasenas, in the time of Mahā-Kachchāna,³ one of the chief disciples of Śākyamuni, through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. The name of the king suggests relationship with the royal house of Avanti. A king named Kuvinda is mentioned in the Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā.⁴ The Śūrasenas continued to be a notable people down to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

Assaka (Aśmaka) was situated on the banks of the Godāvarī. Its capital, Potali, Potana or Podana is possibly to be identified with Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions. This accords with its position between Mūlaka (district

^{1 141. 15.}

² Cf. Bahu-Kuruchara Mathura, Patanjali. IV. 1. 1; GEL., p. 395 n.

³ M. 2. 83, DPPN, II. 438.

^{4 3}rd ed., p. 50. He prohibited the use of harsh conjunct consonants.

⁵ Sutta Nipāta, 977.

⁶ Chulla-Kālinga Jātaka, No. 301; D. 2. 235; Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, 74; Mbh., I. 177. 47. As pointed out by Dr. Sukthankar the older mss. give the name as Potana or Podana and not Paudanya. This agrees with the evidence of the Mahāgovinda Suttanta (Assakānancha Potanam) and the Parišishta parvan (1. 92)—nagare Potanābhidhe.



round Paithan) and Kalingal to which Pali texts bear witness. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka we find Assaka associated with Avanti. This may suggest that Assaka included at that time Mūlaka and some neighbouring districts and thus its territory approached the southern frontier of Avanti.2

In the Vāyu Purāna Aśmaka and Mūlaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family, and the Mahābhārata speaks of the royal sage Asmaka (Asmako nāma rājarshiḥ) as having founded the city of Podana. This probably indicates that the Asmaka and Mūlaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvāku chiefs, just as Vidarbha and Dandaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Brahmadatta, king of the Assakas, as a contemporary of Sattabhu, king of Kalinga, Vessabhu, king of Avanti, Bharata, king of Sovīra, Reņu, king of Videha, Dhatarattha, king of Anga and Dhatarattha, king of Kāsī.

We learn from the Assaka Jātakas that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāsi, and that its prince. Assaka, was presumably a vassal of the Kāsi monarch. The Chulla Kālinga Jātaka mentions a king of Assaka named Aruna and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of

Kalinga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to the Ujjain region, together with a part of the Narmadā valley from Māndhātā to Maheshwar, and certain adjoining districts. Late Jaina writers include within its boundaries Tumbayana or Tumain in the Guna district of the Gwalior state about

1 Sutta Nipāta, 977: Jātaka No. 301.

5 No. 207.

² Cf. Bhandarkar, Carm. Lec., 1918, pp. 53-54. It appears from the Mahagovinda Suttanta that at one time Avanti extended southwards as far as the Narmada valley and included the city of Mahishmati which stood on the banks of the famous river.

^{3 88. 177-178;} Mbh., I. 177. 47-Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270. The last-mentioned prince is known to the Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 22.

50 miles to the north-west of Eran. The Janapada was divided into two parts by the Vindhyas; the northern part drained by the Siprā and other streams had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part washed by the Narmadā had its centre at Māhissatī or Māhishmatī usually identified with the rocky island of Māndhātā.

Buddhist and Jain writers mention several other cities of Avanti, viz., Kuraraghara ("osprey's haunt"), Makkarakaţa, and Sudarśanapura. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Māhissatī as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The Mahābhārata, however, distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhishmatī, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā.

The Purāṇas attribute the foundation of Māhishmatī, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, branches of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realms.

The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhishmatī as Haihaya. This family is already known to the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra and figures in the Shoḍaśa-rājika and other

¹ Iha iva Jambudvipe' päg Bhartärdha-vibhūshaņam Avantiriti dešo 'sti svargadešiya riddhibhih tatra Tumbavanamiti vidyate sannivešanam.

Parisishtaparvan, XII. 2-3.

For the position of Tumbavana, see Ep. Ind., XXVI, 115ft.

² In J. V. 133 (DPPN, I. 1050) Avanti is placed in Dakshinapatha. This is hardly reconcilable with the view that only the southern part is meant by

the expression Avanti Dakshinapatha (Bhandarkar, Carm. Lec. 54).

³ Pargiter in Mock P.; Fleet in JRAS, 1910, 4441. There is one difficulty in the way of accepting this identification. Māndhātā tay to the south of the Pāriyātra Mts. (W. Vindhyas), whereas Māhishmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Riksha—to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Riksha, according to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha (Harivamsa, II. 38. 7-19). For identification with Maheśvara, once the residence of the Holkar family, see Ind. Ant., 1875, 346ff. For Māndhātā, see ibid., 1876, 53.

4 Lüders Ins. No. 469; Gradual Sayings, V. 31; Law, Ancient Mid-Indian

Kşatriya Tribes, p. 158; DPPN, I. 193; Kathākoša, 18.

5 Narmadamabhitah, Mbh., II. 31. 10.

7 Matsya, 43, 8-29; Vayu, 94, 5-26.

⁶ Matsya, 43-44; Vāyu, 95-96; Ait. Br., VIII. 14.

^{*} Arthasāstra, p. 11; Mbh., vii. 68, 6 etc.; Saundarānanda, VIII. 45.



episodes of the epic. The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nāgas who must have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmadā region.¹ The Matsya Purāṇa mentions five branches of the Haihayas, namely Vītihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and the Tālajaṅghas.² When the Vītihotras and Avantis (or the Vītihotras in Avanti) passed away, an amātya, minister or governor, named Pulika (Puṇika), is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota in the very sight of the Kshatriyas.³ In the fourth century B. C. Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of Gandhāra included within its boundaries the vale of Kaśmīra and the ancient metropolis of Takshaśilā, which lay 2,000 leagues from Benares, but nevertheless attracted students and enquirers from the most distant provinces.

The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra princes as the descendants of Druhyu.⁵ This king and his people are mentioned several times in the Rig-Veda and apparently belonged to the north-west,⁶ a fact that accords with the Purāṇic tradition. Mention has already been made of the early king, Nagnajit, who is reported to have been a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha, Durmukha, king of Pañchāla, Bhīma, king of Vidarbha,⁷ and "Karakaṇḍu," king of Kalinga. Jaina writers tell us that those princes

¹ Cf. Nagpur; and Ind. Ant., 1884, 85; Bomb. Gaz., I. 2, 313, etc.

^{2 43. 48-49.}

We need not infer from this statement that the family of Punika sprang from one of the lower orders of society (e.g., cowherds). The point in the Puranic account is that the dynastic change was brought about by an amātya, a civil functionary (not a senāpati like Pushyamitra), and that the army (Kshatriyas) looked on, i.e., treated the matter with indifference or silent approval. In the time of Megasthenes soldiers (kshatriya, khattiya-kula) and councillors (amātyas, amachcha-kula) were distinct orders of society (cf. also blck, Ch. VI). The Tibetans style Pradyota's father Anantanemi, Essay on Guṇādhya, p. 173.

⁴ Jātaka, No. 406; Telapatta Jātaka, No. 96; Susīma Jātaka, No. 103.

⁵ Matsya, 48. 6; Väyu, 99.9.

^{*} Vedic Index, I. 385.

⁷ Kumbhakāra Jātaka; Ait. Br., VII. 34; Sat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10; Uttarā-dhyayana Sūtra. A Nagnajit also appears in the Mahābhārata as the Gandhārian contemporary of Krishna V. 48. 75). But the same epic mentions sakuni as the King of Gandhāra in the time of Krishna and the Pāṇḍavas.

adopted the faith of the Jainas. As Pārśva (777 B.C.?) was probably the first historical Jina, Nagnajit, if he really became a convert to his doctrines, should have to be placed between 777 B.C. and cir. 544 B.C., the date of Pukkusāti, the Gandhārian contemporary of Bimbisāra. The conversion to Jainism, however, does not accord with the story related in the Jātaka about his own elevation and that of his confrères to the status of Pachcheka Buddhas, or with the interest which the king or his son Svarjit2 evinced in Brāhmanic ritual. It is, however, to be noted that the views of the family in such matters were not treated with respect. The rival claims of different sects need not be taken too seriously. The only fact that emerges is that tradition knew the family to be interested in religious matters and holding views that did not strictly conform to traditional Brāhmanism.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti (Pushkarasārin), who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and waged war on Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated. He is also said to have been threatened in his own kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas who occupied a part of the Pañjāb as late as the time of Ptolemy. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C. Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Bahistān inscription of Darius, cir. 520-518 B.C., the Gandhārians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenidan or Achaemenian Empire.

Kamboja is constantly associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions.⁶ Like Gandhāra it is included

¹ SBE., XIV. 87. ² Sat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10. Vedic Index, 1. 432. ² Buddhist India, p. 28; DPPN, II. 215; Essay on Gunādhya, p. 176.

^{*}See "Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenian Inscriptions" by Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI; Old Persian Inscriptions, by Sukumar Sen; Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 334, 338.

⁵ Mbh., XII. 207. 43; Anguttara N., P. T. S., I. 213; 4. 252, 256, 261; Rock Edict V of Asoka. Quite in keeping with the association with Gandhāra, famous for its good wool (Rig. V. 1. 126, 7), is the love of Kambojas for blankets (Kambala) to which Yāska (11, 2) bears testimony. In the Pāla-Pratihāra age they are also found in Pehoa (Ep. Ind. I. 247) and Bengal.



in the *Uttarāpatha*, i.e., the Far North of India.¹ It should, therefore, be clearly distinguished from "Kambuja" in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula (i.e., Cambodia),² and must be located in some part of North-West Indo-Pakistan close to Gandhāra. The Mahābhārata connects the Kambojas with a place called Rājapura.³—"Karṇa Rājapuram gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā-stvayā."¹ The association of the Kambojas with the Gandhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the territory of that name mentioned by Yuan Chwang⁵ which lay to the south or south-east of Punch. The western boundaries of Kamboja must have reached Kāfiristān. Elphinstone found in that district tribes like the 'Caumojee,' 'Camoze,' and 'Camoje' whose names remind us of the Kambojas.⁵

¹ Cf. Mbh., XII. 207. 43. Rājatarangiņī, IV. 163-165. The chronicle does not place Kamboja to the north of Kashmir. It simply places the territory in the Uttarāpatha, and clearly distinguishes it from the land of the Tukhāras, apparently lying further to the north.

² For the Hindu colony of "Kambuja" see Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, pp. 100 ff.; B. R. Chatterji, Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia; R. C. Majumdar, Kambujadeša (Meyer Lectures).

³ Mbh., VII. 4. 5.

^{4 &}quot;Karna having gone to (gatvā) Rājapura" vanquished the Kambojas. The passage can hardly imply that Karna marched to Kamboja "via Rājapura." It is also futile to suggest that Rājapura had anything to do with Rājagriha in Bactria (as is done by a writer in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Oriental Conference, Patna, p. 109). The Rām., I. 6. 22; the Mbh., VII. 119. 14. 26, and the Mudrārākshasa, II, clearly distinguishes Kamboja from Bālhika (Bactria).

⁵ Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 284. Cunningham (AGI, 1924, p. 148) identifies Rājapura with the chiefship of Rajaori to the south of Kashmir. The fact that the Mahābhārata (II. 27) makes separate mention of Kamboja and Abhisāra (with which the Rajaori region is identified) need not mean that the two were absolutely distinct entities in all ages. Does not the Great Epic (II. 30. 24-25) distinguish between Suhma and Tāmralipti, and does not the Dašakumāra-charita with equal emphasis place Dāmalipta in Suhma? The truth is that Rajaori formed only a part of Kamboja which included other areas as well. The ruling family of Rājaurī (Rajaori) in later times were the Khaśas (Stein in JASB, 1899, Extra No. 2. 28).

Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Kābut, Vol. II, pp. 375-377; Bomb. Gaz., I. 1. 498 n; JRAS, 1843, 140; JASB, 1874, 260 n; Wilson, Vishnu P., III. 292. With the expression assānam dyatanam, 'land of horses' used by Pali texts in reference to the Kambojas (DPPN, I. 526, cf. Mbh., vi. 90. 3) may be compared to the names Aspasioi and Assakenoi given by classical writers to the sturdy tribes living in the Alishang and Swat valleys in the days of Alexander (Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 352 n).

Kamboja may have been a home of Brāhmaņic learning in the later Vedic period. The Vamsa Brāhmaņa actually mentions a teacher named Kāmboja Aupamanyava.1 The presence of Aryas (Ayyo) in Kamboja is recognised in the Majjhima Nikāya. But already in the time of Yāska the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Aryans of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect.3 We have further changes in later ages. And in Bhūridatta Jātaka' the Kambojas are credited with savage (Non-Aryan) customs:

ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā Kambojakānam vitathā bahunnan ti.5 These are your savage customs which I hate, Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.

This description of the Kambojas agrees wonderfully with Yuan Chwang's account of Rajapura and the adjoining countries. "From Lampa to Rajapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper, but are inferior peoples of frontier (i.e., barbarian) stocks."

The Kambojas in the Epic period had their metropolis probably at Rājapura. Dvārakā, mentioned by Rhys Davids as the capital in the early Buddhist period, was not really situated in this country, though it was connected with it by a road. A real city of the Kambojas was apparently Nandi-nagara mentioned in Lüders' Inscriptions Nos. 176 and 472.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But, as has already been pointed out, they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava who was probably

¹ Vedic Index, I. 127, 138; Yāska, II. 2.

² II. 149.

³ II. 2; JRAS, 1911, 801 f.

⁴ No. 543. 5 Jätaka, VI. 208.

⁶ Cowell's Jātaka, VI. 110.

Watters I. 284; for the Kambojas, see also S. Lévi: "Pré-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde," JA. 1923.

DPPN, I. 526; cf. Law: "The Buddhist Conception of Spirits," pp. 80-83.

connected with this territory. In the Mahābhārata the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchical constitution.' The Epic makes mention of their kings Chandravarman and Sudakshina. In later times the monarchy gave place to a Sangha form of government. The Kauţilīya Arthaśāstra* speaks of the Kambojas as a "vārtāśastr-opajīvin" Sangha, that is to say, a confederation of agriculturists, herdsmen, traders and warriors. Corporations of Kambojas (Kambojānāncha ye ganāh) are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata.3

SECTION II. AN EPIC ACCOUNT OF THE MAHAJANAPADAS

An interesting account of the characteristics of the peoples of most of the Mahājanapadas described above is to be found in the Karna parva of the Mahābhārata.*

The Kurus, Pañchālas, Matsyas, Kosalas, Kāśis, Magadhas, Chedis and Śūrasenas receive praise. Patriots hailing from Anga include their country in this list:

Kuravah saha Pañchālāh Śālvā Matsyāh sa-Naimishāhs Kosalāh Kāśayo' ngāścha Kalingā Māgadhāstathā Chedayaścha mahābhāgā dharmam jānanti śāśvatam brāhmam Panchālāh Kauraveyāstu dharmam

Satyam Matsyāh Sūrasenāścha yajñam.

"The Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas, the Kosalas, the Kāśis, the Angas, the Kalingas, the Magadhas, and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal Law of Righteousness is. The Pañchālas observe the Vedic code, the Kauravas the law of right conduct, the Matsyas truth, and the Śūrasenas sacrificial rites."

¹ Cf. I. 67. 32; II. 4. 22; V. 165. 1-3; VII. 90. 59, etc.

² P. 378.

¹ VII. 89. 38. Mahābhārata, VIII. 40. 29; 45. 14-16; 28; 34; 40.

⁵ The Naimishas occupied Nimsar, 20 miles from Sitapur, on the left bank of the Gumti river (Ayyar, Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India, 91).

The Magadhas comprehend hints, the Kosalas understand from what they see,—the Kurus and Pañchālas gather the sense from half-expressed words, while the śālvas need full instruction.

Ingitajñāscha Magadhāḥ prekshitajñāscha Kosalāḥ. arddhoktāḥ Kuru-Pañchālāḥ Sālvāḥ kritsnānusāsanāḥ.

The Angas had their detractors and come in for a good deal of condemnation along with the Madras and the Gandhāras:

Āturāṇām parityāgaḥ sadāra-suta-vikrayaḥ Angeshu vartate Karṇa yeshām adhipatir bhavān.

"The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karna, prevalent among the Angas whose overlord thou art."

Madrakeshu cha samsrishtam śaucham Gāndhārakeshu cha, rāja-yājaka-yājye cha nashtam dattam havir bhavet.

"Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Gāndhārakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest."

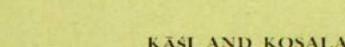
The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude, mainly of poets of the western part of the Madhyadeśa towards most of the Mahājanapadas of Northern India.

SECTION III. THE FALL OF KĀŚI AND THE ASCENDANCY OF KOSALA

Košalo nāma muditaķ sphīto janapado mahān —Rāmāyaṇa.

The flourishing period of the sixteen Mahājanapadas ended in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The history of the succeeding age is the story of the absorption of these states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely, the empire of Magadha.

Kāśi was probably one of the first to fall. The



Mahāvagga and the Jātakas refer to bitter conflicts between this kingdom and its neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kāśis seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the Mahavagga and the Kosambi Jataka it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāśi, robbed Dīghati, king of Kosala, of his realm, and put him to death. In the Kunāla Jātaka3 we are told that Brahmadatta, king of Kāśi, owing to his having an army, seized on the country of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The Brahachattat and Sona-Nanda Jātakas also refer to the victories of Kāśi monarchs over Kosala.

Success, however, did not remain long with the Kāśis.5 In the Mahāsīlava Jātaka king Mahāsīlava of Kāśi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the ruler of Kosala. In the Ghatas and Ekarāja Jātakas Vanka and Dabbasena, sovereigns of Kosala, are said to have won for their country a decided preponderance over Kāśi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kamsa, as the epithet Barānasiggaho, i.e., "seizer of Benares" or Kāśi is a standing addition to his name.10 The interval of time between Kamsa's conquest of Kāśi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāśi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in the Buddha's time and even later when the Anguttara Nikāya was composed.

¹ S.B.E., XVII, 294, 99-

² No. 428.

¹ No. 536.

⁴ No. 336.

⁵ No. 532.

⁵ No. 532.

⁷ No. 51.

⁸ No. 355

¹⁰ The Seyya Jataka, No. 282; the Tesakuna Jataka, No. 521; Buddhist 9 No. 303.

India, p. 25.

In the time of Mahākosala (about the middle of the sixth century B.C.) Kāśi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy. When Mahākosala married his daughter, the lady Kosalādevi, to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāśi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money.

In the time of Mahākosala's son and successor, Pasenadi or Prasenajit, Kāśi still formed a part of the Kosalan empire. In the Lohichcha Sutta² Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions: "Now what think you Lohichcha? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāśi and Kosala?" Lohichcha replies, "Yes, that is so, Gotama." We learn from the Mahāvagga' that a brother of Pasenadi acted as the viceroy of Kāśi.

The Samyukta Nikāya⁵ speaks of Pasenadi as the head of a group of five Rājās. One of these was probably his brother, the viceroy of Kāśi. Among the remaining princes and chiefs we should perhaps include the rājanya Pāyāsi of Setavyā mentioned in the Pāyāsi Suttanta⁶ and the ruler of the Kālāmas of Kesaputta.⁷

Another Rājā of the group was apparently the Śākya chief of Kapilavāstu. His political subordination to the Kosalan monarchs appears from several texts. The ruler of Devadaha may have ranked as another notable vassal of Kosala.

Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, 288-97.

* S.B.E., XVII, 195.

¹ Harita Māta Jātana, No. 239; Vaddhaki Sūkara Jātaka, No. 283.

³ Cf. Gradual Sayings, V. 40. "As far as the Käsi-Kosalans extend, as far as the rule of Pascnadi, the Kosalan rājā, extends, therein Pascnadi, the Kosalan Rājā, is reckoned chief."

⁵ The Book of the Kindred Sayings, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, I., p. 106.

⁶ Cf. Milinda, IV. 4. 14; the Vimāna-vatthu commentary; Law, Heaven and Hell, 79, 83. Payāsi occurs as the name of a village in a Sahet Mahet Inscription. It has been identified with a village close to the findspot of the record (Ray, DHNI, I, p. 521).

⁷ Indian Culture, II, 808; Anguttara, I, 188.

^{*} See Supra, p. 99.

⁸ Kapilavastu, Devadaha and Koliya are sometimes mentioned as three

It was probably during the reign of Mahākosala, that Bimbisāra was anointed king of Magadha. With the coronation of this famous ruler ends the period with which this part of the work deals.

SECTION IV. KINGSHIP.

We have endeavoured to give in outline the story of the political vicissitudes through which Northern India and a considerable portion of the Deccan passed from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisara. We shall now attempt a brief survey of some of the institutions of the age without which no political history is complete. We have seen that during the major part of the period under review the prevailing form of government was monarchical. The later Vedic texts and auxiliary treatises give us a few details about the rank and power of the rulers in the different parts of India, their social status, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their household, the civil and military services, the limitations of royal authority and popular participation in affairs of the state. Even when all scraps of information are pieced together, the picture is dim. The facts gleaned from Vedic sources which alone can, with confidence, be referred to the period before 500 B.C. have to be elucidated or supplemented by post-Vedic data embodying traditions about the heroic age that preceded the rise and growth of the Magadhan Empire.

The various kinds of rulership prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.1

"Etasyām Prāchyām diśi ye ke cha Prāchyānām

1 VIII. 14.

distinct states (DPPN, I, 102n). The subordination of the Sakyas to the King of Kosala necessarily implies the latter's control over Devadaha which was in part, at any rate, a Sākyan city.

rājānah Sāmrājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Samrāţ ityenānabhishiktān āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām Dakshiņāyām diśi ye ke cha Satvatām Rājāno Bhaujyā iva te'bhishichyante Bhoj-jetyenān-abhishiktān-āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām Pratīchyām diśi ye ke cha Nīchyānām Rājāno ye' pāchyānām Svārājyāyaiva te' bhishichyante Svarāţ-ityenān-abhishiktān āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām Udīchyām diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantam Janapadā Uttara-Kurava Uttara-Madrā iti Vairājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Virāţ-ityenān-abhishiktān āchakshata etā meva Devānām vihitimanu.

Etasyām dhruvāyām Madhyamāyam pratishţhāyām diśi ye ke cha Kuru-Pañchālānām Rājānaḥ sa Vaś-Ośīnarāṇām Rājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Rāj-etyenān-abhishiktān āchakshata etāmeva Devānām vihitimanu."

"In this eastern quarter, whatever kings there are of the eastern peoples they are anointed for overlordship (Sāmrājya); 'O Overlord' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In the southern quarter whatever kings there are of the Satvats, they are anointed for paramount rule (Bhaujya); 'O Paramount Ruler' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this western quarter, whatever kings there are of the southern and western peoples, they are anointed for self-rule (Svārājya); 'O Self-Ruler' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this northern quarter, the lands of the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras, beyond the Himavat, their (kings?) are anointed for sovereignty (Vairājya); 'O Sovereign' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods. In this firm middle established quarter, whatever kings there are of the Kuru-Pañchālas with the Vasas and Usīnaras, they are anointed for kingship; 'king' they style them when anointed in accordance with the action of the gods."

¹ Rig-Veda Brāhmaņas, translated by Keith, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25.



. Several scholars assert that Vairājya means a kingless state. But in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹ a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called Virāţ and worthy of Vairājya. When a king consecrated with the Punarabhisheka (renewed anointment) ascends his Āsandī or throne, he prays for attaining Vairājya as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sāyaṇa takes the word Vairājyam to mean pre-eminence among kings, itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaišishṭyam. This is virtually the sense of the word that Dr. Keith accepts in his translation.

The Sukranīti,² too, understands Virāţ to denote a superior kind of monarch. In the Mahābhārata Kṛishṇa is lauded as Samrāţ Virāţ Svarāţ and Sura-rāja.³ If the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras are to be regarded as republican, it is not because of the use of the term Vairājya, but because in their case it is not the rājan but the janapada which is said to be anointed for sovereignty. It should, however, be remembered that already in the Brāhmaṇa period Uttara-Kuru has become a devakshetra which the arms of a mortal could not reach.⁴

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms Sām-rājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya and Rājya referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brāhmaṇic period. But two terms at least, namely, Sām-rājya and Rājya are clearly distinguished from each other by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Rājā vai Rajasūyeneshţvā bhavati, Samrāḍ Vājapeyenāvaram hi Rājyam param Sāmrājyam. Kāmayeta vai Rājā Samrāḍ bhavitum avaram hi rājyam param Sāmrājyam. Na

¹ VIII. 17.

² B. K. Sarkar's Translation, p. ²1; Kautilya (VIII. ²), however, takes Vairājya to mean a system of government which comes into existence by forcible seizure of a country from the legitimate ruler for purposes of exploitation.

³ XII. 43. 11; cf. 68. 54. ⁴ Ait. Br. viii. 23. The existence of Gaņas and of Gaṇajyeshthas are hinted at Rig. V. I. 23. 8; II. 23. 1; X. 34. 12; 112. 9; \$at. Br. XIII. 2. 8.

^{4.} etc. V. 1. 1. 12-13: cf. Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XV. 1. 1, 2.

Samrāt kāmayeta Rājā bhavitum avaram hi rājyam param

Sāmrājyam.

"By offering the Rājasūya he becomes Rājā and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj, and the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj, the higher; a Rājan might indeed wish to become Samrāj, for the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; but the Samrāj would not wish to become a Rājā for the office of Rajan is the lower, and that of Samraj the higher."

In the Rig-Veda,1 and later on in the Puranas, Bhoja appears as a proper name. But the Brāhmaṇas regard it as a royal designation, applicable to the consecrated monarchs of the southern region.2 The word Cæsar furnishes a parallel. Originally the name of a Roman dictator and of members of his family, it is used, in later ages, as a title by Roman and German Emperors. As to Svārājya it is sometimes taken to mean uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to Rājya.3

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brahmanas were considered to be unsuited for kingship. Thus we read in the Satapatha Brohmana-"To the king (Rājan) doubtless belongs the Rājasūya; for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and unsuited

for kingship is the Brāhmaņa.4

Rājāa eva rājasūyam. Rājā vai rājasūyeneshţvā bhavati na vai Brāhmaņo rājyāyālam avaram vai rājasūyam param Vājapeyam.

A Brāhmana king is, however, contemplated in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaņa.5 We have references

3 Kathaka Samhita, XIV. 5; Maitrayanī Samhita, 1. 11, 5, etc., Vedic

¹ III. 53- 7-

² Bhoja' may have reference to the king or chieftain as ruler, protector or devourer of his people (Viŝāmattā). It appears as an official designation in several inscriptions of Southern India (Ind. Ant. 1876, 177; 1877, 25-28). In Mbh. 1. 84. 22, it is applied to a ruler and his family who are deprived of many of the attributes of sovereignty (arājā Bhojašabdam tvam tatra prāpsyasi sanvayah).

Index, II. 221.

V. I. I. 12; SBE, XLI; Eggeling, Sat. Br., Part III, p. 4. 5 VIII. 23 (story of Atyarāti's offer to Vāsishtha Sātyahavya).



to Śūdra, Āyogava and even non-Aryan kings in other Vedic texts. King Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is branded a Śūdra in the Chhāndogya Upanishad.¹ King Marutta Āvikshita is styled "Āyogava" in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇā.² Āyogava denotes, in legal codes, a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Śūdra by a Vaiśya wife.³ Nishāda sthapatis (kings or chieftains) figure in a Śrauta sūtra and the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa it is stated that even an anārya "obtains," prāpnoti, kings.⁴ This points either to non-Aryan kings or to the admission of anāryas into the dominions of Aryan rulers. The Jātakas and the Great Epic refer to kings of various castes including Brāhmaṇas.⁵

Kingship was sometimes hereditary, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced. Mention may be made in this connection of the Pārikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line; hereditary kingship is also suggested by the expression Daśapurushamrājya—a kingdom of ten generations—occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.⁶ But elective monarchy was not unknown.⁷ The selection was made sometimes by the people and occasionally by the ministers. The choice was ordinarily limited to the members of the royal family only, as is

¹ IV. 2. 1-5. Apparently sudra kings were not unknown in the age.

² XIII. 5. 4. 6.

³ Manu-Samhita, X. 12.

⁴ Vedic Index, I. 454; Ram. II. 50. 32; 84. 1. Jaim. Up. Br., 1. 4. 5.

⁵ Cf. Jātakas, 73. 432. Mbh., i. 100. 49f: 138. 70.

^{*}XII, 9. 3. 1-3; cf. also the reference to the birth of an heir to the throne (Ait. Br. VIII. 9) and to the king as Rājapitā, VIII. 17.

^{**}Reference may be made in this connection to the passages of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (e.g., VIII. 12) describing the choice and consecration of divine rulers (Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories, 1927, p. 26), and notices of royal election in post-Vedic texts looking back to an early period, e.g., *Mbh., *I. 94. 49—rājatve tain prajāḥ sarvā dharmajāa iti vavrire. The expression king-maker (rāja-kartyi, *Ait. Br., VIII. 17; *Sat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7) points to the important part played by officials including headmen of villages in the choice of the ruler. Both in the Vedic texts (*Ait. Br., VIII. 12) and the epic emphasis is laid on the possession of moral qualities. The leader on whom the choice falls is ojishṭha, balishṭha, sahishṭha, sattamaḥ, pārayishnutama, dharmajāa. In the fourth century B, C, physical beauty carried the palm in one territory (Kathaia in the Punjab according to Onesikritos).

shown by the legend in Yāska¹ of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Samtanu, and the story in the Samvara Jātaka² of the Kāśi princes Uposatha and Samvara. In the Jātaka the councillors ask a reigning king, "When you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the monarch, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

At times the popular choice fell on persons who did not belong to the ruling dynasty. Such may have been the case when the Sriñjayas expelled their hereditary ruler together with the Sthapati.3 Clear instances of popular preference for individuals outside the royal family are furnished by the Jātakas. The Pādañjali Jātaka, for instance, tells us that when a certain king of Benares died, his son, Pādañjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The Sachchamkira Jātaka, relates a story how nobles, Brāhmaņas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes the candidate comes from a place outside the realm. The Darīmukhas and Sonaka Jātakas tell us how on failure of heir at Benares a prince of Magadha was elected king.

The monarch during the Brāhmaṇa period was usually allowed to have **four queens**, viz., the Mahishī, the Pariviktī, the Vāvātā and the Pālāgalī. The Mahishī, was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.* The Pariviktī was the neglected or discarded wife, probably one that had no son. The Vāvātā is the favourite, while the Pālāgalī was the daughter

¹ Nirukta, H. 10; Ved. Ind., H. 211.

² No. 462.

³ Sat Br., XII, 9, 3, 1 ff.

[•] No. 247.

⁵ No. 73.

^{*} No. 378; cf. No. 401.

⁷ No. 529.

^{*} VI. 5. 3. 1. Ved. Ind., I. 478.



of the last of the court officials.¹ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,² however, refers to the "hundred" wives of king Hariśchandra. In the Jātaka period several kings kept a bigger harem. We are told in the Kusa Jātaka³ that king Okkāko (Ikshvāku) had sixteen thousand ladies in his harem among whom Sīlavatī was the chief (aggamahishī). The king of Benares according to the Dasaratha Jātaka,⁴ had the same number of wives. In the Suruchi Jātaka,⁴ had the same number of wives. In the Suruchi Jātaka,⁵ a king of Mithilā says, "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithilā covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is evidently exaggerated. But it indicates that the kings of the Jātaka period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brāhmaṇic number of four or even a hundred queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate ritual which is described in several Brāhmaṇas, and for which the appropriate formulas (mantras) are given in the Vedic Samhitās. Those who aided in the consecration of the king were called Rājakartri or Rājakrit, i.e., "king-maker." In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇas the persons meant and specified are the Sūta (minstrel, chronicler or charioteer), and the Grāmaṇī, leader of the host or of the village. Prof. Rādhākumud Mookerji observes: "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or sacrifices of royal inauguration

¹ Weber and Pischel in Vedic Index, 1, 478.

² VII. 13.

³ No. 531.

No. 461. The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 34. 13) allows this king only 750 ladies besides the chief consorts.

⁵ No. 482.

⁶ III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 18.

The post of Grāmanī seems to have been ordinarily held by a Vaisya (Vedic Index, I. 247; II. 334; Camb. Hist., 131; Sat. Br., V. 3. 1. 6).

^{*} The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 83.

were the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, the Punar-abhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Vājapeya (lit. "the drink of strength") bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "Sāmrājya," while the Rājasūya or royal inaguration merely conferred the ordinary monarchical dignity.\(^1\) The Punar-abhisheka, or renewed consecration, made the king elect eligible for all sorts of royal dignity, viz., Rājya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameshthya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvasya and Ātishthatva.\(^1\) The object of the Aindra Mahābhisheka (the great anointing of the king of the celestials) is thus described:

"Sa ya ichchhed evamvit Kshatriyam ayam sarvā jitīrjayetāyam sarvāmillokān vindetāyam sarveshām Rājnām
Śraishthyam, Atishthām, Paramatām gachchheta, Samrājyam, Bhaujyam, Svārājyam, Vairājyam, Pārameshthyam,
Rājyam, Māhārājyam Ādhipatyam, ayam samantaparyāyī
syāt Sārvabhaumah sārvāyusha ā'ntād ā parārddhāt prithivyai samudraparyantāyā Ekarāt iti tametena Aindreņa
Mahābhishekena kshatriyam šāpayitvā'bhishinchet."

"If he who knows thus should desire of a kshatriya, 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings and overlordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty, may he be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler;' he should anoint him with the great anointing of Indra, after adjuring him"."

¹ Rājya, cf. Sat. Br., V. 1. 1, 12-13; some texts while agreeing that the Vājapeya is a Samrāţsava says that the Rājasūya is a Varuņa-sava, consecrated to the universal sway wielded by Varuņa. Tait. Sam. (V. 6. 2. 1) and Br. (II. 7. 6. 1); Sat. Br., V. 4. 3. 2; Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, 340; Mahābhārata, Bk. II. 12. 11-13, etc.

³ Ait. Br., VIII. 6. For the meaning of these terms see Keith's translation quoted below. Keith's rendering of some of the expressions, e.g., Bhaujya and Vairājya, is, however, hardly satisfactory.

³ Ait. Br., VIII. 15.

⁴ Keith, HOS, Vol. 25.



The Vajapeya rites' include a race of 17 chariots, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling, the ceremony perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of a pole, having a wheaten ring or wheel' on the top, by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The Satapatha Brahmana says, "Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others." The royal sacrificer having descended from the pole, is offered a throne-seat with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the Adhvaryu (priest) in the following words: "Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord (yantri, yamana)-thou art firm and steadfast (dhruva, dharuna)-(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling (kshema), for wealth (rayi), for prosperity (posha), i.e., for the welfare of the people, the common weal."

The Rājasūya consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances which began on the first day of Phālguna and spread over a period of upwards of two years. The rite is described at great length in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial.

The popular features are chiefly these: -

(1) The Ratninām havīmshi or presents to the divinities of the bejewelled ones (or those possessed of the jewel offering), viz., the chief queen and court officials;

1 Sat. Br., V. 1. 1. 5 ff; S.B.E., xli; Vedic Index, II. 281; Keith, Black-yajus, cviii-cxi; RPVU, 359f.

3 Sat. Br., V. 2, 1. 22.

Sat. Br., V. 2. I. 25: The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 80.

4 V. z. 3. 9. (et seq.) S.B.E., xli, 42-113.

² Gaudhūmam cha shālam, "a wheaten headpiece (Eggeling)" "a wheel-shade garland of meal" (S. B. E., xli. 31; Keith, RPVU, 339; Sat. Br., V. 2. 1. 6).

⁵ Keith, Black Yajus, pp. cxi-cxiii, RPVU, 341; Vedic Index, II. 219. SBE., xli, p. xxvi.

¹ Sat. Br., V. 3. 1. M. Louis Renou says-"les offrandes ne sont pas faites aux ratnin mais aux divinités dans les maisons de chaque ratnin."

- (2) The Abhishechanīya' or besprinkling ceremony;
- (3) The dig vyāsthāpana or the king's symbolical walking towards the various quarters as an indication of his universal rule;
- (4) Treading upon a tiger skin,3 thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger;
- (5) Narration by the hotri priest of the story (akhyāna) of Sunahsepa.
- (6) A mimic cow raid against a relative'; or a sham fight with a member of the ruling aristocracy (rājanya);
 - (7) Enthronement;7
- (8) A game of dice in which the king is made to be the victor;

The recipients of the sacrificial honours called "Ratninām havīmshi" were the divinities in the houses of the Ratnins, i.e., of the chief members of the royal household and of the king's civil and military service, viz.—

- 1. The Senānī (Commander of the army).3
- 2. The Purohita (Royal Chaplain).
- 3. The Mahishī (Chief Queen).
- 4. The Sūta (Charioteer and Bard).10
- 5. The Grāmanī (Leader of the Host or Village Headman).11
- 6. The Kshattri (Chamberlain)—forerunner of the Antarvamsika or Superintendent of the Seraglio of later times."

1 Sat. Br., V. 3. 3-4.

2 Sat. Br., V. 4. 1. 3; Keith, Black Yajus, op. cit.

3 Sat. Br., V. 4. 1. 11.

4 Ait. Br., vii, 13 ff; Keith, RPVU, 341n.

5 RPVU, 342; cf. Sat. Br., V. 4. 3. 3 et seq.

⁶ Cf. Taittirīya Samhitā, 1. 8. 15 with commentary; Vedic Index, II. 219. SBE, xli, 100, n. 1.

7 Sat. Br., V. 4. 4. 1.

* Sat. Br. V. 4. 4. 6; Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, etc., p. 342.

9 Cf. Senāpati in Ait. Br., viii. 23.

The importance of this office is shown by the cases of Sumantra and of Sañjaya who is called a Mahāmātra (Mbh. XV. 16. 4).

11 Cf. the Adhikritas appointed for gramas or villages by the paramount

ruler (Samrāt) mentioned in the Praina Upanishad (III. 4).

¹³ Vidura was the Kshatlyi (Mbh., I. 200, 17; II. 66. 1, etc.) at the Kura Court. For the views of different commentators see Vedic Index, I. 201.

- 7. The Samgrahītṛi (Treasurer)—forerunner of the Sannidhātṛi of the Arthaśāstra.
- 8. The Bhāgadugha (Collector of the Royal Share, i.e., Taxes)—forerunner of the Samāhartri.
 - 9. The Akshāvāpa (Keeper of the Dice).1
- 10. The Go-vikartana (lit. Cutter-up of Cattle, i.e., the King's Companion in the Chase).
- 11. The Pālāgala (Courier)—forerunner of the Dūta (Śāsanahara, etc.).2

The most essential part of the Rājasūya was the Abhisheka or besprinkling. It began with offerings to the deities Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Gṛihapati, Soma Vanaspati, Bṛihaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeshṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra Satya and Varuṇa Dharmapati. The consecration water (Abhishechanīyā Āpaḥ) was made up of seventeen kinds of liquid including the water from the river Sarasvatī, sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa priest, kinsman or brother of the king-elect, a friendly Rājanaya and a Vaišya.

The two most important kinds of Abhisheka were the Punar-abhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Punar-abhisheka or Renewed Anointment is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or Āsandī which was made of udumbara wood with the

¹ Cf. the position of Kanka (Yudhişthira) at the Matsya Court.

² Curiously enough, this list of the ratnins does not include the Sthapati, probably a local ruler, vassal chief, or governor who is, however, mentioned in Sat. Br., V. 4. 4. 17, in connection with the concluding ceremonies of the rājasūya. The sacrificial sword (sphya) given by the priest to the king is passed on successively to the king's brother, the sūta or the sthapati, the grāmanī and finally to a tribesman (sajāta). The post of sthapati, was held by Uparikas or governors of Bhuktis (provinces) in the Gupta period (Fleet, CII, p. 120). Slightly different lists of ratnins are found in the Taittirīya texts. A group of eight vīras finds mention in the Paūchavīmša Brāhmana (Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 131). In Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 6. we have reference to the Parīveshtri, the Kshattri and the Sabhāsads in connection with a performance of the horse-sacrifice.

^{*} VIII. 5-11.

exception of the interwoven part (vivayana) which consisted of muñja grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said: "Do thou become here the overking of kings; the great of the great people, the supreme ruler of the people (or the peasantry)." Rājñām tvam Adhirāja bhaveha; Mahāntam tvā mahīnām Samrājam charshanīnām." The king was next required to get down from the throne and make obeisance to the holy power (Brahman); "Brahmana eva tat Kshatram vasam eti tad yatra vai Brahmanah Kshatram vasam eti tad rāshţram samriddham tad vīravadāhāsmin vīro jāyate,3 "verily thus the lordly power (Kshatra) falls under the influence of the holy power (Brahman). When the lordly power falls under the influence of the holy power, that kingdom is prosperous, rich in heroes; in it a hero or heir (vīra) is born." Here there is provision for the prevention of royal absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently consecrated with the Punar-abhisheka.5

The Aindra Mahābhisheka or Indra's great unction consisted of five important ceremonies. In the first place, an Oath is administered by the priest to the king-elect: "From the night of thy birth to that of thy death for the space between these two, thy sacrifice and thy gifts, thy place, thy good deeds, thy life and thine offspring let me take, if thou play me false." Next follows the Ārohaṇa or enthronement. When the king is seated on the throne we have the Utkrośana or proclamation. The king-makers should say "The Kshatriya, if not proclaimed, cannot show

¹ Keith, HOS 25 (slightly emended).

³ Ait. Br., VIII. 7.

³ Ait. Br., VIII. 9.

⁴ Keith.

⁵ Ait. Br., VIII. 11. A second coronation of the Ceylonese king Devanampiya Tissa is referred to by the chronicles (Geiger's trans. of the Mahāvamša, pp. xxxii).

⁶ Ait. Br., viii. 12-23.

⁷ Keith, Ait. Br., VIII. 15.

^{*} Ait. Br., VIII. 17.



his strength, let us proclaim him." "Be it so" (the people

reply). Him the king-makers proclaim saying:

"Him do ye proclaim, O men (janāh) as king and father of kings . . . The sovereign lord of all beings (Visuasya bhūtasya adhipati) hath been born, the eater of the folk (Visāmattā) hath been born, the destroyer of enemies (Amitrāṇām hantā) hath been born, the protector of the Brāhmaņas (Brāhmaṇānām goptā) hath been born, the guardian of the law (Dharmasya goptā) hath been born."

Here we have the important attributes of kingship. In the words Visvasya bhūtasya adhipati (supereme lord of all beings) we have a reference to the king's sovereignty and imperium. The expression Visāmattā, devourer of the folk, alludes to his power of taxation. As Amitrāṇām hantā he exercises supreme command to weed out enemies. The epithet Brāhmaṇānām goptā gives expression to his special relations with the hierarchy, while the style Dharmasya goptā points to his duties in connection with the preservation of the laws and their proper administration for the promotion of the common weal (yoga-kshema).

When the king has been proclaimed there is an address

with the formula, abhimantrana.1

Varuna the Wise One Hath set him down, preserving order. for kingship

Then comes the anointment (abhishechana).

The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhisheka; Janamejaya Pārikshita, Śāryāta Mānava, śatānīka Sātrājita, Āmbāshthya, Yudhāmśraushți Augrasainya, Viśvakarmā Bhauvana, Sudās Paijavana, Marutta Āvikshita, Anga Vairochana and Bharata Dauhshyanti. The first mentioned king, and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also, belonged to the post-Parikshit period. Durmukha Pāñchāla and Atyarāti

¹ Ibid., VIII. 18.

³ Ibid., VIII. 21-23. 3 Satānīka defeated Dhritarāshtra of Kāsi who, according to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta was a contemporary of Sattabhu of Kalinga and of Brahma-

Jānantapi were informed of the efficacy of the rite. The first made good use of the advice. But the latter who neglected his priest, and wanted to conquer the Uttara-Kurus, whom "no mortal man could vanquish," perished at the hands of a king of the Sibis.

Closely connected with the Aindra mahābhisheka was another important ceremonial called the Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice. All the kings who were, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, actually consecrated with Indra's great function are represented as "going round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offering the horse in sacrifice" (samantam sarvatah prithivīm jayan parīyāyāśwena cha medhyeneje). To the list of kings and princes who performed the famous rite the Satapatha Brāhmana' adds the names of the Pārikshitas (or Pārikshitīyas) Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena; the Kosalan king (Kauśalyarāja) Para Āṭṇāra Hairanyanābha; the Aikshvāka king Purukutsa Daurgaha; the Pāñchāla kings Kraivva, the superman of the Krivis (Krivīnām atipurusha) and Sona Sātrāsāha; the Matsya king Dhvasan Dvaitavana, and the Śvikna king Rishabha Yājñātura. The Apastamba Śrauta Sūtra says that a paramount king (Sārvabhauma Rājā) may perform the Asvamedha. The Asva or steed for a year

datta of Assaka. As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Pārikshita works, tt is probable that Satānīka and his contemporaries flourished after Parikshit. Ambāshṭhya and Yudhāmśraushṭi were contemporaries of Parvata and Nārada who were very near in time to Nagnajit, the contemporary of Nimi, probably the penultimate king of Videha. Anga was probably the immediate predecessor of Dadhivāhana who, according to Jaina evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

1 XIII. 5. 4. 1.23.

² XX. i. 1. Variant readings (e.g. apyasārvabhaumah) of the relevant text seem hardly acceptable; Cf. Baudh. XV. 1. Even as late as the time of Bhavabhūti (eighth century A.D.) the Asvamedha was looked upon as "the super-eminent touchstone to test the might of warriors conquering the world and an indication of the conquest of all the warriors"—Asvamedha iti visva-vijayinām Kshatriyānāmūrjasvalah sarva-kshatriya-paribhāvī mahānutharshanishharshah (Uttara-Rāma-charitām, Act IV, translated by Vināyak Sadāshiv Patvardhan). The sacrifice seems also to have been performed in early times to atone for sinful work. There was also a Vishnuite adaptation of the tamous rite—no animals being killed on the occasion, and the oblations prepared in accordance with the precepts of the Aranyakas. Reference may be made to the story of Uparichara Vasu in the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata,

roamed under guardianship of a hundred princes, and a hundred nobles, a hundred sons of heralds (or charioteers) and village headmen, a hundred sons of warriors and treasurers¹ (chamberlains?) equipped with various kinds of defensive and offensive weapons. If the year were successfully passed the steed was sacrificed. The features of the rite included panegyrics of the sacrificer along with righteous kings of yore by lute-players including a Rājanya who sings to the lute three songs made by himself, "such war he waged, such battle he won." There is also a "circle of tales," Pāriplava Ākhyāna² which lasts by series of ten days for the whole year.

The kingship disclosed in Brāhmaṇic songs and ritual is not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency." The monarch is not merely a chief noble, the first among equals, 'President of a Council of Peers.' In a famous Atharvanic laud the rājā of the Kurus, is extolled as a deva who surpassed mere mortals (martyas). The consecrated king is the lord of all beings. He is called "viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati," and is further described as the devourer of the people—viśāmattā. "Rājā ta ekam mukham tena mukhena viśo'tsi." He is surrounded by armed kinsmen and retainers. He can "banish a Brāhmaṇa at will, mulct and overpower a Vaiśya at will, and exact labour from or slay a sūdra at will." Further he claims the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked. In the Briha-

Ch. 335-339 (Raychaudhuri, EHVS., 2nd ed., 132). Regarding the significance of the Assumedha see also D. C. Sircar's note in Indian Culture, I. pp. 311 ff; II. 789ff.

¹ Sat. Br. XIII. 4. 2. 5. tasyaite purastād rakshitāra upākliptā bhavanti. Rājaputrāh kavachinah satam rājanyā nishanginah satam sūtagrāmanyām putrā ishuparshinah satam Kshātra Samgrahītriņām putrā daņdinah satamasvasatam nirashtam niramaņam yasminnenamapisrijya rakshanti.

² S. B. E. xliv. pp. 298ff; Pāriplava Ākhyāna in Sat. Br. XIII. 4. 3. 2; Keith, Black Yajus, pp. cxxxii f; RPVU, 343 f; Hopkins, GEI 365, 386.

³ Ait. Br., VIII. 17. ⁴ Kaush. Up., II. 6.

⁵ Ait. Br. iii. 48. 'Sixty-four armed warriors assuredly were his (a Kuru's) sons and grandsons." When a Panchala king makes an offering there arise "Six thousand and three and thirty warriors clad in mail." Sat. Br. XIII.

^{5. 4. 16;} cf. 4. 2. 5. 6 Ait. Br. vii. 29.

dāraņyaka Upanishad Janaka says to Yājñavalkya, "So'ham Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māñchāpi saha dāsyāyeti."

The king, however, was not an absolute despot in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brāhmaņas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the Punarabhisheka, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the 'holy power' (Brahman) that was the repository of culture and education in those days. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,³ and the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra³ that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brāhmaṇas. Karāla Janaka met his doom for a crime against a Brāhmaṇa maiden. The Vṛishṇis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. This shows that not only kings, but republican corporations (Saṅgha), too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brāhmaṇas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers individually or in council, and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted on important occasions. In the Vedic texts the Sūta and the Grāmaṇī are styled Rājakartri or Rājakrit, i.e., Kingmaker, "Rājakritaḥ Sūta-Grāmaṇyaḥ." The very title indicates their importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other Ratnins, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The existence of a Royal Council (Sabhā) is clearly suggested by references to sabhāsads in Vedic texts, particularly in connection with king Marutta Āvikshita. In the Rāmāyaṇa the sabhā is clearly a body in which the Rājakartīs have a place along with the amātyas and the

¹ Brih. Up., IV. 4. 23.

² VII. 27.

³ Ed. 1919, p. 11.

[&]amp; Cf. also the fate of the Vaitahavyas, Camb. Hist. Ind. I. 121.

⁵ Sat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18; In Ram. II. 67. 2; 79. 1. the king-makers are dvijātayah.

⁶ Ait. Br. viii. 21; Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 6.

¹ II. 67. 2.4.



Rājapurohita (royal chaplain). The claim of the ministers and headmen to be consulted is recognised in Pāli texts while dealing with the period down to the time of Bimbisāra. The Mahāvagga says, "King Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors (Amacce Pārisajje sannipātā petvā)1 and said to them: 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dīghāvu, the son of king Dīghīti of Kosala, what would you do to him?" The Mahā Assāroha Jātakat refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors (amachcha, amātya). The Chulla-Sutasoma Jātaka refers to the eighty thousand councillors of a king headed by his general," (Senāpati-pamukhāni asītī amachcha-sahassāni). The power of councillors (amātyas) to depose a prince and elect a king is recognised in the Pādañjali, Samvara, and Sonaka Jātakas respectively. There is evidence regarding special gemots of village headmen. We are told that "when Seniya Bimbisara, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand Grāmikas (Village headmen) he sent message to Śoņa Kolivisa."

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (Jana, Mahājana) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmaṇīs, or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly styled Samiti or Parishad in the Upanishads. In the Utkrośana passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the people (Janāḥ) are clearly distinguished from the Rājakartāraḥ among whom, according to the satapatha Brāhmaṇa were included the Sūta and the

¹ S.B.E., XVII, 304; Vinayapiţakam (Oldenberg), I (1879), p. 348. Cf. Rām., II, 79, sāmātyāḥ saparishadaḥ.

² No. 302.

² Cowell's Jātaka, V. p. 97 (No. 525); eighty thousand is a stock number and should not be taken too literally.

⁴ Mahāvagga. S. B. E. XVII, p. 1.

⁵ In the Jaim. Up. Br. II. 11. 4. we find a reference to the Parishad, the Sabhā and the Samsad. It is not clear, if these are distinct institutions. The sabhā and the samiti are, however, distinguished in the Atharva-Veda.

⁴ VIII. 17: cf. Sat. Br. V. 33. 12.

¹ III, 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18.

Grāmanī.1 That the Samiti or Parishad was an assembly of the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "bhūyishthāh Kuru-Panchālāssāgatā bhavitārah", "Pañchālānām Samitim eyāya", "Pañchālānām Parishadam ājagāma," "samaggā Sivayo hutvā". The Chhāndogya Upanishad' mentions the Samiti of the Panchala people presided over by king Pravāhaņa Jaivāli, Svetaketurh Āruņeyah Panchālānām Samitim eyāya; tam ha Pravāhaņo Jaivālir uvācha." The Brihadāranyaka Upanishad uses the term Parishad instead of Samiti, "Svetaketur ha vā Āruneyah Pañchālānām Parishadam-ājagāma." The analogy of the Lichchhavi Parishā and of similar assemblies mentioned in Buddhist works shows that the functions of the Kuru and Pañchāla Parishads were not necessarily confined to philosophical discussions only. The Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaņa' refers to disputations (samvāda) and witnesses (upadrashtri) in connection with popular assemblies, and informs us that the procedure among the Kurus and the Panchalas was different from that of Sūdras. The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration.6 The Dummedha Jātaka refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brāhmaņas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the Atharva-Veda where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity. We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their

¹ For Mahājana, see Jātaka (525), Vol. V, p. 187; Jātakas (542, 547), Vol. VI, p. 156, 489 etc.; cf. Sat. Br. V. 3. 3. 12.

[&]quot;Most of the Kuru-Panchalas shall be assembled together." Jaim. Up. Br. 111. 7. 6.

¹ V. 3. 1.

⁴ VI. z. 1.

⁵ III. 7. 6.

⁴ Ait. Br., VIII. 17.

⁷ No. 50; cf. Vessantara Jataka (No. 547). Vol. VI, pp. 490 ff. The whole Sivi people assembled to discuss a matter of public importance, to give advice to the king and to inflict punishment on a prince.

[.] VI. 88. 5.



princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the Satapatha Brāhmaņa! "Now Dush-ţaritu Paumsāyana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to him through ten generations, and the Sriñjayas also expelled Revottaras Pāṭava Chākra Sthapati." The Aitareya Brāhmana refers to personages who were expelled from their kingdoms (rāshtras) and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the Punarabhisheka. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French "emigrants" who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. We learn from the Vessantara Jātakas that the king of the Sivis (Sibis) was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence" (Sivīnam vachanatthena samhā ratthā nirajjati).

The king was told:

"Sache tvam na karissasi Sivīnam vachanam idam mañne tam saha puttena Sivīhatthe karissare ti" The bidding of the Sivi folk if you refuse to do The people then will act, methinks, against your son and you.

The king replied:

"Eso che Sivīnam chhando chhandam na panudāmase"
Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.
The Padakusalamānava Jātaka tells a story how the town and the countryfolk of a kingdom assembled (jānapadā negamā cha samāgatā), beat the king and priest to death as they became a source, not of weal, but of woe (lit. fear, yato khemam tato bhayam), and anointed a good man as king. A similar story is told in the Sachchamkira Jātaka. We are told in the Khandahāla Jātaka that

¹ XII. 9. 3. 1 et seq.; Eggeling, V. 269.

² For the designation 'Sthapati' see ante, p. 167.

³ VIII. 10.

⁺ Cf. Lodge, Modern Europe, p. 517.

⁸ No. 547: Text VI. 490-502. The sibis are known to dit. Br. viii, 23.

⁶ No. 432.

⁷ No. 73-

⁸ No. 542.

the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcaste and anointed a prince as king. The ex-king was not allowed to enter into the capital city. Fick' points out that in the Telapatta Jātaka a king of Takshaśilā says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above. Evidently the Royal power had declined appreciably, at least in some of the north-western Janapadas, since the days of Janaka.

¹ The Social Organisation in North-East India, trans. by Dr. S. K. Maitra, pp. 113-114. Dr. D R. Bnandarkai follows him in Carmichael Lectures, 1918, 134f.

² P. 172, "Bhagavate Videhan dadami".

³ Note the references to elected kings (e.g., amongst the Kathaioi) and autonomous folks by the historians of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. The Ambashthas had a strong monarchy in the Brähmana period (Ait. Br. viii. 21). In the days of Alexander (Inv. Alex. 252) the constitution was democratic.



PART II

CENTRAL LIERAR

Political History of Ancient India

PART II

From the Coronation of Bimbisara to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

SECTION I. FOREWORD

The following pages deal with the political history of India from the time of Bimbisāra to that of the Guptas. For this period we are fortunately in possession of authentic historical materials in addition to literary tradition to which reference has already been made in the first part of the book. These materials are derived principally from the following sources: inscriptions, coins, accounts left by foreign observers and works of Indian authors of known date and authenticity.

Inscriptions engraved on stone and copper undoubtedly form the most copious and important source. Hardly less important are the coins which constitute almost the sole evidence of the history of certain dynasties and republican communities of the second and first centuries B. C. Foreign accounts, especially the records of Greek diplomats and navigators and of Chinese annalists and pilgrims, are especially valuable in connection with the vexed question of Indian chronology. Works of Indian writers of known epochs, that illumine the darkness of our period, and afford interesting 'glimpses of political history, are extremely rare and comprise the Mahābhāshya (Great Commentary) of Patañjali, the

Kalpanāmanditikā of Kumāralāta, the Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha and the Harsha-charita (Deeds of Harsha)

by Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

For the history of the period from Bimbisara to Aśoka the writer of these pages cannot in some respects claim much originality. The subject has been treated by Rhys Davids and Smith, and a flood of new light has been thrown on particular dynasties by Geiger, Bhandarkar, Rapson, Jayaswal, Malalasekera, Jackson, Herzfeld, Hultzsch and others. Use has in some cases been made of the information contained in their works, and it has been supplemented with fresh data gathered mainly from epical, Jaina, Buddhist and classical sources. As instances it may be pointed out that attention to the name Haryanka, given to the Bimbisarid family by Aśvaghosha, was first drawn in these pages. The tradition recorded in the Harsha-charita and Jaina works regarding the tragic end of śiśunāga's line and origin of the Nandas has been collated with the evidence of the Graeco-Latin writers. Epic data have been used largely to illustrate the dawn of Magadhan ascendancy, locate tribes like the Kambojas and the Pulindas who figure in the Aśokan edicts, and to explain expressions like stryadhyaksha, bihārayātrā, anusamyāna, etc. Old materials have also been presented in many cases in a new shape, and the author's conclusions are often different from those of former writers.

In the chapter on the Later Mauryas the author has examined the causes of the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, and drawn pointed attention to the Gārgī Saṁhitā, the Hou Hanshu, etc. and has tried to demonstrate the unsoundness of the current theory that "the fall of the Maurya authority was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas."

The treatment of the history of the Early Post-Mauryan and Scythian periods, though not entirely

The Chapter on the Later Mauryas was published in the JASB, 1920 (No. 18, pp. 305 ff.).



original, is different in many respects from that of previous authors. It has not been possible to accept the current views with regard to the lineage of Pushyamitra and the history and chronology of several dynasties, notably of the Early Śātavāhanas, the Greeks of Śākala, and the Śaka-Pahlavas of the *Uttarāpatha* or North-West India. As early as 1923 the writer of these pages assigned to the Nāgas of the Jumna valley and Eastern Malwa and the Bhāraśivas their proper place in the history of the post-Kushan period, a fact which has been ignored in some wellknown publications.

In the account of the Gupta period use has been made of the mass of fresh materials accumulated since the publication of the works of Bühler, Fleet, Smith and Allan. The notices of the most famous ruling family of the age in early epigraphs and literature, which are sometimes overlooked, have received due attention, its relations with southern dynasties like the Vākāṭakas have been discussed, and an attempt has been made to present a connected history of the so-called 'Later Guptas."

SECTION II. LOCAL AUTONOMY AND IMPERIAL UNITY.

The chief interest of the political history of the post-Bimbisārian Age lies in the interplay of two opposing forces, one centrifugal, the other centripetal, viz., the love of local (Jānapada) autonomy and the aspiration for imperial unity. The former ideal is best expressed in the words of Manu—sarvam paravašam duḥkham, sarvam ātmavašam sukham, "subjection to others is full of misery, subjection to self leads to happiness." The predilection for local self-rule was in part fostered by geographical conditions. The intersection of the land of India by deep rivers and winding chains of mountains

¹ The Chapter on the so-called Later Guptas was published in the JASB.,
1920 (No. 19. pp. 313 ff).
2 Manusamhita, IV. 160.

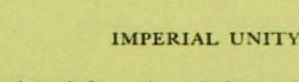
flanked by dreary deserts or impenetrable forests, developed a spirit of isolation and cleft the country asunder into small political units whose divergences were accentuated by the infinite variety of local conditions. But the vast riparian plain of the north and the extensive plateau in the interior of the Deccan Peninsula, decked with green by the life-giving streams that flow from the majestic heights of the Himālayas and the Western Ghats, fostered an opposite tendency-an inclination towards union and coalescence. The sands which choked the Sarasvatī, the floods that swelled the Lauhītya, the dangers that lurked in the Mahāţavī proved no effective bar to unity. The five hills of Girivraja could not permanently withstand the conquering heroes who were charged with an imperial mission. The head of the Vindhya bent in reverence before the sage who was bringing the culture of the Ganges valley to the banks of the Godavarī and the Tamraparņī.

The desire for union under one political authority became manifest as early as the Brāhmaņa period and found expression in passages like the following:—

"May he (the king) be all-encompassing, possessed of all the earth, possessed of all life, from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler (ekarāṭ)."

The ideal persists throughout our period and inspired poets and political philosophers who spoke of the thousand yojanas (leagues) of land that stretch from the Himālayas to the sea as the proper domain of a single universal emperor (chakravarti-kshetra) and eulogised monarchs who protected the earth decked with the Ganges, as with a pearl necklace, adorned with the Himavat and the Vindhya, as with two earrings, and robed with a swinging girdle in the shape of the rocking oceans.

The imperial ideal had to contend with the centrifugal tendencies of Jānapada (provincial and tribal) autonomy. The two forces operated in successive epochs almost with



the regularity of the swing of the pendulum. The aspiration for a unity that transcended local boundaries owed its success not a little to the presence of another factor in Indian politics—the danger threatening from foreign invaders. It was only when the "earth was harassed by the barbarians" (Mlechchhairudvejyamānā) that she sought refuge in the strong arms of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the first great historical emperor of India-whose dominions undoubtedly overstepped the limits of Aryavarta- Among the early empire-builders of the south was a prince who rid his country of the Scythians, Greeks and Parthians (Saka-Yavana-Pahlava-nishūdana). And the rulers who revived the imperial glory of the Gangetic Provinces in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., were warriors who humbled the pride of the Scythian "Son of Heaven" and braved the wrath of the saka king in his own city. According to sacred legends Vishnu in the shape of a Boar had rescued the earth in the aeon of universal destruction. It is significant that the worship of the Boar Incarnation became widely popular in the Gupta-Chalukya period. The poet Viśākhadatta actually identifies the man in whose arms the earth found refuge when harassed by the Mlechchhas, who "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of his country, with the Vārāhītanu (Boar form) of the Self-Existent Being. Powerful emperors both in the north and the south recalled the feats of the Great Boar and the mightiest ruler of a dynasty that kept the Arabs at bay for centuries actually took the title of Adivaraha or the Primeval Boar. The Boar Incarnation then symbolized the successful struggle of Indians against the devastating floods issuing from the regions outside their borders that threatened to overwhelm their country and civilisation in a common ruin.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF MAGADHA

Sarvamūrddhābhishiktānāmesha mūrddhni jvalishyati prabhāharo' yam sarveshām jyotishāmiva bhāskaraḥ enamāsādya rājānaḥ samriddha-balavāhanā vināsamupayāsyanti salabhā iva pāvakam.

-Mahābhārata.

SECTION I. GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD C. 544 B. C. to 324 B. C.

The most remarkable feature of the age that commenced with the coronation of Bimbisāra c. 545—44 B.C., and ended with the retirement of Alexander from India and the accession of Chandra Gupta Maurya (324 B.C.), is the rise of a New Monarchy in the Eastern part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent which is already heralded by a Brāhmaṇa passage cited above.

"In this eastern quarter (prāchyām disi), whatever kings there are of the eastern peoples, they are anointed for supreme kingship (Sāmrājya); 'O supreme king (Samrāţ) they style them when anointed."

The eastern peoples, prāchyas, are not enumerated in the same manner as those of the southern, the northern and the central regions. But it may be safely assumed that the name used in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa stands for the Prasii of the Graeco-Roman writers. The most famous nations of the east in the Brāhmaṇa-Upanishad period were the Kāśis, the Kosalas and the Videhas. But a new star was soon in the ascendant. Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisāra and Nanda Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian politics as Wessex did in pre-

¹ II. 19. 10-11.

^{*} See below, Section VII.

³ Pp. 156-7.



Norman England and Prussia in Hohenzollern Germany. Several circumstances contributed to the pre-eminence of the new aspirant for imperial power—its position of vantage between the upper and lower parts of the vast riparian plain of Northern India, the possession of an almost unassailable stronghold amidst five hills, and another at and near the confluence of several rivers, the arteries of commerce and navigation in those days, a superbly rich and fruitful soil, and resources including a powerful elephant corps which greatly impressed the classical writers and writers in polity.

But strategic position and material wealth cannot suffice to raise a nation to greatness. As Burke says, it is the quality and spirit of the people 'that give all their life and efficacy to them'. As in several Atlantic lands, so in Magadha, we have a fusion of folks and cultures. Kīkatas mixed here with enterprising clans coming from upper India as Celts did with Latins and Teutons in Mediaeval France and some adjoining territories. It is not difficult to find out two strands in the cultural-no less than the racial-texture of the population. The same nation that produced relentless fighters and, 'exterminators of kings' and clans like Jarāsandha of epic legend, Ajātaśatru, Mahāpadma, Chandāśoka (the ruthless conqueror of Kalinga) and perhaps Samudra Gupta, hearkened at the same time to the devout teachings of Madhyama Prātibodhīputra, Varddhamāna Mahāvīra, and Gautama Buddha, and played a conspicuous part in the propagation of a world religion as it did in the establishment of an empire embracing nearly the whole of India. The birth of Ajātaśatru and the enlightenment of the Buddha took place in the same country and the same age, and they met in Rājagriha as Charles V and Martin Luther did at Worms. The symbol of aggressive imperialism stood face to face with the preacher of piety and morality, leader of a movement that was destined to convulse a continent. The two ideologies did not long remain apart. They were harmonised and the magician who worked the miracle was Dharm-āśoka who

combined in himself the imperial tradition of his forbears as well as the spiritual fervour of the sage of the Śākyas.

A characteristic of the people of Magadha was an elasticity of social behaviour which was absent in the system which developed on the banks of the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī. In their country Brāhmaṇas could associate with Vrātyas, the Rājanya could admit the Śūdra girl to the harem, the Vaiśya and even the Yavana could be promoted to gubernatorial office, hereditary rulers of aristocratic lineage could be expelled to make room for the offspring of a nagara-sobhinī, and the "royal throne of kings" was not beyond the reach of a barber.

Magadhan rulers and chancellors like Vassakāra (Varshakāra) and Kautilya, were not over-scrupulous in their methods. Tradition credits some of them with the use of Machiavellian diplomacy in disintegrating kingdoms and republics, and invention of engines of destruction which worked with deadly effect. But they had the sagacity to evolve an administrative system in which princes royal, ministers of state as well as leading men of villages had their due share. Foreign diplomats and pilgrims in the fourth century B.C., as well as the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. speak of their sense of justice, their hospitals, charitable institutions and public works. They believed in ceaseless endeavour with the object of realising the dream of a united Jambudvīpa (Greater India) integrated by political as well as spiritual ties. In the Magadha bards, the rulers of Girivraja and Pāţaliputra had a body of devoted men who could rouse popular enthusiasm in a cause in which they believed. These singers and chroniclers have left a legacy which is invaluable to the student of ancient history.

The rise of Magadha synchronised with, and may have been a contributory cause of, an exodus of people from the Madhya-deśa to the outlying parts of India, notably the west and the south. The displacement of the Yādavas in antiquity is vouched for by epic tradition. It is well-known that the Vṛishṇis and cognate clans of Dvārkā in



Kāthiāwār and several peoples of the Deccan claimed Yadu lineage. It was in the period under review that the Far South of India comes definitely within the geographical horizon of the grammarians and foreign diplomats some of whom graced the Durbar of Magadhan kings. Sapta-Sindhu had at last developed into Jambudvīpa. And the time was not distant when a notable attempt would be made to impress the stamp of unity on it in the domain of culture and politics.

In making their prowess felt throughout the vast subcontinent of India the great men of Magadha had at first to face three problems, viz., those presented by the republics mainly on their northern frontier, the monarchies that grew up on the Rāptī, the Jumna and the Chambal and the foreign impact that made itself felt in the Punjab and Sind. We turn first to the republics.

SECTION II. REPUBLICS IN THE AGE OF BIMBISARA

It was Rhys Davids who first drew pointed attention to the survival, side by side with the monarchies, of a number of small aristocratic republics in the age of the Buddha and of Bimbisāra.¹ The most important amongst these states were the Vṛijians of North Bihār and the Mallas of Kusinārā (Kuśīnagara) and Pāvā. An account of both these peoples has already been given.² Among the smaller republics we find mention of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas (Bhargas) of Suṁsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.

The Śākyas were settled in the territory bordered on the north by the Himālayas, on the east by the river Rohiņī, and on the west and south by the Rāptī. Their

¹ Buddhist India, p. 1.

Supra pp. 118ff, 126ff.
 A tributary of the Rāptī (Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 96). Cunningham (AGI, new ed. 476) identifies it with the Kobāna.
 Rapson, Ancient India, p. 161; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 95-96.

capital, Kapilavastu, stood close to the western bank of the Rohiņī, some eight miles to the west of the famous Lumbinīvana,¹ the place of the Buddha's nativity, the site of which is marked by the Rummindeī pillar of one of the greatest of his followers.³ The city is possibly mentioned in the Tīrthayātrā section of the Mahābhārata³ under the name of Kapilāvaṭa. It was connected by roads with the capitals of the Kosalas and the Vṛijikas, and through them with the other great cities of the age. The Śākyas had a town called Devadaha which they appear to have shared with their eastern neighbours, the Koliyas. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Kosala and, like him, claimed to belong to the solar (Āditya) race and Ikshvāku family.

The Koliyas claim to have been cadets from the royal house of Benares. Tradition connects them with the cities of Rāmagāma and Devadaha. The river Rohiņī separated their capital from that of the Śākyas, and helped to irrigate the fields of both the clans. "Once upon a time in the month of Jetthamūla when the crops began to flag and droop, the labourers from amongst both the peoples assembled together." Then followed a scramble for water. Bloodshed was averted by the mediation of the Buddha. From the mutual recriminations in which they indulged, we learn that the Śākyas had the custom of marrying their own sisters. Cunningham places the Koliya country between the Kohāna and Aumi (Anomā) rivers. The Anomā seems to have formed the dividing line between the Koliyas on the one hand and the Mallas and Moriyas on the other.

The Bhaggas (Bhargas) are known to the Aitareya

¹ AGI (new ed.) 476.

Examilar as a sometimes identified with Piprawa in the north of the Basti district, or Tilaura Kot and neighbouring ruins in the Tarai about 10 miles to the N.W. of Piprawa. (Smith, EHI, third ed., p. 159.)

³ III, 84. 31.

^{*} DPPN, I. 689f. The Koliya capital stood close to the eastern bank of the Rohins.

⁵ The Kunāla Jātaka (introductory portion).
6 DPPN, I. 690, Cunn. AGI (new) 477; 491 ff.

Brāhmaņa' and the Ashtādhyayī of Panini.' The former work refers to the Bhargayana prince Kairiśi Sutvan. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C., the Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom; for we learn from the preface to the Dhonasākha Jātaka,3 that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas, dwelt in Sumsumāragiri and built a palace called Kokanada. The Mahābhārata and the Harivamsa also testify to the close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhargas (Bhaggas) and their proximity to the Nishādas. The testimony of the epic and the Apadana seems to locate them in the Vindhyan region between the Jumna and the Son.

Regarding the Bulis and the Kālāmas we know very little. The Dhammapada commentary' refers to the Buli territory as the kingdom of Allakappa, and says that it was only ten leagues in extent. From the story of its king's intimate relationship with king Vethadīpaka it may be presumed that Allakappa lay not far from Vethadīpa, the home of a famous Brahmana in the early days of Buddhism, who made a cairn over the remains of the Buddha in his native land.6 The Kālāmas were the clan of the philosopher Ālāra, a teacher of Gautama before he attained to Sambodhi. The name of their nigama (town) Kesaputta, reminds us of the Keśins, a people mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaņa* and probably also in the Ashţādhyāyī of Pāṇini,' and connected with the Pañchālas and Dālbhyas who appear in the Rig-Veda,10 as settled on the banks of the Gomatī. Kesaputta itself seems to have been annexed to

¹ VIII. 28.

^{*} IV. i. III. 177-

³ No. 353-

Mbh., II. 30. 10-11; Hariv., 29. 73. DPPN, II, 345. Supra p. 133.

⁵ Harvard Oriental Series, 28, p. 247-

⁶ Majumdar Sastrī connects Vethadīpa with Kasita (AGI, 1924, 714); cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1906, p. 900 n; Hoey suggests that VethadIpa is Bettiah in the Champaran District of Bihar.

⁷ Buddhacharita, XII. 2.

^{*} Ved. Ind., Vol. I, p. 186.

VI. 4. 165.

¹⁰ V. 61.

Kosala,1 and no doubt acknowledged the suzerainty of the

king of that powerful state.

The Moriyas (Mauryas) were the same clan which gave Magadha its greatest dynasty. They are sometimes spoken of as of Śākyan origin, but the evidence is late. Earlier evidence distinguishes between these two clans. The name is derived, according to one tradition, from mora (mayūra) or peacock. The place where they settled down is said to have always resounded with the cries of these birds. Pipphalivana, the Moriya capital, is apparently identical with the Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope. Fa Hien tells us that the Tope lay four yojanas to the east of the river Anomā, and twelve yojanas (probably some 54 miles) to the west of Kusinārā.

It will perhaps not be quite out of place to say here a few words about the internal organisation of the republics. Space, however, forbids a detailed treatment of the subject. They fall mainly into two classes, viz., those that were constituted by the whole or a section of a single clan (kula) e.g., the Śākyas, the Koliyas, the Mallas of Kusinārā, the Mallas of Pāvā etc., and those that comprised several clans like the Vṛijis (Vajjis) and the Yādavas. The distinguishing feature of a state of this type is the absence of one single hereditary monarch who exercised full control over it. The Basileus, if he survived at all, must have done so as a mere magistracy or as a dignified part of the constitu-

1 The Anguttara (P. T. S., I, 188; Nipata, III. 65).

3 Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.

4 Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, p. 135; Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp.

13-24; Cunningham, AGI., new ed., pp. 491f, 496f.

² "Then did the Brāhmaņa Cānakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas." Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. 27; DPPN, II. 673.

As Kasia (Kusinārā, Kusīnagara) lay 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur (AGI, 493), the Moriyan city could not have been situated very far from the last-mentioned town. The Moriyas seem also to have been close neighbours of the Koliyas beyond the Anoma and the Mallas of Anupiya on the banks of that river.



tion.¹ The efficient part comprised a president (chief, gaṇapati, gaṇajyeshtha, gaṇarāja, saṅighamukhya) and a council of archons taken from the ruling class. Such a president was Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī and Akouphis of Nysa in later times, the terrestrial counterpart of Indra, in his capacity as the Jyeshtha of the Marud gaṇa.⁴ According to a Jaina tradition the number of members of the supreme executive in charge of foreign and military affairs was in some states nine.⁴ There were functionaries like uparājās and senāpatis who exercised judicial and military functions. All these Elders possibly answer to the Mahallakas of Pāli texts and Mahattaras of the Vāyu Purāṇa,⁴ whom it was the duty of the citizens to respect and support.

Some of the clans possibly had an elaborate system of judicial procedure with a gradation of officers. Others, notably the Koliyas, had a police force which earned notoriety for extortion and violence. Reverence for tradition, especially for traditional religion with its shrines and ministers, was a feature that recalls the part that ancestral religion played in ancient Babylonia and modern Nippon.

Perhaps the most important institution of the free republics was the Parishā, the popular assembly, where young and old held frequent meetings, made their decisions and carried them out in concord. Kettledrums were used by an officer (styled sabhāpāla in the epic) to bring the people to the Mote Hall, called Santhāgāra in the Palitexts. The procedure is perhaps analogous to that followed in the Kuru-Pañchāla assembly mentioned in the Jaimināya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa, in a palaver in Śakra's heaven

¹ Cf. the case of Ugrasena among the Yadavas.

² Rig-veda, I. 23. 8; cf. II. 23. 1.

^{*} Nava Mallai, Nava Lechchhal etc. supra p. 125. In Nysa the governing body consisted of 300 members. The number of "leading men of cities and provinces" entrusted by the Kshudrakas with power to conclude a treaty is not definitely stated.

⁴ Väyu, 96. 35. 5 DPPN, I. 690.

⁶ Kindred Sayings, II. 178 (reference to kettledrum of the Dasārhas; cf. Mbh., I. 220. 11.

described in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, or in formal gatherings of the Chapters of the Buddhist Order referred to in the Vinaya texts. Members "are seated in a specified order. After the president has laid the proposed business before the assembly, others speak upon it, and recorders take charge of the unanimous decision arrived at." If there is any disputation (saṃvāda) the matter is referred to a committee of arbitrators. It is possible that technical expressions like āsana-prajnāpaka (seat-betokener), ñatti (jñapti, motion), śalākā-gāhāpaka (ballot-collector), gaṇa-pūraka (whip), ubbāhikā (referendum) found in the Rules of the Order, were adopted from those in use in the assemblies of the free tribes or clans.

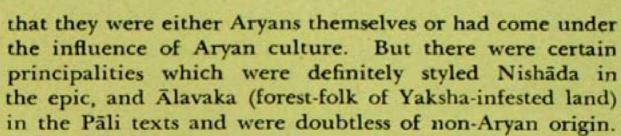
SECTION III. THE MINOR PRINCIPALITIES AND THE GREAT MONARCHIES

An important feature of Indian history throughout the ages is the presence of numerous petty Rajas holding their courts either in some forest region, mountain fastness, or desert tract away from the main currents of political life, or in a riparian or maritime district, each separated from his neighbour by a range of hills, a stream, a forest or an expanse of sandy waste. It is impossible to enumerate all such tiny states that flourished and decayed in the days of Bimbisara. But a few deserve notice. Among these were Gandhara ruled by Paushkarasarin or Pukkusāti, a remote predecessor of Ambhi, Madra governed by the father of Khemā, a queen of Bimbisāra, Roruka (in Sauvīra or the Lower Indus Valley) under the domination of Rudrāyaņa,3 Śurasena ruled by Avantiputta (either a successor of, or identical with, Subāhu), and Anga under the sway of Dridhavarman and Brahmadatta.

It is difficult to say anything about the ethnic affiliation of these rulers. The form of the names indicates

¹ Jaim. Up. Br., III. 7. 65. Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 176; cf., Carm. Lec., 1918, 180ff.

² Divyāvadāna, p. 545-



One of these, the realm of Alavaka 1 demands some notice as the relic of a past that was fast disappearing. This little state was situated near the Ganges and was probably identical with the Chanchu territory visited by Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang). Cunningham and Smith identify it with the Ghazipur region.1 The name is derived from the capital Alavī' (Sanskrit Aţavī, cf. Aţavika) or Alabhiya' which stood close to a large forest that doubtless suggested the particular nomenclature.5 In the Abhidhānappadīpikā Ālavī finds a place in a list of twenty famous cities: Bārāṇasī, Sāvatthī, Vesālī, Mithilā, Ālavī, Kosambhī, Ujjenī, Takkasilā, Champā, Sāgala, Sumsumāragira, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, Sāketa, Indapaţţa, Ukkațțha, Pāțaliputtaka, Jettuttara, Samkassa and Kusinārā. The Chullavagga' mentions the Aggālave shrine at Alavī which the Buddha honoured by his visits, as it lay on the way between the capitals of Kosala and Magadha. In the Uvāsaga-dasāo the king of Alabhiyā is named Jiyasattū (Jita-śatru, conqueror of enemies). But Jiyasattū seems to have been a common designation of kings10 like

¹ Sutta Nipāta, S. B. E., X, II. 29-30.

² Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 61, 340.

³ Sutta Nipāta: The Book of the Kindred Sayings, Vol. 1, p. 275.

[&]quot;Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, p. 103; Appendix, pp. 51-53.

⁵ Cf. The Book of the Kindred Sayings, Vol. I, p. 160. The derivation of the name of the country from atavi was suggested by Hoernle who also pointed out the reference in the Abhidhānappadīpikā. Cf. also the references to forest peoples and kingdoms in the inscriptions of Asoka and Samudra Gupta.

A town in the Kingdom of Kosala (Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 108).

⁷ Near Chitor (N. L. Dey).

^{*}Sanskrit Sānkāsya or Kapitthikā which is identified by Cunningham with Sankisa on the Ikshumatī river, in the Farukhabad District, U. P. (Cunn. AGI, new ed., pp. 422f. 706).

VI. 17: cf. also Gradual Sayings, IV. 147; DPPN, I. 295.

¹⁰ Cf. Amitrāṇām hantā of the Ait. Br. The Essay on Guṇādhya (189) mentions Hatthālavaka as the king of Alavī.

the epithet Devānampiya of a later age. The name is given also to the rulers of Sāvatthī Kampilla, Mithilā, Champā Vāṇiyagāma, Bārāṇasī and Polasapura, who were all contemporaries of Mahāvīra. Buddhist writers refer to other "Yakkha" principalities besides Ālavaka.

The most important factors in the political history of the period were, however, neither the republics nor the forest principalities but the **four Great Kingdoms** of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha.

In Kosala king Mahākosala had been succeeded by his son Pasenadi or Prasenajit. As already stated, the Kosalan monarchy had spread its tentacles over a vast area extending perhaps from the Gumtī to the Little Gandak and from the Nepalese Tarāi to the Ganges, possibly even to the eastern part of the Kaimur range. It counted amongst its vassals several rājās, including, doubtless, the rulers of the Kāśis, the Śākyas and the Kālāmas. Among its officials were two Mallas, Bandhula and his nephew Dīrgha Chārāyana,5 who must have helped their sovereign to secure influence in the tiny state beyond the Little Gandak from which they came. "Nine Mallakis" appear as allies of the rulers of Kāsi-Kosala in Jaina texts. Friendship with the "Visālikā Lichchhavī" and with Seniya Bimbisāra,6 the master of Magadha, must have favoured peaceful penetration in the east and left the king free to organise his kingdom and dealing drastically with robbers and savages who

¹ In Babylon, however, the style "favourite of the gods" is found as early as the age of Hammurabi (Camb. And Hist., I, p. 511; I. C., April-June, 1946, p. 241).

² Cf. Hoernle, Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, pp. 6, 64, 100, 103, 106, 118, 166. In the Arya Mañjusri Mūla Kalpa (ed. G. šāstrī, p. 645), a king of Gauda is styled "Jitasatru". It is absurd to suggest, as does Hoernle (p. 103 n), that Jiyasattn, Prasenajit and Chedaga were identical. Cf. Indian Culture, II. 806.

Cf. Sutta Nipāta, S.B.E., Vol. X, ii, p. 45.

For the identification of the Rajas, see Part I ante, 155f.

⁵ Majjhima N., II, p. 118. He is probably identical with the person of that name mentioned in the Kautiliya Arthasāstra and inscriptions (nītivijita-Chārāyaṇah, Ep. Ind., III. 210) as a writer on polity, and by Vātsyāyana as an authority on Erotics.

⁶ Majjhima N., II. p. 101.



menaced the road from Sāketa to Sāvatthī, and interfered with the peaceful life of the monks.1

The character of such a man, one of the leading figures of the age, who had received his education at Taxila, and became a friend of the Buddha, deserves study and we have an admirable exposition by Mrs. Rhys Davids. "He is shown combining like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of good 'family man', indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, a magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also are both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not."2

The family life of the king had its bearing on affairs of the state. He married a Magadhan princess which fact must have cemented his friendship with Bimbisāra, who got a Kosalan wife in return. Another queen of Pasenadi (Prasenajit) was the famous Vāsabhakkhattiyā, daughter of Mahānāman, the Śākyan, by a slave girl. The issues of this marriage were a son, Viḍūḍabha (Viduratha), who rose to be his father's senāpati (general) and afterwards his successor, and a daughter Vajirā or Vajiri

¹ Mahāvagga, SBE, XIII, pp. 220, 261. Among the marauders was the notorious Angulimāla.

² Sage and king in Kosala-Sainyutta, Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 134.

³ DPPN, II. 171; 857.

⁴ For the employment of princes as Senāpati, see Kauţilya (Mysore edition), 1919, p. 34; cf. 346.

Purāṇas, however, mention a king named Suratha. Pargiter points out (D. K. A., 12, n 63) that one manuscript of the Vishnu Purāṇa gives the name Viduratha instead of Suratha, But that prince is represented as the great-grandson of Prasenajit. Similarly, the Purāṇas represent Udāyin as the grand-

Kumarī¹ who became the queen of Ajātaśatru, the successor of Bimbisāra on the throne of Magadha. The careers of the prince and the princess are bound up with memorable events, viz., the war of the Kosalan king with Ajātaśatru, the loss of his throne as a result of his son's revolt, and the terrible vengeance that the latter wreaked on the Śākyas for sending the offspring of a slave woman to the Kosalan harem to become the mother of the prince.

When the Magadhan war brought disaster to the king's arms he married Mallikā, daughter of the chief of garland-makers, who sweetened his days till her death, and made herself famous by her benefactions. Among these was a garden, the Mallikārama, which was set apart for religious discussion. She leaned towards the Buddha and his order, though her husband, with great insight, extended his patronage to Brāhmaṇas as well. Mallikā and Sumanā, the king's sister, remind one of Kāruvākī and Rājyaśrī, famous for their charity and interest in Buddhist teaching in the days of Aśoka and Harsha respectively.

The internal organisation of the kingdom of Kosala presents some interesting features. There was a body of ministers at the centre, but they had little control over the king's whims. Those specifically mentioned by tradition were Mṛigadhara, Ugga, Siri-Vaḍḍha, Kāla and Junha. The generals included the Crown Prince and some Malla chiefs. Police duties on roads were performed by soldiers. Portions of the royal domain were granted to Brāhmaṇas like Pokkharasādī, with power over them as if they were kings. The weakness of the system soon became apparent,

son of Ajātaśatru. These instances emphasize the need for a critical handling of the Purāṇic lists.

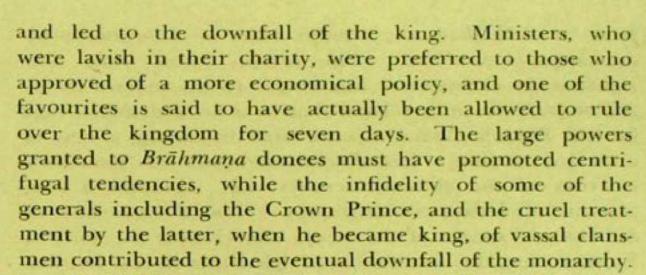
¹ Majjhima, II, p. 110.

² DPPN, II. 455-7. A more famous place, Jetavana, is said to derive its name from a son of Prasenajit.

³ Dialogues of the Buddha, I, pp. 108, 288. For Pasenadi's benefactions to the Buddha and his followers see Gagga Jātaka, No. 155. For preparations for a great sacrifice, see Kindred Sayings, I. 102.

⁴ DPPN, II, 168 ff, 172, 1245.

⁵ Hoernle, Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, Appendix, p. 56. DPPN, I. 332, 572, 960; II. 1146.



In the Vatsa kingdom which, probably at this time, extended along the southern frontier of Kosala, king Śatānīka Parantapa was succeeded by his son Udayana who rivals Śrī Rāmachandra, Nala and the Pāṇḍavas in being the hero of many romantic legends.1 The commentary on the Dhammapada gives the story of the way in which Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti, became his queen. It also mentions two other consorts of the Vatsa king, viz., Māgandiyā,2 daughter of a Kuru Brāhmaņa, and Sāmāvatī, the adopted child of the treasurer Ghosaka. The Milindapañho refers to a peasant woman named Gopāla-mātā who also became his wife. The Svapna-Vāsavadatta attributed to Bhāsa, and some other works, mention another queen named Padmāvatī who is represented as sister to king Darśaka of Magadha. The Priyadarśikā speaks of Udayana's marriage with Aranyaka, the daughter of Dridhavarman, king of Anga- The Ratnavalī tells the story of the love of the king of Vasta and of Sāgarikā, an attendant of his chief queen Vāsavadattā. Stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti in the time of Kālidāsa as we learn

¹ For a detailed account of the legends, see "Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā," by Prof. Félix Lacote, translated by Rev. A. M. Tabard. See also Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1920-21; Gune, "Pradyota, Udayana, and Śreṇika—A Jaina Legend": J. Sen, "The Riddle of the Pradyota Dynasty" (I. H. Q., 1930, pp. 678-700); Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, Priyadarśikā lxii ff.; Aiyangar Com. Vol., 352 ff; Malalasekera, DPPN, I. 379-80; II, 316, 859.

² Cf. Anupamā, Divyāvadāna, 36.

³ IV. 8. 25; DPPN, I. 379-80.

from the Meghadūta: "prāpy-Āvantim Udayana-kathākovida-grāmavriddhān." The Jātakas throw some sidelight on the character of this king. In the preface to the Mātanga Jātaka it is related that in a fit of drunken rage he had Pindola Bhāradvāja tortured by having a nest of ants tied to him. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara of Somadeva, a writer of the eleventh century A.D., contains a long account of Udayana's Digvijaya.1 The Priyadarsikā of Śrī Harsha2 speaks of the king's victory over the lord of Kalinga, and the restoration of his father-in-law Dridhavarman to the throne of Anga. It is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables. It seems that Udayana was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Anga and Magadha. But his career was meteoric. He left no worthy successor. Bodhi, his son by the chief queen, preferred a quiet life amidst the sylvan surroundings of Sumsumaragiri to the troubles of imperial adventure. The kingdom, harassed by various wars, was at last overcome by its ambitious neighbour on the south-west, viz., Avanti, and was governed by a prince of the royal line of Ujjain."

The throne of **Avanti** was, in the days of Udayana, occupied by Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena whose daughter, Vāsavadattā, became the chief queen of the lord of the Vatsas. Regarding the character of Pradyota the Mahāvagga says that he was cruel. The Purāṇas observe that he was "nayavarjita", i.e., destitute of good policy and add that "he will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him—sa vai praṇata-sāmantaḥ". He had at one time made the Vatsa king a captive and had a close relation on

¹ Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 148 ff.

² Act IV.

³ Cf. story of Maniprabha from Āvaśyaka-Kathānakas. Jacobi, Parišishţa-parvan, 2nd cd. xii, Tawney, Kathā-sarit-sāgara, II. p. 484. According to the Āvaśyaka-Kathānaka IV, reproduced by Bhadreśvara in his Kahāvali, Maniprabha, great-grandson of Pradyota, ruled at Kaušāmbī, while his brother Avantisena exercised sway at Ujjain (Avanti).
4 S.B.E., XVII. p. 187.



the throne of Mathurā. The terror that he struck among his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the *Majjhima Nikāya*¹ that Ajātaśatru, son of Bimbisāra, fortified Rājagṛiha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota. He also waged war on Pushkarasārin, the king of Taxila.²

SECTION IV. MAGADHA CRESCENT-BIMBISĀRA

According to Jaina legend Pradyota went forth to attack Rājagriha even during the lifetime of Bimbisāra.3 The last-mentioned prince, the real founder of Magadhan imperial power in the historic period, was the son of a petty chief of South Bihār, whose very name seems to have been forgotten. Tradition tried to fill the lacuna possibly by an imaginary nomenclature.4 An early authority describes the family to which the prince belonged as the Haryanka-kula. As we have already seen,5 there is no reason to discard this evidence in favour of the later tradition of the Purāṇas. Young Bimbisāra, who also bore the name or epithet of Seniya (Śrenika), is said to have been anointed king by his own father when he was only fifteen years old.6 The momentous event cannot fail to recall a solemn ceremony that took place some nine hundred years later when another king of Magadha clasped his favourite son in arms in the presence of the princes royal and ministers, in council assembled, and exclaimed, "Protect the entire land".

The new ruler had a clear perception of the political

¹ III. 7.

² Pradyota was unsuccessful in this war and was only saved from disaster by the outbreak of hostilities between Pushkarasārin and the Pāṇḍavas (Essay on Guṇādhya, 176).

³ He was foiled by the cunning of Prince Abhaya (Annals of the Bhan-

darkar Institute, 1920-21, 3; cf. DPPN, I. 128).

⁴ Among the names given by various late writers we find the following: Bhātiyo (Bhaṭṭiya, Bodhisa), Mahāpadma, Hemajit, Kshemajit, Kshetrojā or Kshetrauja.

⁵ Supra, p. 115ff.

⁸ Mahāvainša (Geiger's trans.), p. 12.

situation of his time. The military power of the Vriji Confederation was growing in the North. Aggressive monarchies under ambitious rulers were following a policy of expansion from their bases in Śrāvastī, and Ujjain. The cruel and unscrupulous ruler of the last-mentioned city engaged in hostilities with Pushkarasārin of Taxila. The king of Taxila harassed by numerous enemies including the mysterious Pāṇḍavas who are known to have been in possession of Śākala (in the Punjab) in the days of Ptolemy, turned to the king of Magadha for help. Though ready to oblige his Gandhārian friend by receiving an embassy, Bimbisāra, who had to liquidate the long-standing feud with his eastern neighbour across the Champā, was in no mood to alienate Pradyota or any of the other military chiefs of the age.

When the king of Avanti was suffering from jaundice he sent the physician Jīvaka. He also pursued a policy of dynastic marriages like the Hapsburgs and Bourbons of Europe and contracted alliances with the ruling families of Madra, Kosala and Vaiśālī. These measures were of great importance. They not only appeased the most formidable militarists of the age, but eventually paved the way for the expansion of the kingdom both westward and northward. Bimbisāra's Kosalan wife brought a Kāśi village producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money. The Vaiśālian connection produced momentous consequences in the next reign.

¹ Khemā, the princess of Śākala (Madra) is said to have been the chief consort of Bimbisāra. Was she connected with the Pāṇḍavas who are found in Śākala as late as the age of Ptolemy?

² According to the *Dhammapada Commentary* (Harvard, 29, 60; 30, 225) Bimbisāra and Pasenadi were connected by marriage, each having married a sister of the other.

³ Jātaka, Nos. 239, 283, 492. According to the Thusa Jātaka (338) and the Mūshika Jātaka (373) the Kosalan princess was the mother of Ajātasatru. The preface to the Jātakas says, "At the time of his (Ajātasatru's) conception there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a chronic longing to drink blood from the right knee of king Bīmbisāra". In the Samyukta Nikāya (Book of Kindred Sayings, 110) Pasenadi of Kosala calls Ajātasatru his nephew. In Vol. I, page 38n of the Book of the Kindred Sayings, however, Maddā (Madrā) appears as the name of Ajātasatru's mother.



The shrewd policy of Bimbisara enabled him to devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Anga which he annexed after defeating Brahmadatta.1 The annexation of Anga by Bimbisara is proved by the evidence of the Mahāvagga2 and that of the Sonadanda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya in which it is stated that the revenues of the town of Champā have been bestowed by King Bimbisāra on the Brahmana Sonadanda. We learn from Jaina sources that Anga was governed as a separate province under the Magadhan Crown Prince with Champa as its capital.3 The king himself resided in Rājagriha-Girivraja.4 Thus by war and policy Bimbisara added Anga and a part of Kāśi to the Magadhan dominions, and launched Magadha to that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. We learn from the Mahāvagga that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000° townships.

The victories of Bimbisāra's reign were probably due in large measure to the vigour and efficiency of his administration. He exercised a rigid control over his High Officers, dismissing those who advised him badly

A Tibetan writer calls her Vāsavī (DPPN, L 34). The Jaina writers represent Chellaṇā, daughter of Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī as the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. The Nikāyas call Ajātaśatru Vedehiputta (Vaidehīputra), i.e., son of the Videhan princess. This is taken to confirm the Jaina tradition because Vaiśālī was in Videha. Buddhaghosha, however, resolves "Vedehi" into Veda-iha, Vedena ihati or intellectual effort (BKS, Vol. 1, 109n) and scems to suggest that "Vedehiputta" simply means "Son of the accomplished princess". We should moreover remember that the Kosalan monarch Para Āṭṇāra, had the epithet Vaideha and the name Kaušalyā was applied to several Kāśi princesses in the epic. The appellation Vaidehīputra, therefore, does not necessarily disprove the Kosalan parentage of the mother of Ajātaśatru. According to one authority "Chelā" (Chellanā) was styled "Vaidehī" "as she was brought from Videha" (AIU, II, 20).

¹ JASB, 1914, p. 321.

² SBE, XVII, p. 1.
³ Hemchandra, the author of the Parisistaparvan VII. 22; cf. also the Bhagavatī Sūtra and the Nirayāvalī Sūtra (ed. Warren, p. 3). King (rāyā) Kuniya, son of King Seņiya by Chellanādevī, ruled in Champā-nagarī in Bhāratavarsha, which is in Jambudvīpa.

⁴ Sutta Nipāta, SBE, X, ii, 67.

Apparently a stock number.
 Chullavagga of the Vinayapitaha, VII. 3. 5. See also Vinaya, 1, 73: 74f.

and rewarding those whose advice he approved of. The result of the 'purge' was the emergence of the type of official represented by Vassakāra and Sunītha. The High Officers (Rājabhaṭa) were divided into several classes, viz., (1) Sabbatthaka (the officer in charge of general affairs), (2) Senā-nāyaka Mahāmattas (generals), and (3) Vohārika Mahāmattas (judges).1 The Vinaya texts afford us a glimpse of the activities of these Mahāmātras, and the rough and ready justice meted out to criminals. Thus we have reference not only to imprisonment in jails (kārā), but also to punishment by scourging (kaśā), branding, beheading, tearing out the tongue, breaking ribs, etc. There seems to have been a fourth class of mahāmātras who were responsible like the village syndic and headmen (grāmabhojaka or grāmakuţa) for the levy of the tithe on produce.2

In provincial administration a considerable degree of autonomy was allowed. We hear not only of a sub-king at Champā, but of māṇḍalika rājās¹ corresponding perhaps to the earls and counts of mediaeval European polity. But Bimbisāra, like William the Conqueror, sought to check the centrifugal tendencies of the system by a great gemote of village headmen (grāmikas) who are said to have assembled from the 80,000 townships of the realm.

Measures were taken for the improvement of communications and the foundation of a new royal residence. Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) refers to Bimbisāra's road and causeway, and says that when Kuśāgrapura (old Rājagriha) was afflicted by fires, the king went to the cemetery and built a new city. Fa Hien, however, gives the credit for the foundation of New Rājagriha to Ajātaśatru. The patronage of Jīvaka shows that medical arrangements were not neglected.

In one respect Bimbisāra was unfortunate. Like

¹ Another judicial officer mentioned in Pali texts (Kindred Sayings, II. 172) is the Vinichchay-āmachcha.

² Camb. Hist., I. 199.

³ DPPN, II. 898.



Prasenajit he was possibly the victim of the malevolence of the Crown Prince whom he had appointed to the vice-royalty of Champā,¹ and had perhaps even admitted to royalty, following the precedent of his own father.² The ungrateful son, who is variously called Ajātaśatru, Kūṇika and Aśokachanda³ is said to have put his father to death. The crime seriously affected the relations of Magadha with Kosala. Dr. Smith regards the story of the murder as 'the product of odium theologicum', and shows excessive scepticism in regard to the evidence of the Pāli canon and chronicles. But the general credibility of these works has been maintained by scholars like Rhys Davids and Geiger whose conclusions seem to be confirmed directly or indirectly by the testimony of independent classical and Jaina writers.⁴

SECTION V. MAGADHA MILITANT-KÜŅIKA-AJĀTAŚATRU

Whatever may have been the mode by which he acquired the throne, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru proved to be an energetic ruler. The defences of the realm were strengthened by fortifications at Rājagṛiha and the foundation of a new stronghold at Pāṭaligrāma near the junction of the son and the Ganges. Like Frederick II of Prussia he carried out the policy of a father with whom his relations were by no means cordial. His reign was the highwater

¹ Bhagavatī Sūtra, Nirayāvali Sūtra, Parišishtaparvan IV. 1-9; VI. 22 and

the Kathākoša, p. 178.

2 Chullavagga, VII. 3. 5. Bimbisāra seems to have sought the assistance of other sons, too, in the work of government. One of these, Abhaya (son of Padmāvatī of Ujjain or of Nandā helped his father to foil the machinations of Pradyota. Other children, recorded by tradition were Vimala Koṇḍañña by Ambapālī. Halla and Vehalla by Chellanā, Kāla, Sīlavat, Jayasena and a girl Chundī by other wives.

a Kathākoša. The Aupapātia sūtra styles him Devānupiya (IA, 1881, 108) a title possibly identical with Devānampiya of inscriptions of the third century B.C.

⁴ Cf. the Jaina attempt to whitewash Kūṇika from the stain of intentional parricide (Jacobi referring to the Nirayāvali Sūtra in his Kalpa Sūtra of Bhadrayāhu, 1879. p. 5).

mark of the power of the Haryanka dynasty. He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāśi, or a part of it, but also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī. The traditional account of his duel with Kosala is given in Buddhist texts.1 It is said that when Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, his father, the queen Kosalā Devī died of love for him. Even after her death the Magadhan King continued to enjoy the revenues of the Kāśi village which had been given to the lady for bath money. But Prasenajit, the sovereign of Kosala, determined that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance. War followed, sometimes the Kosalan monarch got the best of it, and sometimes the rival king. On one occasion Prasenajit fled away in defeat to his capital Śrāvastī: on another occasion he took Ajātaśatru prisoner but spared his life as he was his nephew. He confiscated the army of the captive prince but sought to appease him by the offer of the hands of his daughter Vajirā. The princess was dismissed with the Kāśi village in question, for her bath money. Her father could not enjoy the fruits of peace for more than three years.2 During his absence in a country town, Dīgha Chārāyana, the Commander-in-Chief, raised prince Vidudabha to the throne." The ex-king set out for Rājagriha, resolved to take Ajātaśatru with him and capture Vidudabha. But he died from exposure outside the gates of the Magadhan metropolis.

The traditional account of the war with Vaisālī is preserved in part by Jaina writers. King Seņiya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyaṇaga (Sechanaka, the sprinkler), together with a large necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellaṇā, the daughter of Rājā Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. His eldest son Kūṇiya (Ajāta-

The Book of the Kindred Sayings, I. pp. 109-110. The Samyutta Nikāya and the Haritamāta, Vaddhaki-Sūkara, Kummā Sapiņda Tachchha Sūkara and the Bhaddasāla Jātakas.

² DPPN, II. 172.

³ Bhaddasāla Jātaka.



śatru), after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paūmāvaī (Padmāvatī),¹ demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their grandfather Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī, Kūṇiya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Cheṭaka.² According to Buddhaghosha's commentary the Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī,³ the cause of the war was a breach of trust on the part of the Lichchhavis in connection with a mine of precious gems or some fragrant material near a port on the Ganges over which a condominium was exercised by Ajātaśatru and his northern neighbours.

The preliminaries to the struggle between Magadha and Vaiśālī are described in several Pāli texts. In the Mahāvagga it is related that Sunīd(t)ha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a fort at Pāṭaligrāma in order to repel the Vajjis (Vṛijis). The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta says: "The Blessed One was once dwelling in Rājagaha on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin'".

"So he spake to the Brāhmaņa Vassakāra, the prime minister of Magadha, and said, 'Come now, Brāhmaņa, do you go to the Blessed One, and...tell him that Ajātasattu... has resolved, 'I will root out these Vajjians'. Vassakāra

The appellation Padmāvatī is of so frequent occurrence in connection with Magadhan royalty that it seems to be an epithet rather than a personal name. The mother of prince Abhaya, a queen of Ajātaśatru, and a sister of Darśaka, all have this name according to tradition. Cf. the name Padmini applied to the most commendable type of women in treatises on Erotics. It is also not improbable that the name belongs to the domain of mythology.

 ² Uvāsaga-dasāo, II. Appendix, p. 7; cf. Tawney, Kathākoša, pp. 176ff.
 3 Burmese Edition, Part II, p. 99. See now B. C. Law, Buddhistic Studies,
 p. 199; DPPN, II. 781.

⁴ SBE, XI, pp. 1-5; XVII. 101, Gradual Sayings, IV. 14, etc.

hearkened to the words of the king..." (and delivered to the Buddha the message even as the king had commanded).

In the Nirayāvalī Sūtra (Nirayāvaliyā-Sutta) it is related that when Kūnika (Ajātaśatru) prepared to attack Chetaka of Vaiśālī the latter called together the eighteen Gaṇarājas' of Kāśi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūnika's demands, or go to war with him. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaiśālī are referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya.2 There is thus no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāśi-Kosala on the one hand and Vaiśālī on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāśi-Kosala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. The flames fused together into one big conflagration." We are reminded of the tussle of the Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls with the rising power of Rome.

In the war with Vaiśālī Kūṇiya-Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of the Mahāsilākaṇṭaga and ra(t)hamusala. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men. The ra(t)hamusala may be compared to the tanks used in the great world wars.

The war is said to have synchronised with the death of Gosāla Mankhaliputta, the great teacher of the Ājīvika sect. Sixteen years later at the time of Mahāvīra's death the anti-Magadhan confederacy is said to have been still

¹ Chiefs of republican clans. Cf. 125 ante.

² Vol. II, p. 101.

We are told that even Pradyota of Avanti made preparations to avenge the death of his friend Bimbisara (DPPN, I. 34).
 Uvāsaga-dasāo, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 60: Kathākoša, p. 179.



in existence. We learn from the Kalpa Sūtra that on the death of Mahāvīra the confederate kings mentioned in the Nirayāvalī Sūtra instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event.¹ The struggle between the Magadhan king and the powers arrayed against him thus seems to have been protracted for more than sixteen years. The Aṭṭhakathā gives an account of the Machiavellian tactics² adopted by Magadhan statesmen headed by Vassakāra to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vaiśālians and thus bring about their downfall.³

1 S.B.E., xxii, 266 (para. 128). As pointed out by Jacobi (The Kalpasütra of Bhadravāhu, 6 ff.) the traditional date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāņa is 470 years before Vikrama (58 B. C.) according to the Svetāmbaras, and 605 according to the Digambaras. It is suggested that Vikrama of the Digambaras is intended for Sālivāhana (78 A.D.). A different tradition is, however, recorded by Hemachandra who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra Chandragupta became king:—

evam cha śri-Mahāvīra-mukter varshasate gate pańchapańchāsadadhike Chandragupto'bhavan nripah. —Sthavirāvalīcharita, Parisishţaparva, VIII. 339.

As Chandragupta's accession apparently took place between 326 and 312 B.C., the tradition recorded in Hemachandra's Parisishtaparvan would place the date of Mahāvīra's death between 481 and 467 B.C. But early Buddhist texts (Dialogues, III, pp. 111, 203; Majjhima, II, 243) make the famous Jaina teacher predecease the Buddha, and the latest date assigned by reliable tradition to the Parinirvāņa of the Śākya sage is 486 B.C. (Cantonese tradition, Smith, EHI, 4th ed., 49). According to Ceylonese writers, śākyamuni entered into nirvāņa in the eighth year of Ajātašatru (Ajātasatluno vasse atthame muni nibbute, Mahāvamša, Ch. II). This would place the accession of the son of Bimbisara in 493 B.C., if the Cantonese date for the nirvana of the Buddha is accepted. Jaina writers put the interval between Kūņika's accession and the death of their master at 16 and 'x' years. According to Buddhist chroniclers the interval would be less than 8 years as Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha. The divergent data of the Jaina and Buddhist texts can only be reconciled if we assume that the former take as their starting point the date of the accession of Kūṇika as the rājā of Champā, while the Buddhists begin their calculation from a later date when Ajātasatru mounted the throne of Rājagriha. According to Buddhist tradition Vassakāra's visit to the Buddha in connection with the Vrijian incident took place a year before the parinirvāna. The destruction of the Vriji power took place some three years later on (DPPN, I. 33-34) i.e. c. 484 B.C. Too much reliance cannot, however, be placed on the traditional chronology.

² Diplomacy (upolāpana) and disunion (mithubheda), DPPN, II. 846; JRAS, 1931. Cf. Gradual Sayings, IV. 12. "The Vajjians cannot be overcome in battle, but only by cunning, by breaking up their alliance."

a Cf. Modern Review, July, 1919, pp. 55-56. According to the Arya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa (Vol. I. ed. Ganapati Sāstrī, pp. 603 f) the dominions of Ajātaśatru embraced, besides Magadha, Anga, Vārāṇasī (Benares), and

The absorption of Vaiśālī and a part at least of Kāsi as a result of the Kosalan and Vajjian wars probably brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avanti. We have already referred to a statement of the Majjhima Nikāya that on one occasion Ajātaśatru was fortifying his capital because he was afraid of an invasion of his dominions by Pradyota. We do not know whether the attack was ever made. Ajātaśatru does not appear to have succeeded in humbling Avanti. The conquest of that kingdom was reserved for his successors.

It was during the reign of Ajātaśatru that both Mahāvīra and Gautama, the great teachers of Jainism and Buddhism respectively, are said to have entered nirvāṇa. Shortly after the death of Gautama a Council is said to have been held by the monks of his Order for the recitation and collection of the Doctrine.

SECTION VI. AJĀTAŚATRU'S SUCCESSORS—THE TRANSFER OF CAPITAL AND THE FALL OF AVANTI

Ajātaśatru was succeeded according to the *Purāṇas* by Darśaka. Geiger considers the insertion of Darśaka after Ajātaśatru to be an error, because the Pāli Canon indubitably asserts that Udāyi-bhadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor. Jaina tradition recorded in the *Kathākośa*¹ and the *Pariśishṭaparvan*² also represents Udaya or Udāyin as the son of Kūṇika by his wife Padmāvatī, and his immediate successor.

Though the existence of Darśaka, as a ruler of Magadha and a contemporary of Udayana, is rendered probable by references in the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* attributed to Bhāsa, yet in the face of Buddhist and Jaina evidence it

Vaišālī in the north. In the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal the Parkham statue is a contemporary portrait of king Ajātašatru. But Kūņika of Parkham (Lūders List No. 150) is obviously not a king.

¹ P. 177.

² P. 42.

³ Buddhist writers represent Vajirā, daughter of Prasenajit, as the mother of Udāyi.



cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru on the imperial throne of Magadha. He may have been one of the mandalika rājās like the father of Viśākha Pāñchālīputra. His inclusion among Magadhan suzerains is possibly paralleled by that of Suddhodana in the main list of the Ikshvākuids. Certain writers identify him with Nāga-Dāsaka who is represented by the Ceylonese Chronicles as the last king of Bimbisāra's line.1 The Divyāvadāna,2 however, omits this name altogether from the list of the Bimbisarids. There was thus no unanimity even among Buddhists about the lineage and

position of the king.

Udāyin: Before his accession to the throne Udāyin or Udāyi-bhadda, the son of Ajātaśatru, seems to have acted as his father's Viceroy at Champa.3 The Parisishtaparvan informs us that he founded a new capital on the banks of the Ganges which came to be known as Pāṭaliputra.4 This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the Gargi Samhita' and the Vayu Purana according to which Udāyin built the city of Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra) in the fourth year of his reign. The choice of the place was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm which now included North Bihār. Moreover, its situation at the confluence of two large rivers, the Ganges and the son and close to other streams, was important from the commercial as well as the strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that the

¹ E.g., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. In this connection mention was made, in earlier editions, of a passage in the Si-yu-ki, (Beal's Trans., H. p. 102): "To the south-west of the old Sanghārāma about 100 li is the Sanghārāma of Ti-lo-shi-kia . . . It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisara raja." The name of the second Sanghārāma was sought to be connected with that of Darśaka who was here represented as the last descendant of Bimbisāra. But I now think that the connection of the monastery with the name of Daršaka is extremely doubtful. See Watters, II. p. 106f.

² P. 369.

³ Jacobi, Parisishtaparvan, p. 42.

⁴ VI. 34; 175-180.

⁵ Kern, Brihat Samhita, 36.

Kauțiliya Arthaśāstra recommends a site at the confluence

of rivers for the capital of a kingdom.

The Parisishtaparvan' refers to the king of Avanti as the enemy of Udāyin. This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that his father had to fortify his capital in expectation of an attack about to be made by Pradyota, ruler of that country. The fall of Anga and Vaisālī and the discomfiture of Kosala had left Avanti the only important rival of Magadha. This last kingdom had absorbed all the monarchies and republics of Eastern India. On the other hand, if the Kathā-sarit-sāgara and the Avasyaka kathānakas2 are to be believed, the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was at this time annexed to the realm of Pālaka of Avanti, the son of Pradyota and was governed by a prince belonging to his family. The two kingdoms, Magadha and Avanti, were brought face to face with each other. The war of nerves between the two for ascendancy probably began, as we have seen, in the reign of Ajātaśatru. It must have continued during the reign of Udāyin.3 The issue was finally decided in the time of

= See Supra Sec. III, p. 204.

of Avanti, see IHQ, 1929, 399-

In the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal one of the famous "Patna Statucs" which, at the time of the controversy, stood in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum (Ind. Ant., 1919. pp. 29ff.), is a portrait of Udāyin. According to him the statue bears the following words:

Bhage ACHO chhonidhiśc.

He identifies ACHO with king Aja mentioned in the Bhāgavata list of saisunāga kings, and with Udāyin of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa lists. Dr. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the inscription have not, however, been accepted by several scholars including Dr. Barnett, Mr. Chanda and Dr. R. G. Majumdar. Dr. Smith, however, while unwilling to dogmatize, was of opinion that the statue was pre-Maurya. In the third edition of his Ašoka he considers Dr. Jayaswal's theory as probable. The characters of the short inscription on the statue are so difficult to read that it is well-nigh impossible to come to a final decision. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved. Cunningham described the statue as that of a Yaksha. According to him the figure bore the words "Yakhe Achusanigika". Mr. Chanda's reading is: Bha(?) ga Achachha nivika (the owner of inexhaustible capital, i.e., Vaisravaṇa). See Indian Antiquary, March, 1919. Dr. Majumdar reads: Gate (Yakhe?) Lechchhai (vi) 40.4 (Ind. Ant., 1919).

¹ Pp. 45-46, Text VI, 191. Abhūdasahanonityam Avantišo' py-Udāyinah.

³ For a traditional account of the conflict between Udayin and the king



Śiśunāga, or of Nanda as Jaina tradition seems to suggest.1

Udāyin's successors in the Purāņas are Nandivardhana and Mahānandin. According to the Jainas he left no heir.2 The Ceylonese chroniclers place after Udayi the kings named Anuruddha, Munda and Nāga-Dāsaka. This tradition is partially confirmed by the Anguttara Nikāya which alludes to Munda,3 King of Pāţaliputra. The Divyāvadāna, too, mentions Munda but omits the names of Anuruddha and Nāga-Dāsaka. The Anguttara Nikāya by mentioning Pāṭaliputra as the capital of Muṇḍa indirectly confirms the tradition regarding the transfer of the Magadhan metropolis from Rājagriha to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra before his reign.

The great Ceylonese chronicle avers that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāga-Dāsaka were parricides.4 The citizens drove out the family in anger and raised an amātya (official) to the throne.

Susunāga or Sisunāga, the new king seems to have been acting as the Magadhan Viceroy at Benares. The employment of amātyas as provincial governors or district officers need not cause surprise. The custom continued as late as the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarņi and Rudradāman I. The Purāṇas tell us that "placing his son at Benares he will repair to (the stronghold of) Girivraja". He had a second royal residence at Vaisālī which ultimately became his capital." "That monarch (śiśunāga), not unmindful of

¹ Ind. Ant., II. 362.

² Parisishtaparvan, VI. 236.

³ Ang. III. 57. "The venerable Nārada dwelt near Pāṭaliputta in the Cock's Park. Now at that time Bhadda, the dear and beloved queen of king Munda died." The king's grief was intense. The queen's body was placed in an oil vessel made of iron. A treasurer, Piyaka, is also mentioned. (Gradual Sayings, III. 48).

The violent death of Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) is known to Jain tradition

⁽Jacobi, Parišishţaparvan, 2nd ed. p. xiii).

⁵ The question of the relative merits of Purāņic and Ceylonese accounts of this king and his place in early Magadhan lists of kings have been discussed in Part I, pp. supra. 115 ff.

SBE, XI, p. xvi. If the Dvatrimsat-puttalika is to be believed Vesali (Vaisāli) continued to be a secondary capital till the time of the Nandas.

his mother's origin, re-established the city of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) and fixed in it the royal residence. From that time Rājagaha (Rājagriha-Girivraja) lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered".

The most important achievement of Śiśunāga seems to have been the destruction of the 'glory' of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti. Pradyota the first king of the line, had been succeeded, according to tradition, by his sons Gopāla and Pālaka after whom came Viśākha and Āryaka. The name of Gopāla is omitted in the Purāṇas with the possible exception of the k Vishnu manuscript, where it finds mention instead of Pālaka.2 The accession of the latter synchronised, according to Jaina accounts, with the passing away of Mahāvīra. He is reputed to have been a tyrant. Viśākha-bhūpa (i.e., king Viśākha called Viśākhayūpa in most Purāņic texts) may have been a son of Pālaka.3 The absence of any reference to this prince in non-Puranic accounts that have hitherto been available, may suggest that he ruled in some outlying district (Māhishmatī), or was set aside in favour of Aryaka who occupied the throne, as a result of a popular outbreak, almost immediately after the fall of Pālaka. The Purāņas place after Āryaka or Ajaka a king named Nandivardhana, or Vartivardhana, and add that Sisunaga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and be king. Dr. Jayaswal identifies Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti list with Aja-Udāyin and Nandivardhana of the Purāņic list of Śaiśunāga kings.

¹ Siśunāga, according to the Mahāvamsaţikā (Turnour's Mahāvamsa, xxxvii), was the son of a Lichchhavi rājā of Vaišālī. He was conceived by a nagara-šobhinī and brought up by an officer of State.

3 DKA, 19. n29. The Kalki Purāņa (1. 3. 32f.) mentions a king named Višākha-yūpa who ruled at Māhiśmatī near the southern frontier of ancient Avanti.

² Essay on Guṇāḍhya, 115; Gopāla and Pālaka find mention in the Bṛihat Kathā, Svapna-Vāsavadattā, Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, Mṛichchhakaṭika, etc. A prince named Kumārasena is known to the Harsha-charita. According to the Nepalese Bṛihatkathā (cf. Kathā-sarit-sāgara, XIX. 57) Gopāla succeeds Mahāsena (Pradyota) but abdicates in favour of his brother Pālaka. Pālaka renounces the crown in favour of Avantivardhana, son of Gopāla. In the Āvašyaka Kathānakas (Parišishṭaparvan, 2nd ed. xii) Avantisena is mentioned as a grandson of Pālaka.



Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, says that Āryaka or Ajaka was the son of Gopāla, the elder brother of Pālaka.' 'Nandivardhana' and 'Vartivardhana' are apparently corruptions of Avantivardhana, the name of a son of Pālaka according to the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, of Gopāla according to the Nepalese Bṛihat-kathā, or possibly identical with Avantisena, a grandson of Pālaka according to the Āvasyaka Kathānakas. The Pradyota dynasty must have been humbled by Śiśunāga in the time of king Avantivardhana. The Magadhan victory was doubtless facilitated by the revolution that placed Āryaka, a ruler about whose origin there is hardly any unanimity, on the throne of Ujjain.

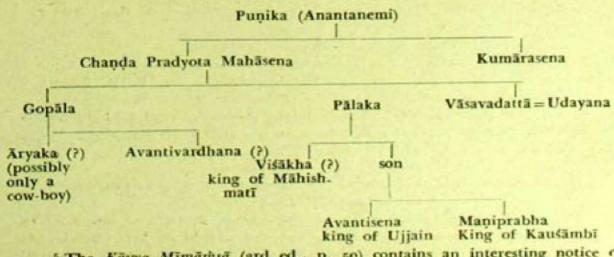
Siśunāga⁵ was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by his son Kākavarṇa, and according to the Ceylonese chronicles by his son Kālāśoka. Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar agree that Kālāśoka, "the black Aśoka" and Kākavarṇa, "the crow-coloured" are one and the same individual. The conclusion accords with the evidence of the Aśokāvadāna which places Kākavarṇin after Muṇḍa, and does not

2 Tawney's translation, II. 485, Cf. Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 311.

1 Essay on Gunādhya, 115.

4 Parisishtaparvan, 2nd ed. p. xii.

TRADITIONAL GENEALOGY OF THE PRADYOTAS



⁵ The Kūvya Mīmāmsā (3rd ed., p. 50) contains an interesting notice of this king and says that he prohibited the use of cerebrals in his harem.

¹ Carm. Lec., 1918, 64f. But J. Sen rightly points out (IHQ. 1930, 699) that in the Mrichchhakatika Aryaka is represented as a cow-boy who was raised to the throne after the overthrow of the tyrant Pālaka.

mention Kālāśoka.¹ The new king already served his apprenticeship in the art of government possibly at Benares and in the district of Gayā. The two most important events of his reign are the meeting of the second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī, and the final transfer of the capital to Pāṭaliputra.

Bāṇa in his Harsha-charita gives a curious legend concerning his death. It is stated that Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāgi had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The story about the tragic fate of this king is, as we shall see later on, confirmed by Greek evidence.

The traditional successors of Kālāśoka were his ten sons who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. Their names according to the Mahābodhivamsa were Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañchamaka.

Only one of these names, viz., that of Nandivardhana occurs in the Purāṇic lists. This prince attracted some attention in recent years. His name was read on a Patna statue and in the famous Hāthigumphā inscription of

¹ Divyāvadāna, 369 ; Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. xli.

² K. P. Parab, 4th ed., 1918, p. 199.

³ The Divyāvadāna (p. 369) gives a different list of the successors of Kākavarņin: Sahālin, Tulakuchi, Mahāmandala and Prasenajit. After Prasenajit the crown went to Nanda.

⁴ Bhandarkar, Carm. Lec., 1918, 83.

Dr. Jayaswal opined that the headless "Patna statue" which stood, at the time when he wrote, in the Bhārhut Gallery of the Indian Museum, was a portrait of this king. According to him the inscription on the statue runs as follows:—

Sapa (or Sava) khate Vaţa Namdi.

He regarded Vața Namdi as an abbreviation of Vartivardhana (the name of Nandivardhana in the Vāyu list) and Nandivardhana. Mr. R. D. Banerji in the June number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. 1919, said that there cannot be two opinions about the reading Vața Namdi. Mr. Chanda, however, regarded the statue in question as an image of a Yaksha and read the inscription which it bore as follows:—

Yakha sa (?) rvața namdi.

Dr. Majumdar said that the inscription might be read as follows:— Yakhe sain vajinām 70.

He placed the inscription in the second century A. D., and supported the Yaksha theory propounded by Cunningham and upheld by Mr. Chanda. He did not agree with those scholars who concluded that the statue was a portrait of a Saisunaga sovereign simply because there were some letters in the inscrip-



Khāravela. He was sought to be identified with Nandarāja of Khāravela's record on the strength of Kshemendra's reference to Pūrvananda (Nanda the Elder) who, we are told, should be distinguished from the Navanandāh or New (Later) Nandas, and taken to answer to a ruler of the group represented by Nandivardhana and Mahānandin of the Puranas.1 In the works of Kshemendra and Somadeva, however, Pūravananda (singular) is distinguished, not from the Navanandah, but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda), the re-animated corpse of king Nanda.2 The Puranic as well as the Ceylonese chroniclers know of the existence of only one Nanda line and agree with Jaina tradition in taking nava to mean nine (and not new).2 They represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Śaiśunāga line—a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas. The Purānas contain nothing to show that

tion under discussion which might be construed as a name of a śaiśunāga king. Referring to Dr. Jayaswal's suggestion that the form Vaṭa Namdi was composed of two variant proper names (Vartivardhana and Namdivardhana)—he said that Chandragupta II was also known as Devagupta, and Vigrahapāla had a second name śūrapāla; but who had ever heard of compound names like Chandra-Deva, or Deva-Chandra, and śūra-Vigraha or Vigraha-śūra? (Ind. Ant., 1919).

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād śāstrī took Vaţa Namdi to mean Vrātya Namdi and said that the statue had most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the Vrātya Kshatriyas. In the Purāṇas the śiśunāga kings are mentioned as Kshattrabandhus, i.e., Vrātya Kshatriyas. The Mahāmahopādhyāya thus inclined to the view of Dr. Jayaswal that the statue in question

was a portrait of a śaiśunāga king (JBORS., December, 1919).

Mr. Ordhendu Coomar Gangoly, on the other hand, regarded the statue as a Yaksha image, and drew our attention to the catalogue of Yakshas in the Mahāmāyūrī and the passage "Nandī cha Vardhanas chaiva nagare Nandīvardhane" (Modern Review, October, 1919). Dr. Barnett was also not satisfied that the four syllables which might be read as Vaṭa Namdī mentioned the name of a Śaiśunāga king. Dr. Smith, however, in the third edition of his Asoka admitted the possibility of Dr. Jayaswal's contention. We regard the problem as still unsolved. The data at our disposal are too scanty to warrant the conclusion that the inscription on the "Patna statue" mentions a Śaiśunāga king. The script seems to be late.

1 Jayaswal (supported by R. D. Banerji); The Oxford History of India,

Additions and Corrections; JBORS, 1918, 91.

2 Cf. Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Durgāprasād and Parab's edition, p. 10.

² Cf. Jacobi, Parišishtaparvan VIII. 3: App. p. 2; 'Namdavamse Navamo Namdarāyā.

Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kalinga. On the contrary, we are distinctly told that when the Śaiśunāgas and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha 32 kings ruled in Kalinga synchronously. "It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas.' So we should identify Namdarāja of the Hāthigumphā inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons."

SECTION VII. CHRONOLOGY OF THE HARYANKA-ŚAIŚUNĀGA KINGS

There is considerable disagreement between the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese chronicles regarding the chronology of the kings of the Bimbisarian (or Haryanka) and Śaiśunāga dynasties. Even Smith and Pargiter are not disposed to accept all the dates given in the Puranas.2 According to Ceylonese tradition Bimbisara ruled for fifty-two years, Ajātaśatru for 32 years, Udāyī for 16 years, Anuruddha and Munda for 8 years, Nāga-Dāsaka for 24 years, Śīśunāga for 18 years, Kālāśoka for 28 years and Kālāśoka's sons for 22 years. Gautama Buddha died in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru, i.e., in the (52+8=) 60th year (i.e., a little more than 59 years) after the accession of Bimbisara. The event happened in 544 B.C. according to a Ceylonese reckoning, and in 486 B.C. according to a Cantonese tradition of 489 A.D., based on a 'dotted record' brought to China by Samgha-bhadra. The date 544 B.C. can, however, hardly be reconciled with a gatha transmitted in the

Chanda, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. I, p. 11.

2 Pargiter (AIHT, pp. 286-7) reads the Matsya Purāņa as assigning the Sisunāgas 163 years, and further reduces the number to 145 allowing an average of about 14½ years for each reign. He places the beginning of the Sisunāgas (among whom he includes the Bimbisārids) in B.C. 567 and rejects (287n) the traditional figures for the reigns of Bimbisāra and his son. Cf. also Bhandarkar, Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 68. 'A period of 363 years for ten consecutive reigns' i.e., 36.3 years for each 'is quite preposterous.'

3 Mahāvamsa, Ch. 2 (p. 12 of translation).



Ceylonese chronicles which states that Priyadarsana (Asoka Maurya) was consecrated 218 years after the Buddha had passed into nirvāṇa.1 This fact and certain Chinese and Chola synchronisms led Geiger and a few other scholars to think that the era of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication and that the true date of the death of the Buddha is 483 B.C.2—a result closely approaching that to which the Cantonese tradition leads us. The Chola synchronisms referred to by these scholars are, however, not free from difficulties, and it has been pointed out by Geiger himself that the account in Chinese annals of an embassy which Mahānāman, king of Ceylon, sent to the emperor of China in 428 A.D., does not speak in favour of his revised chronology. The traditional date of Menander which is c. 500 A.B., works out more satisfactorily with a Nirvāṇa era of 544 B.C., than with an era of 483 or 486 B.C. In regard to the Maurya period, however, calculations based on the traditional Ceylonese reckoning will place the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 544-162 = 382 B.C., and the coronation of Asoka Maurya in 544-218=326 B.C. These results are at variance with the evidence of Greek writers and the testimony of the inscriptions of Asoka himself. Classical writers represent Chandragupta as a contemporary of Alexander (326 B.C.) and of Seleukos (312 B.C.). Aśoka in his thirteenth Rock Edict speaks of certain Hellenistic kings as alive. As one at least of these rulers died not later than 258 B.C. (250 B.C. according to some authorities) and as rescripts on morality began to be written when Aśoka was anointed twelve years, his consecration could not have taken place after 269 B.C. (261 B.C. according to some). The date cannot be pushed back beyond 277 B.C., because his grandfather Chandragupta must have ascended the throne after 326 B.C., as he met Alexander in that year as an

¹ Dve satāni cha vassāni aţţhārasa vassāni cha Sambuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassano. Ibid., p. xxiii (Cf. Dīp. 6. 1).

² Ibid., Geiger, trans. p. xxviii; JRAS, 1909, pp. 1-34.

ordinary individual and died after a reign of 24 years, and the next king Bindusāra, the father and immediate predecessor of Aśoka, ruled for at least 25 years, 326 B.C.-49 = 277 B.C., Aśoka's coronation, therefore, took place between 277 and 261 B.C., and as the event happened, according to the old Gāthā recorded by the Ceylonese Chroniclers, 218 years after the parinirvana of the Buddha, the date of the Great Decease should be placed between 495 and 479 B.C. The result accords not with the Ceylonese date 544 B.C., but with the Cantonese date 486 B.C., and Geiger's date 483 B.C., for the parinirvana. The Chinese account of embassies which King Meghavarna sent to Samudra Gupta, and King Kia-Che (Kassapa) sent to China in 527 A.D., also speaks in favour of the date 486 B.C., or 483 B.C., for the Great Decease. Geiger's date, however, is not recognised by reliable tradition. The same remark applies to the date (Tuesday, 1 April, 478 B.C.) preferred by L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai.1 The Cantonese date may, therefore, be accepted as a working hypothesis for the determination of the chronology of the early dynasties of Magadha. The date of Bimbisāra's accession, according to this reckoning, would fall in or about 486 + 59 = 545 B.C., which is very near to the starting point of the traditional Ceylonese Nirvāņa era of 544 B.C. 'The current name of an era is no proof of origins.' It is not altogether improbable that the Buddhist reckoning of Ceylon originally started from the coronation of Bimbisara and was later on confounded with the era of the Great Decease.

In the time of Bimbisāra Gandhāra was an independent kingdom ruled by a king named Paushkarasārin (Pukkusāti). By B.C. 519 at the latest it had lost its independence and had become subject to Persia, as we learn from the inscriptions of Darius. It is thus clear that Paushkarasārin and his contemporary Bimbisāra lived before B.C. 519. This accords with the chronology



which places his accession and coronation in or about B.C. 545-44.

SUGGESTED CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(APPROXIMATE DATES)

Event

Year B.C.

- 565 Birth of the Buddha.
- 560 Birth of Bimbisāra.
- c. 558 Accession of Cyrus the Achaemenid.
- 545-44 Accession of Bimbisara. Epoch of a Ceylonese Era.
 - 536 The Great Renunciation (of the Buddha).
 - 530 Enlightenment.
- 530-29 The Buddha's visit to Bimbisara.
 - 527 Traditional Epoch of the era of Mahāvīra's Nirvāņa.
 - 522 Accession of Darius I.
 - 493 Accession of Ajātaśatru.
 - 486 Cantonese date of the Parinirvana of the Buddha. The death of Darius I. Council of Rajagriha.
 - 461 Accession of Udāyibhadraka.
 - 457 Foundation of Pāṭaliputra (Kusumapura).
 - 445 Aniruddha (Anuruddha) and Hunda.
 - 437 Nāga-Dāsaka (omitted in the *Divyāvadāna* and Jaina texts).
 - 413 Sisunaga.
 - 395 Kālāśoka (Kākavarņa).
 - 386 Council of Vaiśālī.
 - 367 Sons of Kālāśoka, and de facto rule of Mahāpadma Nanda.
 - 345 End of the śaiśunāga dynasty.

SECTION VIII. THE NANDAS

The śaiśunāga dynasty was supplanted by the line of Nanda.¹ With the new family we reach a stage of East

¹ According to Jaina tradition Nanda was proclaimed king after Udāyin's assassination, and sixty years after the Nirvāṇa of Varddhamāna (Parisishta, p. VI. 243). For Nanda's history see now Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, pp. 9-26. N. Sastri, Raychaudhuri and others.

Indian history when the indubitable evidence of inscriptions becomes available to supplement the information gleaned from traditional literary sources. The famous Hāthigumphā record of Khāravela, of the second or first century B.C., twice mentions Namda-rāja in connection with Kalinga.

Pamchame cedāni vase Namdarāja-ti-vasasata-oghāţitam

Tanasuliya-vāṭā panāḍi (m) nagaram pavesa (yati).....

"And then, in the fifth year (Khāravela) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda three hundred years' back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road."

Again, in connection with the twelfth year of Khāra-vela's reign, we have a reference to Nadarāja-jita Kalimga-jana-sam(n)i(ve)sam (or, according to another reading, Namda-rājanītam Kalimga-Jina-samnivesam), i.e., a station

1 This interpretation of 'tivasasata' accords substantially with the Puranic tradition, regarding the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Sātakarņi, the contemporary of Khāravela in his second regnal year, belonged (137 years for the Mauryas + 112 for the 'sungas' + 45 for the Kāṇvas=294). If the expression is taken to mean 103 years (as is suggested by some scholars). Khāravela's accession must be placed 103-5=98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place 9 years before that date, i.e., 98-9=89 years after Nanda, i.e., not later than 324-89=235 B.C. Khāravela's senior partner in the royal office was on the throne at that time and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But we learn from Asoka's inscriptions that Kalinga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra (and not by a Kalinga-adhipati or Chakravartī) under the suzerainty of Aśoka himself. Therefore, tivasasata should be understood to mean 300 and not 103 years. S. Konow (Acta Orientalia, I. 22-26) takes the figure to express not the interval between Nanda and Khāravela, but a date during the reign of Nanda which was reckoned from some pre-existing era. But the use of any such era in the particular country and epoch is not proved. Khāravela himself, like Aśoka, uses regnal years. The agreement with Purāņic tradition speaks in favour of the view adopted in these pages.

² Barua, Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela (IHQ, XIV. 1938, pp. 259ff). Sanniveša is explained in the dictionaries as an assemblage, station, seat, open space near a town, etc. (Monier Williams). A commentator takes it to mean 'a halting place of caravans or processions'. Kuṇḍagrāma was a sanniveša in Videha (SBE, XXII. Jaina Sūtras, pt. I, Intro.). The reference in the inscription to the conquest of a place, or removal of a sacred object from Kalinga by Nandarāja disposes of the view that he was a local chief (Camb

Hist., 538).



or encampment, or a Jaina shrine, in Kalinga acquired by king Nanda.

The epigraphs, though valuable as early notices of a line known mainly from literature, are not contemporaneous. For contemporary reports we must turn to Greek writers. There is an interesting reference, in the Cyropaedia2 of Xenophon, who died some time after 355 B.C., to "the Indian king, a very wealthy man". This cannot fail to remind one of the Nandas whom the unanimous testimony of Sanskrit, Tamil, Ceylonese and Chinese writers describe as the possessors of enormous wealth.3 Clearer information about the ruling family of Magadha (c. 326 B.C.) is supplied by the contemporaries of Alexander whose writings form the bases of the accounts of Curtius, Diodoros and Plutarch. Unfortunately, the classical writers do not mention the family name 'Nanda'. The reading 'Nandrum' in the place of 'Alexandrum' in the account of Justin is absolutely unjustifiable.

¹ Dr. Barua (op. cit., p. 276n) objects to a Nanda conquest (or domination) of any part of Kalinga on the ground that the province "had remained unconquered (avijita) till the 7th year of Aśoka's reign". But the claim of the Maurya secretariat is on a par with Jahängir's boast that "not one of the Sultans of lofty dignity has obtained the victory over it" (i.e., Kangra, Rogers, Tūzuk, II. 184). Kalingas appear in the Purāṇas among the contemporaries of the Saiśunāgas who were overpowered by Nanda, the Sarva-Kshatrāntaka.

² III. ii. 25 (trans. by Walter Miller).

³ Cf. the names Mahāpadmapati and Dhana Nanda. The Mudrārākshasa refers to the Nandas as 'navanavatišatadravyakoṭiśvarāḥ' (Act III, verse 27), and 'Artharuchi' (Act I).

A passage of the Kathā-sarīt-sāgara says that King Nanda possessed 990

millions of gold pieces. Tawney's Translation, Vol. I. p. 21.

Dr. Aiyangar points out that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas "which having accumulated first in Pāṭali hid itself in the floods of the Ganges." Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89. For N. Sastri's views see ANM., pp. 253ff.

According to Ceylonese tradition "The youngest brother (among the sons of Ugrasena) was called Dhana Nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure. . . He collected riches to the amount of eighty kotis—in a rock in the bed of the river (Ganges) having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there...Levying taxes among other articles even on skins, gums, trees and stones he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly" (Turnour, Mahāvamsa, p. xxxix).

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, refers to "the five treasures of King

Nanda's seven precious substances".

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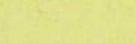
For a detailed account of the dynasty we have to rely on Indian tradition. Indian writers seem to be mainly interested in the Nanda age partly as marking an epoch in a social upsurge and the evolution of imperial unity, and partly as accessory to the life-sketch of Jaina patriarchs and to the Chandragupta-kathā of which we have fragments in the Milindapañho, Mahāvaṁsa, the Purāṇic chronicles, the Bṛihat-Kathā and its later versions together with the Mudrā-rākshasa and the Arthaśāstra compendiums.

The first Nanda was Mahāpadma or Mahāpadmapati1 according to the Purāṇas and Ugrasena according to the Mahābodhivamsa. The Purānas describe him as a son of the last Kshatrabandhu (so-called Kshatriya) king of the preceding line by a śūdrā mother (śūdrā-garbh-odbhava). The Jaina Parisishtaparvan,2 on the other hand, represents Nanda as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical account of the pedigree of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary who was the predecessor of Chandragupta Maurya. Referring to this prince (Agrammes) Curtius says, "His father was in fact a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death, begot the present king."

The barber ancestry of Agrammes, recorded by the classical writers is quite in keeping with the Jaina story of the extraction of the Nanda line. That the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander and of young Chandragupta

¹ 'Sovereign of an infinite host' or 'of immense wealth' according to the commentator (Wilson, Vishņu P., Vol. IX. 184n.). A city on the Ganges, styled Mahāpadmapura, is mentioned in Mbh., XII. 353. 1.

² P. 46. Text VI. 231-32. ³ Mc. Crindle. The Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 222.



was a Nanda king is not disputed. The real difficulty is about his identity. He could not possibly have been the first Nanda himself. The words used in reference to Agrammes, "the present king," i.e., Alexander's contemporary in Curtius' narrative, make this point clear. He (Agrammes) was born in purple to one who had already "usurped supreme authority" having secured the affections of a queen. That description is scarcely applicable to the founder of the dynasty who was, according to Jaina testimony, the son of an ordinary courtesan (gaṇikā) by a barber apparently without any pretensions to supreme power in the state.

The murdered sovereign seems to have been Kālāśoka-Kāl avarņa who had a tragic end as we learn from the Harsha-charita. Kākavarna Śaiśunāgi, says Bāṇa, had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city. The young princes referred to by Curtius were evidently the sons of Kālāśoka-Kākavarna. The Greek account of the rise of the family of Agrammes fits in well with the Ceylonese account of the end of the śaiśunāga line and the rise of the Nandas, but not with the Puranic story which represents the first Nanda as a son of the last Śaiśunāga by a śūdra woman, and makes no mention of the young princes. The name Agrammes is probably a distorted form of the Sanskrit Augrasainya, "son of Ugrasena".1 Ugrasena is, as we have seen, the name of the first Nanda according to the Mahābodhivamsa. His son may aptly be termed Augrasainya which the Greeks corrupted into Agrammes and later on into Xandrames.2

^{1 &}quot;Augrasainya" as a royal patronymic is met with in the Aitareya.

Brāhmana, viii. 21.

² The identification of Xandrames (taken to answer to Sanskrit Chandramas), the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander, with Chandragupta, proposed by certain writers, is clearly untenable. Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, Ch. 62) clearly distinguishes between the two, and his account receives confirmation from that of Justin (Watson's tr., p. 142). Xandrames or Agrammes was the son of a usurper born after his father had become king of the Prasii, while Chandragupta was himself the founder of a new sovereignty, the first king of his line. The father of Xandrames was a barber who could claim no royal ancestry. On the other hand, Brāhmanical and Buddhist writers are un.

The Purāṇas call Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas (sarva Kshatrāntaka) and the sole monarch (ekarāţ) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway, which terms imply that he finally overthrew all the dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the śaiśunāgas, viz., the Ikshvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kalingas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas, Vītihotras,¹ etc. The Jainas, too, allude to the wide dominion of Nanda.² The Indian account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by several

animous in representing Chandragupta as a descendant of a race of rulers, though they differ in regard to the identity of the family and its claim to be regarded as of pure Kshatriya stock. Jaina evidence clearly suggests that the barber usurper is identical with the Nāpitakumāra or Nāpitasū (Parisishţa, VI. 231 and 244) who founded the Nanda line.

1 Conquest of some of the territories occupied by the tribes and clans named here by former kings of Magadha does not necessarily mean the total extinction of the old ruling families, but merely a deprivation of their glory (yašah) and an extension of the suzerainty of the conqueror. Extirpation cannot be meant unless it is definitely asserted as in the case of Mahāpadma Nanda's conquest, or that of Samudra Gupta in Aryavarta. It may also sometimes be implied by the appointment of a prince of the conquering family as viceroy. Allowance, however, must be made for a good deal of exaggeration. Even the Vajjians were not literally 'rooted out' by Ajātaśatru, as the most important of the constituent clans, viz., the Lichchhavis, survive till the Gupta Age. A branch of the Ikshvākus may have been driven southwards as they are found in the third or fourth century A.D. in the lower valley of the Krishna The Kāśis overthrown by Nanda may have been the descendants or successors of the prince whom sisunaga had placed in Benares. The Haihayas occupied a part of the Narmada valley. Conquest of a part of Kalinga by Nanda is suggested by the Hathigumpha record, that of Asmaka and part of the Godavari valley by the city called 'Nau Nand Dehra' (Nander, Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, V. p. 236). Vitihotra sovereignty had terminated before the rise of the Pradyotas of Avanti. But if the Puranic statement (DKA, 23, 69) "Contemporaneously with the aforesaid kings (śaiśunāgas, etc.) there will beVītihotras" has any value, the śaiśunāgas may have paved the way for a restoration of some scion of the old line in Avanti. According to the evidence of the Purāṇas (Vāyu, 94. 51-52) the Vītihotras were one of the five ganas of the Haihayas, and the survival of the latter is well attested by epigraphic evidence. The Maithilas apparently occupied a small district to the north of the Vajjian dominions annexed by Ajātaśatru. The Pañchālas, Kurus, and the Sūrasenas occupied the Gangetic Doab and Mathura and the control of their territories by the king of Magadha, c. 326 B.C., accords with Greek evidence.

² Samudravasanešebhya ās mudramapiašriyaḥ upāya hastairākrishya tataḥ so' krita Nandasāt.
Parifishta Parifish



classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the 'extensive deserts' (apparently of Rājputāna and some adjoining tracts) in the time of Alexander, viz., the Prasii (Prāchyas) and the Gangaridae (people of the lower Ganges Valley) as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra).1 Pliny informs us2 that the Prasii surpass in power and glory every other people in all India, their capital being Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra), after which some call the people itself Palibothri, nay, even the whole tract of the Ganges. The author is referring probably to conditions in the time of the Mauryas, and not in that of the Nandas. But the greatness that the Prasii (i.e. the Magadhans and some other eastern peoples) attained in the Maurya Age would hardly have been possible but for the achievements of their predecessors of which we have a record by the historians of Alexander. The inclusion of the Ikshvāku territory of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the Kathā-saritsagara which refers to the camp of king Nanda in Ayodhyā. Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala, a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas.4 But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and too much cannot be built upon their statements. More important is the evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription which mentions the constructive activity of Nandarāja in Kalinga and his conquest (or removal) of some place (or sacred object) in that country. In view of Nanda's control over parts of Kalinga, the conquest of Asmaka and other regions lying further south does not seem to be altogether improbable. The existence on the Godavari of a city called

¹ Inv. Alex., 221, 281; Megasthenes and Arrian by McCrindle (1926). pp. 671, 141, 161.

² Megasthenes and Arrian (1926), p. 141.

^{*} Tawney's Translation, p. 21.

* Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 3; Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 284, n. 2.

"Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander) also suggests that the Nanda dominions may have embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.

The Matsya Purāṇa assigns 88 years to the reign of the first Nanda, but 88 (Ashṭāsīti) is probably a mistake for 28 (Ashṭāvimsati), as the Vāyu assigns only 28 years. According to Tāranāth Nanda reigned 29 years. The Ceylonese accounts inform us that the Nandas ruled only for 22 years. The Purāṇic figure 28 is probably to be taken to include the period when Nanda was the de facto ruler of Magadha before his final usurpation of the throne.

Mahāpadma-Ugrasena was succeeded by his eight sons who were possibly kings in succession. They ruled for twelve years according to the Purāṇas. The Ceylonese Chronicles, as we have already seen, give the total length of the reign-period of all the nine Nandas as 22 years. The Purāṇas specify the name of one son of Mahāpadma, viz., Sukalpa. The Mahābodhivamsa gives the following names: Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāshṭrapāla, Govishāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana. The last king is possibly identical with the Agrammes or Xandrames of the classical writers. Agrammes is, as we have seen, probably a distortion by the Greeks of the Sanskrit patronymic Augrasainya.

The first Nanda left to his sons not only a big empire but also a large army and, if tradition is to be believed, a full exchequer and an efficient system of civil government. Curtius tells us that Agrammes, king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000

¹ Macauliffe's Sikh Religion, V. p. 236.

² Ind. Ant., 1875, p. 362.

The name has variants. One of these is Sahalya. Dr. Barua makes the plausible suggestion that the prince in question may be identical with Sahalin of the Divyāvadāna (p. 369; Pargiter, DKA, 25n 24; Bauddha Dharma Kosha, 44). The evidence of that Buddhist work in regard to the relationship between Sahalin and Kākavarņa can, however, hardly be accepted. The work often errs in this respect. It makes Pushyamitra a lineal descendant of Aśoka (p. 433).



infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which, he said, ran up to the number of 3,000. Diodoros and Plutarch give similar accounts. But they raise the number of elephants to 4,000 and 6,000 respectively. The name of one of the generals, Bhaddasāla is preserved by Buddhist tradition.¹

The immense riches of the Nandas have already been referred to. The family may also be credited with irrigation projects in Kalinga and the invention of a particular kind of measure (Nandopakramāṇi mānāni). The existence of a body of capable ministers is vouched for both by Brāhmaṇical and Jaina tradition. But in the end they proved no match for another traditional figure whose name is indissolubly linked up with the fall of the Nandas and the rise of a more illustrious race of rulers.

No detailed account of this great dynastic revolution has survived. The accumulation of an enormous amount of wealth by the Nanda kings probably implies a good deal of financial extortion. Moreover, we are told by the classical writers that Agrammes (the Nanda contemporary of Alexander) "was detested and held cheap by his subjects as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne."

The Purāṇic passage about the revolution stands as follows:

Uddharishyati tān sarvān Kauṭlyo vai dvijarshabhaḥ

¹ Milinda-Pañho, SBE. xxxvi. pp. 147-8.

² S. C. Vasu's trans. of the Ashtadhyayi of Panini, rule illustrating satra

II. 4, 21.

3 McCrindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 222. Cf. Ref. to Nanda's avarice and parentage DKA., 125, Jaina Parisishta parvan, vi. 244.—

tatascha kechit samanta madenandham bhavishnavan

Nandasya na natim chakrurasau nāpitasūriti.

The dynastic change is also referred to by the Kauţilya Arthaśāstra, the Kāmandakīya Nitīsāra, the Mudrārākshasa, the Chanda Kaušika, the Ceylonese Chronicles, etc.

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Kauţilyaś-Chandraguptam tu tato rājye bhishekshyati.1

The Milinda-Pañho^a refers to an episode of the great struggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas: "There was Bhaddasāla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandagutta. Now in that war, Nāgasena, there were eighty Corpse dances. For they say that when one great Head Holocaust has taken place (by which is meant the slaughter of ten thousand elephants, and a lac of horses and five thousand charioteers, and a hundred koţis of soldiers on foot), then the headless corpses arise and dance in frenzy over the battle-field." The passage contains a good deal of mythical embellishment. But we have here a reminiscence of the bloody encounter between the contending forces of the Nandas and the Mauryas.³

¹ Some Mss. read dvirashtabhih in place of dvijarshamhah. Dr. Jayaswal (Ind. Ant., 1914, 124) proposed to emend it to Virashtrābhih. Virashtrās he took to mean the Āraṭṭas and added that Kauṭilya was helped by the Āraṭṭas "the band of robbers" of Justin. Cf. Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, pp. 88, 89. Pargiter, however, suggests, (Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 26, 35) that dvijarṣabhaḥ (the best among the twice-born, i.e., Brāhmaṇas) may be the correct reading instead of "dvirashṭabhiḥ".

² IV. 8. 26. Cl. SBE., xxxvi. pp. 147-48.

² Cf. Ind. Ant., 1914, p. 124n.

CHAPTER III. THE PERSIAN AND MACEDONIAN INVASIONS

SECTION I. THE ADVANCE OF PERSIA TO THE INDUS.

While the kingdoms and republics of the Indian interior were gradually being merged in the Magadhan Empire, those of North-West India (including modern Western Pākistān) were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. In the first half of the sixth century B.C., the Uttarāpatha (northern region) beyond the Madhyadeśa (Mid-India, roughly the Ganges-Jumna Doab, Oudh and some adjoining tracts), like the rest of India, was parcelled out into a number of small states the most important of which were Kamboja, Gandhara and Madra. No sovereign arose in this part of India capable of welding together the warring communities, as Ugrasena-Mahāpadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy and disunited, and formed the natural prey of the strong Achaemenian monarchy which grew up in Persia (Irān).

Kurush or Cyrus (558-530 B.C.¹) the founder of the Persian Empire, is said to have led an expedition against India through Gedrosia, but had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only.² But he was more successful in the Kābul valley. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśī, at or near the confluence of the Ghorband and the Panjshir. Arrian informs us³ that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kābul) is inhabited by the Astacenians (Āshṭakas)³ and the Assacenian (Aśvakas), Indian tribes.

2 H. and F., Strabo, III. p. 74-

^{1 550-529} B.C. according to A Survey of Persian Art, p. 64.

³ Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis, p. 399. ⁴ Patañjali (IV. 2. 2) refers to "Ashtakam nāma dhanva;" (cf. Hasht-nagar, and Athakanagara, Lüders, 390).

These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land." Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kshudrakas) from India (i.e., the Panjāb) to attend them as mercenaries.

In the Behistun or Bahistan Inscription of Darayavaush or Darius I (c. 522-486 B.C.) the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty, the people of Gandhara (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire. But no mention is there made of the Hidus (Hindus, people of Sindhu or the Indus Valley) who are explicitly referred to in the Hamadan Inscription, and are included with the Gandharians in the lists of subject peoples given by the inscriptions on the terrace at Persepolis, and around the tomb of Darius at Nagsh-i-Rustum.1 From this it has been inferred that the "Indians" (Hidus) were conquered at some date between 519 B.C. (the probable date of the Behistun or Bahistan inscription), and 513 B.C.3 The preliminaries to this conquest are described by Herodotus: "He (Darius, being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out

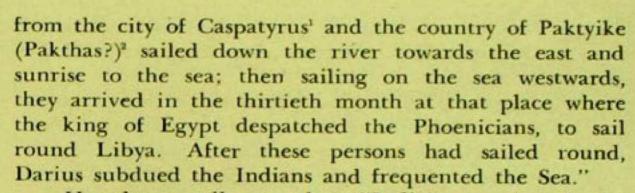
¹ Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions by H. C. Tolman; Rapson, Ancient India; Herzfeld, MASI, 34, pp. 1 ff. For contact between the Medes and India, see India Antiqua, 1947, 180ff.

In the opinion of Jackson (Camb. Hist, India, I. 334) the Bahistan Rock Inscription is presumably to be assigned to a period between 520 and 518 B.C. with the exception of the fifth column, which was added later. Rapson regarded 516 B.C. as the probable date of the famous epigraph while Herzfeld prefers the date 510 B.C. (MASI. No. 34 P. 2)

prefers the date 519 B.C. (MASI, No. 34, p. 2).

3 Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire, 145. Herzfeld is, however, of the opinion that reference to the 'Thatagush' in early Persian epigraphs shows that (part of) the Pañjāb, like Gandhāra, was Persian from the days of Cyrus the Great. (Satrapy of Hindus was formed before 513 B.C., Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire, p. 145. Some scholars believe that the conquest of Sind preceded Scylax's exploration of the Indus—India Antiqua, p. 181).

4 McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 4-5.



Herodotus tells us that "India" constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire, and that it paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest,-360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to £1,290,000 of the pre-war period. There is no reason to believe that all this gold came from Bactria or Siberia. Gold deposits are not unknown in several tracts of the North-West Frontier and quantities of gold are recovered from the alluvium of rivers. A small quantity of the precious metal used to be imported by Bhotiya traders from the Tibetan Hills.3 Gandhāra was at first included in the seventh satrapy. The details regarding "India" left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus Valley and was bounded on the east by the desert of Rajaputana. "That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live the furthest towards the east and the sunrise, of all the inhabitants of

¹ Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 336. The city was probably situated in ancient Gandhāra; Herod. IV. 44.

² Camb. Ibid, 82, 339. Paktyike is apparently the ancient name of the modern Pathan country on the north-west borderland of the sub-continent of India.

³ Crooke, The North-Western Provinces of India, 1897, p. 10; Amrita Bazar Patrika, 19-7-39, p. 6; cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, I. 225, 239.

There is no reason to believe that the Indian satrapy of Darius refers to Sind or to some small territory to the west of the Indus. The account of Herodotus III. 94-98 seems to suggest that it extended eastwards beyond the Beas as far as the river Sarasvatī which flowed past the Marudhanvan in the days of the Mahābhārata (see 22n 2 ante; cf., desert beyond the Beas, ANM, p. 16) and finally disappeared in the sands of Rājaputāna. "Eastward of India lies a tract which is entirely sand... the Indians dwell nearest to the east, and the rising of the Sun. Beyond these the whole country is desert on account of the sand." The Sattagydians, the Gandarians, the Dadicæ and the Aparytae, constituted the seventh satrapy and the Indians the twentieth (Herod. III. 91-94).

Asia, for the Indians' country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sands." Curtius refers to extensive deserts beyond the Beas.

The organisation of the empire into Satrapies served as a model to several succeeding dynasties, and was given a wider extension in India by the śakas and the Kushāns in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. The Deśa-goptri of the Gupta Age was the lineal successor of the Satrap (Kshatra-pāvan) of

earlier epochs.

The Persian conquerors did much to promote geographical exploration and commercial activity. At the same time they took from the country not only an enormous amount of gold and other commodities such as ivory and wood, but denuded it of a great portion of its man-power. Military service was exacted from several tribes. Contact between the East and the West became more intimate with important results in the domain of culture. If the Achaemenians brought the Indian bowmen and lancers to Hellenic soil, they also showed the way of conquest and cultural penetration to the peoples of Greece and Macedon.

Khshayārshā or Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), the son and successor of Darius I, maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhāra and "India" were represented. The Gandhārians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. One of the newly discovered stone-tablets at Persepolis' records that Xerxes "by Ahuramazda's will" sapped the foundations of certain temples of the Daivas and ordained that "the Daivas shall not be worshipped". Where the Daivas had been worshipped, the king worshipped Ahuramazda together with Rtam (divine world order). 'India' may have been among the lands which

¹ The Illustrated London News, Feb. 22, 1936, p. 328. Sen, Old Persian Inscriptions, 152.



witnessed the outcome of the religious zeal of the Persian king.

The Persian Empire rapidly declined after the death of Xerxes. But if Ktesias who resided at the Court of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon 405-358 B.C., is to be believed, the Great King used to receive costly presents from India even in the fourth century B. C.¹ The South Tomb Inscription at Persepolis,² usually assigned to Artaxerxes II, continues to mention the Sattagydians, the Gandharians and the Hi(n)dus side by side with the Persians, the Medians, the Susians and others apparently as subjects of the Achaemenian King.

Among interesting relics of Persian dominion in India mention is sometimes made of a Taxila Inscription in Armaic characters of the fourth or fifth century B.C.3 But Herzfeld points out that the form *Priyadarśana* occurs in the record which should be referred to the reign of Aśoka, and not to the period of Persian rule. To the Persians is also attributed the introduction of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, the "Persepolitan capital" and words like "dipi" (rescript) and "nipishṭa" ("written") occurring in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Persian influence has also been traced in the preamble of the Aśokan edicts.

SECTION II. THE LAST OF THE ACHAEMENIDS AND ALEXANDER

Artaxerxes II died in or about 358 B.C. After a period of weak rule and confusion, the crown went to Darius III Codomannus (335-330 B.C.). This was the king against whom Alexander, the great king of Macedon, led forth his famous phalanx. After several engagements in which the Persian forces suffered repeated defeats, the Macedonian conqueror rode on the tracks of his vanquish-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X (1881), pp. 304-310.

² S. Sen, Old Persian Inscriptions, 172f.

¹ JRAS, 1915. I. pp. 340-347.

^{*} Ep. Ind., XIX. 253.

ed enemy and reached the plain watered by the river Bumodus.

Three distinct groups of Indians figured in the army which mustered under the banner of the Persian monarch in that region. "The Indians who were conterminous with the Bactrians as also the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdianians had come to the aid of Darius, all being under the command of Bessus, the Viceroy of the land of Bactria. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia. These were not subject to Bessus but were in alliance with Darius . . . Barsaentes, the Viceroy of Arachotia, led the Arachotians and the men who were called Mountaineer Indians. There were a few elephants, about fifteen in number, belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stades distant from the city of Arbela." The hold of the Achaemenians on the Indians in the various provinces on the frontier had, however, grown very feeble about this time, and the whole of north-western India was parcelled out into innumerable kingdoms, hyparchies and republics. A list of the more important among these is given below:-

1. The Aspasian territory (Alishang-Kūnar-Bajaur valley):

It lay in the difficult hill country north of the Kābul river watered by the Khoes, possibly the modern Alishang, and the Euaspla, apparently the Kūnar. The name of the people is derived from the Irānian "Aspa," i.e., the Sanskrit "Asva" (horse) or Aśvaka. The Aspasians were thus the western branch of the Aśvakas (Assakenians). The chieftain, hyparch, of the tribe dwelt in a city on or near the river Euaspla, supposed to be identical with the Kūnar, a tributary of the Kābul. Other Aspasian cities were Andaka and Arigaeum.

¹ Chinnock, Arrian's Anabasis, pp. 142-143.

² Camb. Hist. Ind., 352. n. 3, Cf. assanam ayatanam, 1494 ante. Chinnock's Arrian, pp. 230-231.



2. The country of the Guraeans:

It was watered by the river Guraeus, Gauri, or Pañjkora, and lay between the land of the Aspasians and the country of the Assakenians.

3. The Kingdom of Assakenos (part of Swat and Buner):

It stretched eastwards as far as the Indus and had its capital at Massaga, a "formidable fortress probably situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass but not yet precisely identified." The name of the Assakenians probably represents the Sanskrit Aśvaka 'land of horses,' not Asmaka, 'land of stone.' The territory occupied by the tribe was also known in different ages as Suvāstu, Udyāna and, according to some, Oddiyāna. The Aśvakas do not appear to be mentioned by Pāṇini unless we regard them as belonging to the same stock as the Asmakas' of the south for which there is no real ground. They are placed in the north-west by the authors of the Markandeya Purāņa and the Brihat Samhitā. The Assakenian king had a powerful army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry and 30 elephants. The reigning king at the time of Alexander's invasion is called by the Greeks Assakenos. His mother was Kleophis. Assakenos had a brother2 who is called Eryx by Curtius and Aphrikes by Diodoros.4 There is no reason to believe that these personages had any relationship with king Sarabha, whose tragic fate is described by Bana and who belonged apparently to the southern realm of the Asmakas in the valley of the Godavarī.

4. Nysa:

This was a small hill-state which lay at the foot of Mt. Meros between the Kophen or Kābul river and the

¹ IV. I. 173.

² Invasion of Alexander, p. 378.

³ He led the flying defenders of the famous fortress of Aornos against the Greeks (Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 356). Aornos is identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the height of Una between the Swat and the Indus (Alexander's Campaign on the Frontier, Benares Hindu University Magazine, Jan., 1927). The southern side of the stronghold was washed by the Indus. (Inv. Alex., 271).

Indus.¹ It had a republican constitution. The city was alleged to have been founded by Greek colonists long before the invasion of Alexander.² Arrian says,³ "The Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the men who came to India with Dionysus." Curiously enough, a Yona or Greek state is mentioned along with Kamboja in the Majjhima Nikāya¹ as flourishing in the time of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana: "Yona Kambojesu dveva vaṇṇā Ayyo c'eva Dāsoca (there are only two social grades among the Yonas and the Kambojas, viz., Aryan and Dāsa)."

According to Holdich the lower spurs and valleys of Kohi-Mor in the Swat country are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood.⁵ At the time of Alexander's invasion the Nysaens had Akouphis for their President. They had

a Governing Body of 300 members.6

5. Peukelaotis (in the Peshāwar District):

It lay on the road from Kābui to the Indus. Arrian tells us' that the Kābul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis, taking with itself the Malantus, Soastus and Guraeus. Peukelaotis represents the Sanskrit Pushkarāvatī. It formed the western part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra. The people of the surrounding region are sometimes referred to as the "Astakenoi" by historians. The capital is represented by the modern Mīr Ziyārat and Chārsadda, about 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swat river, the Soastus of Arrian, and the Suvāstu of the Vedic texts.

The reigning hyparch at the time of Alexander's invasion was Astes identified with Hastī or Ashţaka. He

Nysaean Indo-Greeks in a lecture delivered as early as 1919.

¹ Inv. Alex., 79, 193. ² McCrindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 79; Hamilton and Falconer. Strabo. Vol. III, p. 76. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal informed me that he referred to the

³ Chinnock's Arrian, p. 399.

^{*} II. 149.

⁵ Smith, EHI., 4th ed., p. 57. Camb. Hist., 1. p. 353.

¹ Invasion of Alexander, p. 81.

⁷ Chinnock's Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica, p. 403.

B Chinnock, Arrian, p. 228.



was defeated and killed by Hephaestion, a general of the Macedonian king.

6. Taxila or Takshaśilā (in the Rāwalpindi District):

Strabo says¹ "between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum) was Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile." The kingdom of Taxila formed

the eastern part of the old Kingdom of Gandhāra.

In B. C. 327 the Taxilian throne was occupied by a hyparch, or basileus, whom the Greeks called Taxiles. When Alexander of Macedon arrived in the Kābul valley he sent a herald to the king of Taxila to bid him come and meet him. Taxiles accordingly did come to meet the conqueror, bringing valuable gifts. When he died his son Mophis or Omphis (Sanskrit Āmbhi) succeeded to the government. Curiously enough, the reputed author of the Kauţilīya Arthaśāstra, himself a native of Taxila according to the Mahāvamsa Ţikā, refers to a school of political philosophers called Āmbhīyas, and Dr. F. W. Thomas connects them with Taxilā.²

7. The kingdom of Arsakes:

The name of the principality represents the Sanskrit Uraśā which formed part of the modern Hazāra District. It adjoined the realm of Abisares, and was probably, like the latter, an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Uraśā is mentioned in several Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, and, in the time of the geographer Ptolemy, absorbed the neighbouring realm of Taxilā.

8. Abhisāra:

Strabo observes that the kingdom was situated among the mountains above the Taxilā country. The position of this state was correctly defined by Stein who pointed out that Dārvābhisāra included the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jhelum and the Chenāb.

¹ H. and F's. tr., III, p. 90.

² Barhaspatya Arthasastra. Introduction, p. 15.

³ H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 90.

⁴ Cf. Mbh., VII. 91, 43-

Roughly speaking, it corresponded to the Punch and some adjoining districts in Kaśmīra with a part at least of the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province. It was probably an offshoot of the old kingdom of Kamboja. Abisares, the contemporary of Alexander, was a shrewd politician of the type of Charles Emanuel III of Sardinia. When the Macedonian invader arrived in Taxila he informed him that he was ready to surrender himself and the land which he ruled. And yet before the battle which was fought between Alexander and the famous Poros, Abisares intended to join his forces with those of the latter.

9. The kingdom of the Elder Poros:

This territory lay between the Jhelum and the Chenāb and roughly corresponded to parts of the modern districts of Guzrāṭ and Shāhpur. Strabo tells us that it was an extensive and fertile district containing nearly 300 cities. Diodoros informs us that Poros had an army of more than 50,000 foot, about 3,000 horses, above 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was in alliance with Embisaros, i.e., the king of Abhisāra.

Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Pūru or Paurava. In the Rig-Veda the Pūrus are expressly mentioned as on the Sarasvati. In the time of Alexander, however, we find them on the Hydaspes (Jhelum). The Brihat Samhitā, too, associates the 'Pauravas' with 'Madraka' and 'Mālava.' The Mahābhārata, also, refers to a "Puram Paurava-rakshitam", city protected by the Pauravas, which lay not far from Kaśmīra. It is suggested in the Vedic Index that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others had wandered east, or the later Pūrus represent a successful onslaught upon the west from the east.

¹ Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276. Inv. Alex., 112.

² It apparently included the old territory of Kekaya.

³ H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 91.

^{*} Invasion of Alexander, p. 274.

⁵ XIV. 27.

⁶ II. 27, 15-17.

⁷ Vol. II, pp. 12-13.



10. The country of the people called Glauganikai (Glauganicians) by Aristobulus, and Glausians by Ptolemy:

This tract lay to the west of the Chenāb and was conterminous with the dominion of Poros.² It included no less than seven and thirty cities, the smallest of which had not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000.

11. Gandaris (in the Rechna Doab):

This little kingdom lay between the Chenāb and the Rāvi and (if Strabo has given the correct name of the territory) probably represented the easternmost part of the old Mahājanapada of Gandhāra. It was ruled by the Younger Poros, nephew of the monarch who ruled the country between the Jhelum and the Chenāb.

12. The Adraistai (in the Bari Doab):

They dwelt on the eastern side of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi, and their main stronghold was Pimprama.

13. **Kathaioi** or Cathaeans (probably also in the Bari Doāb):

Strabo points out that "some writers place Cathaia and the country of Sopeithes, one of the nomarchs, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines, i.e., the Jhelum and the Chenāb); some on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hydarotis, i.e., of the Chenāb and the Rāvi, on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander." The Kathaioi probably represent the Sanskrit Kaṭha, Kāṭhaka, Kantha or Krātha. They were the most emi-

¹ With the second part of the name anīka, troop or army, may be compared that of the Sanakānīkas of the Gupta period. Dr. Jayaswal, who, doubtless following Weber in IA, ii (1873). p. 147. prefers the restoration of the name as Glauchukāyanaka, does not apparently take note of this fact.

² Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276. Inv. Alex., 112. The country was subsequently given to the elder Poros to rule.

³ But see Camb. Hist. Ind., I, 370, n. 4; the actual name of the territory in olden times was, however, Madra.

^{*} Adrijas? Mbh., VII. 259. 5. Yaudheyan Adrijan rajan Madrakan Malavan api.

⁵ H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 92.

⁶ Idlly SBE., VII. 15; Ep. Ind., III. 8.

⁷ Cf., Pāṇini, II. 4. 20. Mbh., VIII. 85. 16.

nent among the independent tribes dwelling in the area of which the principal centre was Sangala (Sāṅkala). This town was probably situated in the Gurudāspur district, not far from Fathgarh. Anspach locates it at Jandiāla to the east of Amritsar.²

The Kathaians enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war. Onesikritos tells us that in Kathaia the handsomest man was chosen as king.1

14. The kingdom of Sophytes (Saubhūti), probably

along the banks of the Jhelum:

In the opinion of Smith, the position of this kingdom is fixed by the remark of Strabo' that it included a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India; Sophytes was, therefore, according to him, the "lord of the fastness of the Salt Range stretching from the Jhelum to the Indus." But we have already seen that the classical writers agree in placing Sophytes' territory east of the Ihelum. Curtius tells us that the nation ruled by Sopeithes (Sophytes), in the opinion of the "barbarians," excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs. They did not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of the parents, but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants might direct, for if they remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed. In contracting marriages they did not seek an alliance with high birth but made their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children was highly appreciated. Strabo informs us that the dogs in the territory of Sopeithes (Sophytes) were said to possess remarkable courage. We have some coins of Sophytes bearing on the obverse the head of the king, and on the reverse the figure of a cock.7 According to Smith

¹ JRAS., 1903. p. 687.

² Camb. Hist. Ind., 1. 371.

³ McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 38.

⁴ H. & F.'s tr., III, p. 93.

⁵ Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 219.

⁶ H. & F., III, p. 93.

⁷ Whitehead (Num. Chron., 1943, pp. 60-72) rejects the identification of



the style is suggested probably by the "owls" of Athens. Strabo calls Sophytes a nomarch which probably indicates that he was not an independent sovereign, but only a viceroy of some other king.¹

15. The kingdom of Phegelas or Phegeus (in the

Bari Doāb):

It lay between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias). The name of the king, Phegelas, probably represents the Sanskrit Bhagala—the designation of a royal race of Kshatriyas mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha.

16. The Siboi (in the lower part of the Rechna

Doāb):

They were the inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang district below the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenāb. They were probably identical with the Siva people mentioned in a passage of the Rig-Veda where they share with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānases, and Viśāṇins the honour of being defeated by Sudās. The Jātakas mention a Sivi country and its cities Ariṭṭhapura and Jetuttara. It is probable that Siva, Sivi, Sibi, and Siboi were one and the same people. A place called Siva-pura is mentioned by the scholiast on Pāṇini as situated in the northern country. It is, doubtless, identical with Sibipura

Sophytes with Saubhūti. He thinks that "Saubhūti is a philologist's creation. There is no historical evidence that Saubhūti existed" (p. 63). Subhūti (from which Saubhūti is apparently derived) is a fairly common name in Indian literature. (The Questions of King Milinda, Part II, SBE, XXXVI, pp. 315. 323; Geiger, the Mahāvamsa., tr., 1511, 275.) It is by no means improbable that a Hindu Rajah should strike a piece bearing a Hellenized form of his name, as the Hinduised Scythian rulers did in later ages.

1 Was it the Great King of W. Asia or some Indian potentate? Among other nomarchs mention may be made of Spitaces, a nephew and apparently

a vassal of the elder Poros (Camb. Hist. Ind., 36, 365, 367).

2 Inv. Alex., p. 281, 401.

3 Invasion of Alexander. p. 401. Cf. Kramadīśvara, 769.

1 Inv. Alex., p. 232.

6 VII. 18. 7.
6 Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 381-382. A 'Saibya' is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 23; Vedic Index, 1. 31).

⁷ Ummadanti Jātaka, No. 527; cf. Pāṇini, VI. 2. 100. ⁸ Vessantara Jātaka, No. 547. See also ante, p. 198, n 6.

Patanjali, IV. 2. 2; Ved. Ind., II, p. 382. IHQ. 1926, 758.

mentioned in a Shorkot inscription edited by Vogel. In the opinion of that scholar the mound of Shorkot marks the site of this city of the Sibis.¹

The Siboi dressed themselves with the skins of wild

beasts, and had clubs for their weapons.

The Mahābhārata² refers to a rāshţra or realm of the Sivis ruled by king Uśînara, which lay not far from the Yamunā.³ It is not altogether improbable that the Uśînara country⁴ was at one time the home of the Sivis. We find them also in Sind, in Madyamikā (Tambavatī nagarī?) near Chitor in Rājputāna,⁵ and in the Daśa-kumāra-charita, on the banks of the Kāverī.⁵

17. The Agalassoi:

This people lived near the Siboi, and could muster an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

18. The Sudracae or Oxydrakai:

The accounts of Curtius and Diodoros' leave the impression that they lived not far from the Siboi and the Agalassoi, and occupied part of the territory below the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenāb. At the confluence Alexander garrisoned a citadel and thence came into the dominions of the Sudracae and the Malli (Mālavas). The former may have occupied parts of the Jhang and Lyallpur districts. The name of the Sudracae or the Oxydrakai represents the Sanskrit Kshudraka. They were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Pañjāb. Arrian in one passage refers to the "leading men of their cities and their provincial governors" besides other eminent men. These words afford us

¹ Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 16.

² III. 130-131.

³ Cf. Siba (Cunn., AGI., revised ed., pp. 160-161).

[·] Vide pp. 65, 66 ante.

⁵ Vaidya Med. Hind. Ind., 1, p. 162; Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 173. Allan, Coins of Anc. Ind., exxiii.

⁶ The southern Sivis are probably to be identified with the Chola ruling family (Kielhorn, List of Southern Inscriptions, No. 685).

¹ Inv. Alex., 233-4, 286-7. Mbh., II. 52, 15; VII. 68.9.



a glimpse into the internal condition of this and similar tribes...

19. The Malloi:

They seem to have occupied the right bank of the lower Hydraotes (Rāvi) and are mentioned as escaping across that river to a city of the Brāhmaṇas. The Akesines (Chenāb) is said to have joined the Indus in their territory.¹ Their name represents the Sanskrit Mālava. According to Weber, Āpiśali (according to Jayaswal, Kātyāyana), speaks of the formation of the compound "Kshaudraka-Mālavāḥ." Smith points out that the Mahābhārata couples the tribes in question as forming part of the Kaurava host in the Kurukshetra war.² Curtius tells us³ that the Sudracae and the Malli had an army consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar informs us that Pāṇini refers to the Mālavas as living by the profession of arms.' In later times they are found in Rājputāna, Avanti and the Mahī valley.

20. The Abastanoi:

Diodoros calls them the Sambastai, Arrian Abastanoi, Curtius Sabracae, and Orosius Sabagrae. They were settled on the lower Akesines (Chenāb) apparently below the Mālava country, but above the confluence of the Chenāb and the Indus. Their name represents the Sanskrit Āmbashṭha or Ambashṭha. The Ambashthas are mentioned in several Sanskrit and Pāli works. An Ām-

¹ Megasthenes and Arrian (2nd ed.), p. 196. The accuracy of this statement may be doubted. The Malloi territory seems to have included part of the Jhang district, besides a portion of South Lyallpur, West Montgomery, and perhaps North Multan.

¹ EMI., 1914. p. 94n.; Mbh., VI. 59. 135.

Invasion of Alexander, 234.

⁴ Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 200.

⁵ Invasion of Alexander, p. 292.

⁶ Dr. Surya Kānta draws a distinction between Ambashtha and Ambashtha, regarding the former as a place-name, and the latter as the name of a particular class of people, 'an elephant-driver, a Kshatriya, a mixed caste'. (B.C. Law, Vol. II, pp. 127ff). To us the distinction seems to be based upon philological conjectures.

bashtha king is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa whose priest was Nārada. The Mahābhārata mentions the Ambashthas along with the Sivis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes. The Purāṇas represent them as Ānava Kshatriyas and kinsmen of the Sivis. In the Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra, the Āmbashtha country is mentioned in conjunction with Sind:

Kāśmīra-Hūn-Āmbashţha-Sindhavaḥ.

In the Ambattha Sutta, an Ambattha is called a Brāhmaņa. In the Smṛti literature, on the other hand, Ambashtha denotes a man of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya parentage. According to Jātaka IV. 363, the Ambatthas were farmers. It seems that the Ambashthas were a tribe or clan who were at first mainly a fighting race, but some of whom took to other occupations, viz., those of priests, farmers and, according to Smṛti writers, physicians (Ambashthānām chikitsitamī.

In the time of Alexander, the Ambashthas were a powerful tribe having a democratic government. Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots.⁷

In later times the Ambashthas are found in South-Eastern India near the Mekala range, and also in Bihar and possibly in Bengal.*

A distinction is drawn between Ambashtha and Ambashtha. The last mentioned expression is considered to be a place-name, based on the plant name Amba. For other notes on the subject see Prabasi, 1351 B. S.; I, 206; JUPHS., July-Dec., 1945, pp. 148 ff; History of Bengal (D. U.), pp. 568 ff.

¹ VIII. 21.

² H. 52. 14-15.

³ Pargiter, AIHT., pp. 108-109.

⁴ Ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21.

⁵ Dialogues of the Buddha, Part 1, p. 109.

⁶ Manu. X. 47. Dr. Surya Känta suggests the reading (Law Volume, 11, 134) cha hāstinam. In his dissertation he speaks of the possibility of Ambashtha being a Sanskritized form of a Celtic word meaning 'husbandman, tiller of the ground'. It is also pointed out that the word may be an exact parallel to 'mahāmātra' inasmuch as 'ambhas' means 'of large measure', 'an elephant', so that Ambashtha would mean 'one sitting on the elephant', i.e., a driver, a keeper, a sāmanta, or a Kshatriya. They lived on warfare, presumably as gajārohas, and banner-bearers.

¹ Invasion of Alexander, p. 252.

^{*} Cf. Ptolemy, Ind. Ant., XIII, 361; Brihat Samhitä; XIV. 7; Mekhalä



21-22. The Xathroi and the Ossadioi

The Xathroi are according to McCrindle¹ the Kshatri of Sanskrit literature mentioned in the Laws of Manu as an impure tribe, being of mixed origin. V. de Saint-Martin suggests that in the Ossadioi we have the Vasāti of the Mahābhārata,² a tribe associated with the Śibis and Sindhu-Sauvīras of the Lower Indus Valley.³ Like the Abastanoi, the Xathroi and the Ossadioi seem to have occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Akesines (Chenāb) and situated between the confluence of that river with the Rāvi and the Indus respectively.

23-24. The Sodrai (sogdoi) and the Massanoi:

They occupied Northern Sind with contiguous portions of the Pañjāb (Mithan-koṭ area) and the Bahawalpur state, below the confluence of the Pañjāb rivers. The territories of these two tribes lay on opposite banks of the Indus. The Sodrai are the Sūdra tribe of Sanskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the Ābhiras who were settled near the Sarasvatī. Their royal seat (basileion) stood on the Indus. Here another Alexandria was founded by the Macedonian conqueror.

mushta of Mārkaṇdeya P., LVIII. 14, is a corruption of Mekal-Ambashṭha. Cf. also the Ambashṭha Kāyasthas of Bihār, the Gauḍa Ambashṭha of the Surjan-Charita (DHNI., II. 1061 n. 4) of the time of Akbar, and the Vaidyas of Bengal whom Bharata Mallika classes as Ambashṭha. This is not the place to discuss the authenticity or otherwise of the tradition recorded by Bharata and some of the Purāṇas. The origin of the Vaidyas, or of any other caste in Bengal, is a thorny problem which requires separate treatment. What the author aims at in these pages is to put some available evidence, early or late, about the Abastanoi. That some Ambashṭhas, and Brāhmaṇas too, took to the medical profession is clear from the evidence of Manu and Atri (Saṃhitā, 378) and Bopadev. It is equally clear that the Vaidya problem cannot be solved in the way it has been sought to be done in some recent publications. Due attention should be given to historical evidence bearing on the point like that of Megasthenes and of certain early Chalukya, Pāṇḍya, and other epigraphs, e.g. the Talamanchi plates, Ep. Ind. IX. 101; Bhandar-ker's List 1371, 2061, etc.

¹ Invasion of Alexander, p. 156 n.

VII. 19. 11; 89. 37; VIII. 44. 99.
 Amhishāhaḥ Śūrasenāḥ Śivayo'tha Vašātayaḥ'' (Mbh., VI. 106. 8).

[&]quot;Vašāti Sindhu-Sauvirā itiprāyo' tikutsitāh."

[&]quot;Gandhārāh Sindhu-Sauvīrāh Sivayo'tha Vasātayah" (Mbh., VI. 51 14).

⁴ Patañjali, 1. 2. 3; Mbh., VII. 19. 6; IX. 37. 1.

25. The kingdom of Mousikanos:

This famous state included a large part of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district. The characteristics of the inhabitants of the realm of Mousikanos as noticed by Strabo are given below:²

The following are their peculiarities; to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold nor silver, although they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine;3 for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice."

From the account left by Arrian it appears that the "Brachmans," i.e., the Brāhmaṇas exercised considerable influence in the country. They were the instigators of a revolt against the Macedonian invadore.

26. The principality of Oxykanos:

Curtius calls the subjects of Oxykanos the Praesti (Proshthas?). Oxykanos himself is styled both by Strabo and Diodoros Portikanos. Cunningham places his terri-

² H. & F., III, p. 96.

3 This trait they shared with the Ambashthas (cf. Manu, X. 47).

¹ Bevan in Camb. Hist. Ind., p. 377. following Lassen (Inv. Alex., 157 n) restores the name as Müshika. Dr. Jayaswal in his Hindu Polity suggests Muchukarņa. Cf. Maushikāra (Patañjali, IV. i. 4).

⁶ Chinnock, Arrian, p. 319. Cf. Strabo, xv. i, 66,—"Nearchos says that the Brachmans engage in the affairs of the state and attend the king as councillors." S. Mbh., VI. 9. 61.

tory to the west of the Indus in the level country around Larkhana.1

27. The principality of Sambos:2

Sambos was the ruler of a mountainous country adjoining the kingdom of Mousikanos, with whom he was at feud. His capital, called Sindimana, has been identified, with little plausibility, with Sehwan, a city on the Indus. According to Diodoros 'a city of the Brāhmaṇas' (Brāhmaṇavāṭa ?) had to be stormed whilst the operations against Sambos were going on.

28. Patalene:

It was the Indus delta, and took its name from the capital city, Patala probably near the site of Bahmaṇābād.

Diodoros tells us that Tauala (Patala) had a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority. One of the kings in the time of Alexander was called **Moeres.** 6

The states described above had little tendency to unity or combination. Curtius tells us that Āmbhi, ruler of Taxila, was at war with Abisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abisares were not only enemies of Taxila but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes. On one occasion the two kings marched against the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas. Arrian further tells us that the relations between Poros and his nephew were far from friendly. Sambos and Mousikanos were also on hostile terms. Owing to these feuds and strifes amongst the petty states, a foreign invader had no united

¹ Invasion of Alexander, p. 158; AGI., Revised ed. 300.

² Sambhu, according to Bevan (Camb. Hist. Ind., 377). Samba is a possible alternative.

McCrindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 404; AGI., Revised ed., 302 f.

⁴ Diod. XVII. 103. 1; cf. Alberuni (I. 316; II. 262).

⁵ Inv. Alex., p. 296.

⁸ Inv. Alex., p. 256, cf. Maurya.

¹ Inv. Alex., p. 202.

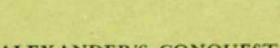
⁵ Chinnock, Arrian, p. 297.

resistance to fear; and he could be assured that many among the local chieftains would receive him with open arms out of hatred for their neighbours.

The Nandas of Magadha do not appear to have made any attempt to subjugate these states of the Uttarapatha (North-West India). The task of reducing them was reserved for a foreign conqueror, viz., Alexander of Macedon. The tale of Alexander's conquest has been told by many historians including Arrian, Q. Curtius Rufus, Diodoros Siculus, Plutarch and Justin. We learn from Curtius that Scythians and Dahae served in the Macedonian army.1 The expedition led by Alexander was thus a combined Saka-Yavana enterprise. The invader met with no such general confederacy of the native powers like the one formed by the East Indian states against Kūņika-Ajātaśatru. On the contrary he obtained assistance from many important chiefs like Ambhi of Taxila, Sangæus (Sañjaya?) of Pushkarāvatī, Kophaios or Cophæus (of the Kābul region ?), Assagetes (Aśvajit ?), and Sisikottos (Śaśīgupta) who got as his reward the satrapy of the Assakenians.2 The only princes or peoples who thought of combining against the invader were Poros and Abisares, and the Mālavas (Malloi), Kshudrakas (Oxydrakai), and the neighbouring autonomous tribes. Even in the latter case personal jealousies prevented any effective results. Alexander met with stubborn resistance from individual chiefs and clans, notably from Astes (Hastī or Ashṭaka ?), the Aspasians, the Assakenians, the elder Poros, the Kathaians, the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, and the Brāhmanas of the kingdom of Mousikanos. Massaga, the stronghold of the Assakenians, was stormed with great difficulty, Poros was defeated on the banks of the Hydaspes (B.C. 326), the Malloi and the Oxydrakai were also no doubt crushed. But Alexander found that his Indian antagonists were different from the effete troops of Persia. Diodoros informs us that at Massaga, where Alexander treacherously massacred the

¹ Inv. Alex., p. 208.

^{*} Inv. Alex., p. 112.



mercenaries, "the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men." Poros, when he saw most of his forces scattered, his elephants lying dead or straying riderless, did not flee-as Darius Codomannus had twice fled-but remained fighting, seated on an elephant of commanding height, and received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner.2 The Malloi almost succeeded in killing the Macedonian king. But all this was of no avail. A disunited people could not long resist the united forces of the Hellenic world led by the greatest captain of ancient Europe. Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian Provinces of Gandhara and "India," but was unable to try conclusions with Agrammes king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, i.e., the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces in Eastern India. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover, they were afraid of the "Gandaritai and the Praisiai" who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania he received a report that his satrap Philippos, governor of the Upper Indus Province, had been murdered (324 B.C.). Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The Macedonian governor of the Lower Indus satrapy had to be transferred to the north-west borderland beyond the Indus and no new satrap was appointed in his place. The successors of Alexander at the time of the Triparadeisos agreement in 321 B.C. confessed their inability to remove the Indian Rājās of the Pañjāb without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general. One of the Rājās, possibly Poros, was treacherously slain by Eudemos, an officer stationed in the Upper Indus satrapy. The withdrawal of the latter (cir. 317 B.C.) marks the

¹ Inv. Alex., p. 270. 2 Cf. Bury, History of Greece for Beginners, pp. 428-29.

ultimate collapse of the first serious attempt of the Yavanas

to establish an empire in India.

The only permanent effect of Alexander's raid seems to have been the establishment of a number of Yavana settlements in the Uttarāpatha. The most important of these settlements were:

1. The city of Alexandria (modern Charikar or Opian?) in the land of the Paropanisadae, i.e., the Kābul region.

2. Boukephala,2 possibly on the east side of the

Hydaspes (Jhelum).

3. Nikaia, where the battle with Poros took place.

4. Alexandria at or near the confluence of the Chenāb and the Indus, to the north-east of the countries of the Sodrai, or Sogdoi, and Massanoi, and

5. Sogdian Alexandria, below the confluence of the

Pañjāb rivers.

Aśoka recognised the existence of Yona (Yavana) settlers on the north-western fringe of his empire, and appointed some of them, (e.g., the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha) to high offices of state. Boukephala Alexandria flourished as late as the time of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. One of the Alexandrias (Alasanda) is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa.

¹ According to Tarn (The Greeks in Bactria and India, 1st. ed., 462) Alexandria stood on the west bank of the united Panjshir-Ghorband rivers near the confluence facing Kāpiśa on the east bank. It is represented by the modern Begram.

² Nikaia and Boukephala stood one on each side of the Jhelum. Tarn thinks (Alexander the Great, Sources and Studies, p. 236) that Boukephala stood on the east bank of the Jhelum and Nikaia on the west bank (ibid p. 238).

3 The completion of Nikaia is doubted by Tarn (Alexander the Great, II, 298).

The confluence of the Indus and the Akesines was fixed as the boundary of the Upper and Lower Indus satrapies.

5 Inv. Alex., pp. 293. 354; Bury, History of Greece for Beginners, p. 433;

⁶ For the nationality of Tushaspha and significance of the term "Yavana" see Raychaudhuri, Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, 2nd Ed., pp. 28f, 314 post.

7 Schoff's tr., p. 41. 8 Geiger's tr., p. 194.

Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 376f.



ALEXANDER'S RAID

Alexander's invasion produced one indirect result. It helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of north-west India, just as the Danish invasion contributed to the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia. If Ugrasena-Mahāpadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the east, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the north-west.

CHAPTER IV. THE MAURYA EMPIRE: THE ERA OF DIGVIJAYA

SECTION I. THE REIGN OF CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

Mlechchhairudvejyamānā bhujayugamadhunā
samisritā rājamūrtteḥ
Sa srīmadbandhubhṛtyaschiramavatu mahīm
pārthivas-Chandraguptaḥ.
—Mudrārākshasa.

In B.C. 326 the flood of Macedonian invasion had overwhelmed the Indian states of the Pañjāb, and was threatening to burst upon the Madhyadeśa. Agrammes was confronted with a crisis not unlike that which Arminius had to face when Varus carried the Roman Eagle to the Teutoburg Forest, or which Charles Martel had to face when the Saracens carried the Crescent towards the field of Tours. The question whether India was, or was not, to be Hellenized awaited decision.

Agrammes was fortunate enough to escape the onslaught of Alexander. But it is doubtful whether he had the ability or perhaps the inclination to play the part of an Arminius or a Charles Martel, had the occasion arisen. But there was at this time another Indian who was made of different stuff. This was Chandragupta, the Sandrokoptos (Sandrokottos, etc.) of the classical writers. The rise of Chandragupta is thus described by Justin:

"India after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was

Watson's tr., p. 142 with slight emendations.



Sandrocottus. This man was of humble origin, but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for, having offended Alexander' by his boldness of speech and orders being given to kill him, he saved himself by swiftness of foot; and while he was lying asleep, after his fatigue, a lion of great size having come up to him, licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running from him and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity he drew together a band of robbers,2 and solicited the Indians to support his new sovereignty.' Sometime after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as if tamed down to gentleness, took him on its back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus thus acquired a throne when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness."

The above account, shorn of its marvellous element, amounts to this, that Chandragupta, a man of non-

The original expression used by Justin has the sense of 'mercenary soldier' as well as that of 'robber'. And the former sense is in consonance with Indian tradition recorded by Hemachandra in the Parisishtaparvan (VIII, 253-54):

Dhātuvādopārjitena draviņena Chaniprasūh

i.e., Chāṇakya gathered for Chandragupta an army with wealth found underground, (lit. 'with the aid of mineralogy') for the purpose of uprooting Nanda.

3 According to the interpretation accepted by Hultzsch-"instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government".

^{&#}x27;Alexandrum'. Such conjectural emendations by modern editors often mislead students who have no access to original sources and make the confusion regarding the early career of Chandragupta worse confounded (cf. Indian Culture, Vol. II. No. 3, p. 558; for 'boldness of speech', cf. Grote XII. 141, case of Kleitus, and pp. 147 ff, case of Kallisthenes). After his (Sandrocottus') victory he forfeited, by his tyranny, all title to the name of a liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom—Justin. The tyranny of the dushtamatyas is known to Indian literature. But the sovereign himself is noted for his justice in early Maurya times.

monarchical rank, placed himself at the head of the Indians who chafed under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of India. The verdict of the Hydaspas was thus reversed.

The ancestry of Chandragupta is not known for certain. Hindu literary tradition connects him with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Tradition recorded in Mediaeval inscriptions, however, represents the Maurya family (from which he sprang) as belonging to the solar race. From Māndhātri, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya line. In the Rājputāna Gazetteer, the Moris (Mauryas) are described as a Rājput clan. Jaina tradition recorded in the Parišishṭaparvan represents Chandragupta as the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (Mayūraposhaka). The Mahāvamsa calls

¹ The anti-Macedonian movement led by Chandragupta, and those who co-operated with him, probably began in Sind. The Macedonian Satrap of that province withdrew before 321 B.C. Ambhi and the Paurava remained in possession of portions of the Western and Central Panjab and some adjoining regions till sometime after the Triparadeisos agreement of 321 B.C.

² The Mudrārākshasa calls him not only Mauryaputra (Act II, verse 5) but also Nandānvaya (Act IV). Kshemendra and Somadeva refer to him as Pūrvananda-sūta, son of the genuine Nanda, as opposed to Yoga-Nanda. The commentator on the Vishņu Purāṇa (IV. 24—Wilson IX. 187) says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Murā, whence he and his descendants were called Mauryas. Dhuṇḍirāja, the commentator on the Mudrārākshasa, informs us on the other hand that Chandragupta was the eldest son of Maurya who was the son of the Nanda king Sarvārthasiddhi by Murā, daughter of a Vṛishala (Śūdra?).

³ Ep. Ind., II. 222. The Mahāvamsafīkā also connects the Mauryas with the Śākyas who, as is well known, claimed to belong to the race of Āditya

(the Sun). Cf. also Avadānakalpalatā, No. 59.

4 II A. the Mewar Residency, compiled by Major K. D. Erskine (p. 14).

* 5 Page 56; VIII. 229f.

Buddhist tradition also testifies to the supposed connection between the expressions Moriya (Maurya) and Mora or Mayūra (peacock)—see Turnour, Mahāvamsa (Mahāwansa), xxxix f. Aelian informs us that tame peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya Palace at Pāṭaliputra, Sir John Marshall points out that figures of peacocks were employed to decorate some of the projecting ends of the architraves of the east gateway at Sānchi (A Guide to Sānchī, pp. 44, 62). Foucher (Monuments of Sanchī, 231) does not regard these birds as a sort of canting badge for the dynastry of the Mauryas. He apparently prefers to imagine in them a possible allusion to the Mora Jātaka.

7 Geiger's Translation, p. 27. Moriyānam Khattiyānam vamse jāta.



him a scion of the Khattiya clan styled Moriya (Maurya). In the Divyāvadāna¹ Bindusāra, the son of Chandragupta, claims to be an anointed Kshatriya, Kshatriya Mūrdhābhishikta. In the same work² Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, calls himself a Kshatriya. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta² the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. As the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is the most ancient of the works referred to above, and forms part of the early Buddhist canon, its evidence should be preferred to that of later compositions. It is, therefore, practically certain that Chandragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community, viz., the Moriya (Maurya) clan.

In the sixth century B.C. the Morivas were the ruling clan of the little republic of Pipphalivana which probably lay between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan empire along with the other states of Eastern India. Tradition avers that they were reduced to great straits in the fourth century B.C., and young Chandragupta grew up among peacock-tamers, herdsmen and hunters in the Vindhyan forest. The classical notices of his encounter with a lion and an elephant accord well with his residence amidst the wild denizens of that sequestered region. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of Chandra These clansmen were no longer rulers and were merely Magadhan subjects. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Justin calls Chandragupta a man of humble origin. Plutarch, as well as Justin, informs us that Chandragupta paid a visit to Alexander. Plutarch says' "Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander

Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 370.

² Page 409.

³ SBE., XI. pp. 134-135-

⁴ Life of Alexander, Ixii.

himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition." From this passage it is not unreasonable to infer that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rānā Samgrāma Simha who invited Bābur to put an end to the regime of Ibrāhim Lūdi.1 Apparently Chandragupta found Alexander as stern a ruler as Agrammes, for we learn from Justin that the Macedonian king did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech.2 The young Maurya apparently thought of ridding his country of both the oppressors, Macedonian as well as Indian. With the help of Kautilya, also called Chāṇakya or Vishnugupta, son of a Brāhmana of Taxila. he is said to have overthrown the infamous Nanda. Traditional accounts of the conflict between Chandragupta and the last Nanda are preserved in the Milindapañho. the Purānas, the Mudrārākshasa, the Mahāvamsa Tīkā and the Jaina Parisishtaparvan. The Milindapañho' tells us that the Nanda army was commanded by Bhaddasāla. The Nanda troops were evidently defeated with great slaughter, an exaggerated account of which is preserved in the Milindapañho.

"Sometime after" his acquisition of sovereignty, Chandragupta went to war with the prefects or generals of Alexander and crushed their power.

The overthrow of the Nandas, and the liberation of the Panjab were not the only achievements of the great

¹ Regarding the conduct of Samgrāma Simha, see Tod's Rājasthān, Vol. I, p. 240, n. (2). Anne Susannah Beveridge, the Bābur-nāma in English, Vol. II. p. 529.

² As already stated the substitution of 'Nanda' for Alexander cannot be justified.

³ SBE., Vol. XXXVI. p. 147.

⁴ Cf. Smith, Ašoka, third edition, p. 14n. For the relative date of the assumption of sovereignty and the war with the prefects see Indian Culture, II No. 3, pp. 559ff, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 137.



Maurya. Plutarch tells us' that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men. Justin also informs us that he was "in possession of India". In his Beginnings of South Indian History, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that Māmulanār, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podivil Hill in the Tinnevelly district. The statements of this author are said to be supported by Paranar or Param Korranār and Kallil Āttiraiyanār. The advanced party of the invasion was composed of a warlike people called Kośar The invaders advanced from the Końkan, passing the hills Elilmalai, about sixteen miles north of Cannanore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district, ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill (Malaya?). Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression Vamba Moriyar, or Maurya upstarts, would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, i.e. Chandragupta, and his adherents were meant.5

Certain Mysore inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in North Mysore. Thus one epigraph says that

¹ Alex. LXII

² Chap. II. cf. JRAS., 1924, 666.

³ For the Kosar see Indian Culture, I, pp. 97 ff. Cf. Kosakāra, ANM., 251 ff. ⁴ Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89. Cf. Maurye nave rājani

⁽Mudrārākshasa, Act IV).

⁵ Barnett suggests (Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 596) that the 'Vamba Moriyar' or 'Bastard Mauryas' were possibly a branch of the Konkani Mauryas. But there is hardly any genuine historical record of the penetration of the Mauryas of the Konkan deep into the southern part of the Tamil country. For other suggestions, see JRAS., 1923, pp. 93-96. Some Tamil scholars hold that "the Moriyar were not allowed to enter Tamilakam, and the last point they reached was the Venkața hill" (IHQ., 1928, p. 145). They also reject Dr. Aiyangar's statement about the Kosar. But the view that the arms of Chandragupta possibly reached the Pāndya country in the Far South of India which abounded in pearls and gems receives some confirmation from the Mudrārākshasa, Act, III, verse 19, which suggests that the supremacy of the first Maurya eventually extended "from the lord of mountains (the Himālayas), cooled by showers of the spray of the divine stream (Ganges) playing about among its rocks, to the shores of the southern ocean, (Dakshinarnava) marked by the brilliance of gems flashing with various colours." The description, however, may be purely conventional. Prof. N. Sastri is critical of the account in the Tamil texts (ANM., p. 253f.).

Nāgarkhaṇḍa in the Shikārpur Tāluq was protected by the wise Chandragupta, "an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas". This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Māmulanār, and the Mysore inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together, they seem to suggest that the first Maurya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India.

Whatever we may think of Chandragupta's connection with Southern India, there can be no doubt that he pushed his conquests as far as Surāshtra in Western India. The Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman refers to his Rāshṭriya or High Commissioner, Pushyagupta, the Vaiśya, who constructed the famous Sudarśana Lake.²

Reference has already been made to an Aramaic Inscription from Taxila which mentions the form Priyadarsana, a well-known epithet of Aśoka Maurya. But it is well to remember that in the Mudrārākshasa Piadamsana is used as a designation of Chandasiri or Chandragupta himself. Further, in Rock Edict VIII of Aśoka, his ancestors, equally with himself are styled Devānampiya. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that, like his famous grandson, Chandragupta, too, was known as 'Devānampiya Piyadasi' (or 'Priyadarśana'), and it is not always safe to ascribe all epigraphs that make mention of Priyadarśana, irrespective of their contents, to Aśoka the Great.

¹ Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10. Fleet, however, is sceptical about the Jaina tradition (Ind. Ant., 1892, 156 ff.). Cf. also JRAS., 1911, 814-17.

² The subjugation of the whole of Northern India (*Udichl*) from the Himālayas to the sea is probably suggested by the following passage of the Kauţiliya Arthaśāstra (IX. 1) traditionally ascribed to a minister of Chandragupta "Dešaḥ Prithivi; tasyām Himavat Samudrāntaram Udichinam yojanasahasra parīmānam atiryak Chakravarti-Kshetram". Cf. Mudrārākshasa, Act III. Verse 19.

³ Act VI.



The Seleukidan War

We learn from Justin1 that when Chandragupta acquired his throne in India Seleukos (Seleucus), a general of Alexander, was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleukos was the son of Antiochos, a distinguished general of Philip of Macedon, and his wife Laodike. After the division of the Macedonian Empire among the followers of Alexander he carried on several wars in the east. He first took Babylon,2 and then his strength being increased by this success, subdued the Bactrians. He next made an expedition into India. Appianus says3 that he crossed the Indus and waged war on Chandragupta, king of the Indians, who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage' with him. Justin also observes that after making a league with Chandragupta, and settling his affairs in the east, Seleukos proceeded to join in the war against Antigonos (301 B.C.). Plutarch supplies us with the information that Chandragupta presented 500 elephants to Seleukos. More important details are given by Strabo who says:5

"The Indians occupy (in part) some of the countries situated along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians: Alexander deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements (or provinces) of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in turn 500 elephants." "The Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians."

¹ Watson's tr., p. 143.

² Seleukos obtained the satrapy of Babylon first after the agreement of Triparadeisos (321 B.C.) and afterwards in 312 B.C. from which year his era is dated. In 306 B.C., he assumed the title of king (Camb. Anc. His., VII, 161; Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 433).

³ Syr. 55 : Ind. Ant., Vol. VI. p. 114. Hultzsch, xxxiv.

⁴ Appianus uses the clear term kedos (connection by marriage), and Strabo (XV) only an epigamia. The cession of territory in consequence of the marriage contract clearly suggests that the wedding did take place.

⁵ H. & F., III, p. 125.

⁸ Ibid., p. 78. Tarn., Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 100.

It will be seen that the classical writers do not give us any detailed record of the actual conflict between Seleukos and Chandragupta. They merely speak of the results. There can be no doubt that the invader could not make much headway, and concluded an alliance which was cemented by a marriage contract. In his Aśoka¹ Dr. Smith observes that the current notion that the Syrian king "gave his daughter in marriage" to Chandragupta is not warranted by the evidence, which testifies merely to a 'matrimonial alliance'. But the cession of territory "in consequence of the epigamia" may rightly be regarded as a dowry given to a bridegroom. The Indian Emperor obtained some of the provinces situated along the Indus which formerly belonged to the Persians. The ceded country comprised a large portion of Ariana itself, a fact ignored by Tarn. In exchange the Maurya monarch gave the "comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants". It is believed that the territory ceded by the Syrian king included the four satrapies: Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Paropanisadai, i.e., Herat, Kandahār, Makrān and Kābul. Doubts have been entertained about this by several scholars including Tarn. The inclusion of the Kābul valley within the Maurya Empire is, however, proved by the inscriptions of Aśoka,2 the grandson of Chandragupta, which speak of the Yonas and Gandharas as vassals of the Empire. And the evidence of Strabo probably points to the cession by Seleukos of a large part of the Iranian Tableland besides the riparian provinces on the Indus.

Megasthenes

We learn from the classical writers that after the war the Syrian and Indian Emperors lived on friendly

1 Third Ed., p. 15.

² Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri draws my attention to an Aramaic inscription of Devānampiya found at Laghman (ancient Lampāka, BSOAS, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, 1949, 8off). This confirms the Greek evidence about the inclusion of Kābul and its neighbourhood within the dominions of the early Mauryas,



terms. Athenaios tells us that Chandragupta sent presents including certain powerful aphrodisiacs to the Syrian monarch.1 Seleukos sent an envoy to the Maurya court, whose name was Megasthenes. Arrian tells us' that Megasthenes originally lived with Sibyrtios, the satrap of Arachosia. He was sent from thence to Pāţaliputra where he often visited the Maurya Emperor, and wrote a history on Indian affairs. The work of Megasthenes has been lost. The fragments that survive in quotations by later authors like Strabo, Arrian, Diodoros and others, have been collected by Schwanbeck, and translated into English by McCrindle. As Professor Rhys Davids observes, Megasthenes possessed very little critical judgment, and was, therefore, often misled by wrong information received from others. But he is a truthful witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation. The most important piece of information supplied by him is, as Rhys Davids pointed out, the description of Pātaliputra which Arrian quotes in Chapter X of his Indica:

"The largest city in India, named Palimbothra, is in the land of the Prasians, where is the confluence of the river Erannobaos3 and the Ganges, which is the greatest of rivers. The Erannobaos would be third of the Indian rivers Megasthenes says that on the side where it is longest this city extends 80 stades (91 miles) in length, and that its breadth is fifteen (13 miles); that the city has been surrounded with a ditch in breadth 6 plethra (606

¹ Inv. Alex., p. 405. Cf. Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 153. The treaty between Chandragupta and Seleukos ushered in a policy of philhellenism which bore fruit in the succeeding reigns. In the days of Bindusara and Asoka there was not only an exchange of embassies with the Hellenistic powers of the West, but the services of Greek philosophers and administrators were eagerly sought by the imperial government.

² Chinnock's tr., p. 254-

³ Erannobaos=Hiranyavāha, i.e., the Sona (Harshacharita, Pārab's ed., 1918, p. 19). Cf. "Anušoņam Pātaliputram" (Patanjali, II. 1. 2). For references to "Pataliputra in a Tamil classic" see Aiyangar Com. Vol., 355 ff.

feet), and in depth 30 cubits; and that its wall has 570 towers and 64 gates."1

There were many other cities in the empire besides Pāṭaliputra, Arrian says, "It would not be possible to record with accuracy the number of the cities on account of their multiplicity. Those which are situated near the rivers or the sea are built of wood: for if they were built of brick they could not long endure on account of the rain and because the rivers overflowing their banks fill the plains with water. But those which have been founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, are built of brick and mortar." The most important cities of Chandragupta's empire besides the metropolis, were Taxila, Ujjain, Kauśāmbī and possibly Puṇḍranagara.

Ælian gives the following account of the palace of Chandragupta: "In the Indian royal palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration, and with which neither Susa, nor Ekbatana can vie (for, methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison), there are other wonders besides. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; there

3 The "Sugānga" palace was the favourite resort of Chandragupta (JRAS, 1923, 587).

¹ Cf. Patanjali, IV. 3.2; "Pāţaliputrakāḥ prāsādāḥ Pāţaliputrakāḥ prākārā iti."

² Puṇḍranagara has been identified with Mahāsthānagarh in the Bogra District of Bengal. The identification seems to be confirmed by an inscription, written in early Mauryan Brāhmī character, which has been discovered at Mahāsthāna. The record makes mention of Puṇḍanagala and its storehouse filled with coins styled Gaṇḍakas, Kākanikas, etc. and refers to a people called Saḍvargikas (Barua, IHQ, 1934, March, 57 ff; D. R. Bhandarkar, Ep. Ind., April, 1931, 83 ff; P. C. Sen, IHQ, 1933, 722 ff). Dr. Bhandarkar reads Sa(m)va(m)gīya in the place of Saḍvargika which is more plausibly suggested by Dr. Barua. If the record really belongs to the early Maurya period the reference to coins is interesting. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that coins of the Maurya age bear certain symbols that can be recognized (cf. JRAS, 1936, 437 ff.).

⁴ The statement should be remembered by those modern writers who find traces of Persian influence in Maurya architecture.



are shady groves and pasture ground planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven; while some trees are native to the soil, others are brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. Parrots are natives of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him and vast though their numbers be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds-because the parrot alone can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds are artificial ponds in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish from these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats."1

The imperial palace probably stood close to the modern village of Kumrahār. The unearthing of the ruins of the Maurya pillar-hall and palace near Kumrahār, said to have been built on the model of the throne-room and palace of Darius at Persepolis, led Dr. Spooner to propound the theory that the Mauryas were Zoroastrians. Dr. Smith observed that the resemblance of the Maurya buildings with the Persian palace at Persepolis was not definitely established. Besides, as Professor Chanda observes, "Ethnologists do not recognize high class architecture as test of race, and in the opinion of experts the buildings of Darius and Xerxes at Persepolis are not Persian in style, but are mainly dependent on Babylonian models and bear traces of the influence of Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor."

We learn from Strabo' that the king usually remained within the palace under the protection of female guards⁵

¹ McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 141-42.

² Smith, The Oxford History of India, p. 77. Macphail, Ašoka, pp. 23-25.

¹ JRAS, 1915, pp. 63 ff. 405 ff.

H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. III, p. 106; cf. Smith, EHI, 3rd ed., p. 123.

The same writer tells us that these women were bought from their parents. In view of this statement it is rather surprising that Megasthenes

(cf. striganair dhanvibhih of the Arthaśāstra) and appeared in public only on four occasions, viz., in time of war; to sit in his court as a judge; to offer sacrifice and to go on hunting expeditions.

Chandragupta's Government

Chandragupta was not only a great soldier and conqueror, he was a great administrator. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at his court, has left detailed accounts of his system of government. The edict of his grandson Aśoka, and the Arthasāstra attributed to his minister, Kautilva, confirm in many respects the particulars of the organisation of the empire given by the distinguished envoy. The Arthasāstra certainly existed before Bāņa (seventh century A.D.) and the Nandisūtra of the Jainas (not later than the fifth century A.D.). But it is doubtful if, in its present shape, it is as old as the time of the first Maurya1. Reference to Chinapatta, China silk, which, be it remembered, occurs frequently in classical Sanskrit literature, points to a later date, as China was clearly outside the horizon of the early Mauryas, and is unknown to Indian epigraphy before the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions. Equally noteworthy is the use of Sanskrit as the official language, a feature not characteristic of the Maurya epoch. A date as late as the Gupta period is, however, precluded by the absence of any reference to the Denarius in the sections dealing with weights and coins. Quite in keeping with this view is the reference to the Arthaśāstra contained in Jaina canonical works that were reduced to writing in the Gupta age. We have already adduced grounds for believing that Arthasāstra probably existed before the second century A.D.2 Though

For the date of the Arthaiastra, see also Raychaudhuri, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, pp. 285-87.

quoted as saying that none of the Indians employed slaves. Note also the story narrated by Athenaios that Amitrochates, (i.e., Bindusara) begged Amiochos Soter to buy and send him a professor (Monahan, The Early History of Mengal, pp. 164, 176, 179).



a comparatively late work, it may be used, like the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman, to confirm and supplement the information gleaned from earlier sources.

The Supreme Government consisted of two main

parts:

1. The Rājā and

2. The "Councillors" and "Assessors" (Mahāmātras, and Amātyas or Sachivas).

The Rājā or sovereign was the head of the state. He was considered to be a mere mortal, though a favoured mortal, the beloved of the deities.1 The possession of the material resources of a great empire and control over a vast standing army gave him real power. But there was a body of ancient rules, Porāṇā pakitī, which even the most masterful despot viewed with respect. The people were an important element of the state. They were looked upon as children for whose welfare the head of the state was responsible, and to whom he owed a debt which could only be discharged by good government. There was a certain amount of decentralisation, notably in the sphere of local government, and there was usually at the imperial headquarters, and also at the chief centres of provincial government, a body of ministers who had a right to be consulted specially in times of emergency. Nevertheless the powers of the king were extensive. He had military, judicial, legislative, as well as executive functions. We have already seen that one of the occasions when he left his palace was war. He considered plans of military operations with his Senāpati3 or Commanderin-Chief.

He also sat in his court to administer justice. "He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attend-

[·] Cf. ante 198 n. 10.

² Cf. Strabo, XV. i; and Kautilya, Bk. X.

^{*} Kaut., p. 38. In the last days of the Maurya empire we find the Senāpati overshadowing the king and transferring to himself the allegiance of the troops.

ing to his person. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him." The Kautiliya Arthasāstra says," "when in the court, he (the king) shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies. He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaņas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and of women; -all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once."

As to the king's legislative function we should note that the Kauţiliya Arthaśāstra¹ calls him "dharma-pravartaka", and includes Rājaśāsana among the sources of law. As instances of royal "śāsanas" or rescripts may be mentioned the Edicts of Aśoka, the famous grandson of Chandragupta.

Among executive functions of the king, our authorities mention the posting of watchmen, attending to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, appointment of ministers, priests and superintendents, correspondence with the Mantriparishad or Council of Ministers, collection of the secret information gathered by spies, reception of envoys, etc.

It was the king who laid down the broad lines of policy and issued rescripts for the guidance of his officers and the people. Control was maintained over the most

¹ H. & F., Strabo III, pp. 106-107.

² Shamasastry's translation, p. 43.

³ Bk. III, Chap. I.

^{*} Kauţilya, Bk. I, Chs. xvi; xvii; Bk. VIII, Ch. i. Cf. Aśoka's Rock Edicts III (regulation about alpa vyayatā and alpa bhāṇḍatā). V (appointment of high officials). VI (relations with the Parishad, and collection of information from the Paţivedakā), and XIII (diplomatic relations with foreign powers).

distant officials by an army of secret reporters and overseers and, in the days of Chandragupta's grandson, by itinerant judges. Communication with them was kept up by a network of roads, and garrisons were posted at strategic points.

Kautilya holds that Rājatva (sovereignty) is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ Sachivas and hear their opinion. The Sachivas or Amātyas of Kautilya correspond to the "seventh caste" of Megasthenes which assisted the king in deliberating on public affairs. This class was small in number, but in wisdom and justice excelled all the others.

The most important amongst the Sachivas or Amātyas were undoubtedly the Mantrins or High Ministers, probably corresponding to the Mahāmātras of Aśoka's Rock Edict VI and the "advisers of the king" referred to by Diodoros.3 They were selected from those Amatyas whose character had been tested under all kinds of allurements.' They were given the highest salary, viz., 48,000 panas per annum.5 They assisted the king in examining the character of the Amātyas who were employed in ordinary department.6 All kinds of administrative measures were preceded by consultation with three or four of them.7 In works of emergency (ātyayike kārye) they were summoned along with the Mantriparishad." They exercised a certain amount of control over the Imperial Princes.9 They accompanied the king to the battle-field, and gave encouragement to the troops.10

¹ Cf. Manu, VII. 55.

² Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413.

³ II 41

⁴ Sarvopadhā-suddhān Mantriņah kuryāt.—Artholāstra, 1919, p. 17. For upadhā see also the Junāgadh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

⁵ Kautilya, p. 247. According to Smith (EHI, 4th ed., p. 149) the value of a silver pana may be taken as not far from a shilling.

⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 26, 28.

¹ Ibid., p. 29, Cf. Aśoka's Rock Edict VI.

⁹ Ibid., p. 333-

in Ibid., p. 368. Cf. the Udayagiri Inscription of Saba.

Kautilya was evidently one of those Mantrins. Another minister (or Pradeshtri?) was apparently Maniyatappo, a Jatilian, who helped the king to "confer the blessings of peace on the country by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns." That there were at times more than one Mantrin is proved by the use of the plural Mantrinah.

In addition to the Mantrins there was the Mantriparishad, i.e., Assembly of Counsellors or Council of Ministers. The existence of the Parishad as an important element of the Maurya constitution is proved by the third and sixth Rock Edicts of Aśoka.2 The members of the Mantriparishad were not identical with the Mantrins. In several passages of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra the Mantrins are sharply distinguished from the Mantriparishad.3 The latter evidently occupied an inferior position. Their salary was only 12,000 panas, whereas the salary of a Mantrin was 48,000. They do not appear to have been consulted on ordinary occasions, but were summoned along with the Mantrins when Atyayika kārya, i.e., works of emergency had to be transacted. The king was to be guided by the decision of the majority (Bhūyishthāh). They also attended the king at the time of the reception of envoys.5 From the passage "Mantriparishadam dvādaśāmātyān kurvîta"—"the Council of Ministers should consist of twelve Amātyas," it appears that the Parishad used to be recruited from all kinds of Amatyas (not necessarily from Mantrins alone). From Kautilya's denunciation of a king with a "Kshudraparishad," a small council, his rejection of the views of the Manavas, Bārhaspatyas and the Ausanasas, his preference for an

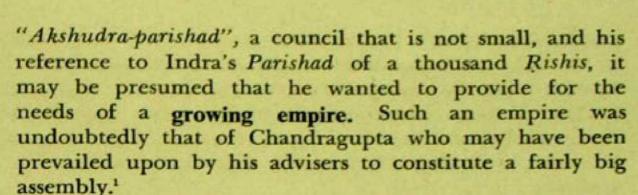
¹ Turnour's Mahāvamsa, p. xlii. The evidence is late.

² Note also Pliny's reference to noble and rich Indians who sit in council with the king (Monahan, The Early History of Bengal, 148); cf. Mbh. iii, 127. 8. Amātyaparishad; xii, 320, 139 Amātya Samiti.

² Cf. pp. 20, 29, 247. ⁴ Arthaidstra, 29. Cf. Mbh, iv. 30. 8. Asoka's R. E. VI.

[&]amp; Arthalästra, p. 45-

P. 259.



Besides the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad, there was another class of Amātyas who filled the great administrative and judicial appointments. The Kautilīya Arthaśāstra says3 that the "dharmopadhāśuddha" Amātyas, officers purified by religious test, should be employed in civil' and criminal' courts, the "arthopadhāśuddha" Amātyas, officers purified by money-test, should be employed as Samāhartri ("Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of the Interior") and Sannidhātri (High Treasurer and Keeper of Stores; the "kāmopadhāsuddha" Amātyas, officials purified by love-test, should be appointed to superintend the pleasure grounds, the "bhayopadhāśuddha" Amātyas, officers purified by fear-test, should be appointed to do work requiring immediate attention (āsanna-kārya), while those who are proved to be impure should be employed in mines, timber and elephant forests,'

¹ The Divyāvadāna (p. 372) refers to the five hundred councillors (Pañchāmātyasatāni) of Bindusāra, son and successor of Chandragupta Maurya. Patañjali refers to Chandragupta Sabhā. But we have no indication as to its constitution.

² Cf. the Karma-Sachivas of the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudra-daman I.

P. 17. Cf. McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, 41, 42.

^{*}Givil (Dharmasthīya) Courts were established "in the cities of Sangrahana (in the midst of a collection of ten villages), Dronamukha (in the centre of four hundred villages), Sthāniya (in the centre of eight hundred villages), and at places where districts met (Janapada-sandhi;? union of districts)", and consisted of three Dharmasthas (judges versed in the sacred law) and three Amātyas.

s A Criminal (Kantakasodhana) Court consisted of 3 Amatyas, or 3

Pradeshtris. The functions of the latter will be described later on.

6 For the duties of these officers see Kautilya's Arthasāstra, Bk. II, 5-6,

⁸ For the duties of these officers see Kautilya's Arthasastra, Bk. II, 5-6, 85; Bk. IV, 4; Bk. V, 2. For the revenue system under the Mauryas, see Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System, pp. 165 ff.

^{· 1} Cf. Nagavana of Pillar Edict V.

and manufactories. Untried Amātyas were to be employed in ordinary or insignificant departments (sāmānya adhikarana). Persons endowed with the qualifications required in an Amātya (Amātyasampadopeta) were appointed Nisrishtarthah or Ministers Plenipotentiary, Lekhakas or Ministers of Correspondence, and Adhyakshas or Superintendents.

The statements of the Kauţilīya Arthaśāstra regarding the employment of Amātyas as the chief executive and judicial officers of the realm, are confirmed by the classical writers. Strabo, for example, observes,1 "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors (Symbouloi and Synedroi) of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs." Arrian also says, "from them are chosen their rulers, governors of provinces, deputies, treasurers, generals, admirals, controllers of expenditure and superintendents of agriculture."

The adhyakshas who formed the pivot of the Kautiliyan administration, are evidently referred to by Strabo's trans-

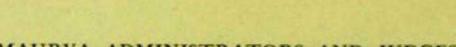
lators as "Magistrates" in the following passage:

"Of the Magistrates, some have the charges of the market,3 others of the city, others of the soldiery.4 Some5 have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads, and place a pillar at every ten stadia to

¹ H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103. Cf. Diodoros, II. 41. 2 One class of Adhyakshas, those in charge of women, are referred so in the Asokan inscriptions as Mahāmātras.

[&]quot;District" according to the Cambridge History of India, I. 417. Cf. the Durga-rashtra-danda-mukhyas of Kautilya, Bk. XIII, Chs. III

and V. \$ I.e., the district officials (Agronomoi.)



indicate the byways and distances. Those who have charge of the city (astynomoi) are divided into six bodies of five each.1 Next to the Magistrates of the city is a third body of governors, who have the care of military affairs. This class also consists of six divisions each

composed of five persons.2

The Magistrates in charge of the city and those in charge of military affairs are evidently the same as the Nagarādhyakshas and Balādhyakshas of the Arthaśāstra." Dr. Smith remarks, "the Boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital and the army are unknown to the author (Kautilya), who contemplated each such charge as the duty of a single officer. The creation of the Boards may have been an innovation effected by Chandragupta personally." But the historian overlooks the fact that Kautilya distinctly says: "Bahumukhyam anityam chādhikaranam sthāpayet," "each department shall be officered by several temporary heads;"5 "Adhyakshāḥ Sankhyāyaka - Lekhaka - Rūpadaršaka - Nivi-

1 Each body was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., (1) the mechanical arts, (2) foreign residents, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) trade, commerce, weights and measures, (5) supervision and sale of manufactured articles and (6) collection of tithes on sales. In their collective capacity they looked after public buildings, markets, harbours and temples. Prices were regulated by them.

2 Each division or Board was responsible for one of the following departments, viz., the navy, transport and commissariat (cf. Vishţi-karmāṇi of Kauţilya, Bk. X, Ch. iv), the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants. In the Santiparva of the Mahabharata the divisions are stated to be

six (CIII. 38) or eight (LIX. 41-42):

Rathā Nāgā Hayāschaiva Pādātāschaiva Pāndava Vishtir Nāvaš Charāšchaiva Dešikā iti chāshţamam Anganyetani Kauravya prakasani balasya tu

"Chariots, elephants, horses, infantry, burden-carriers, ships, spies with local guides as the eighth-these are the open "limbs" of a fighting force, O descendant of Kuru."

The Raghuvamia (IV. 26) refers to Shadvidham balam. Cf. Mbh, V. 96. 16. ³ Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 55 Nagara-Dhānya-Vyāvahārika-Kārmāntika-Baladhyakshah. Cf. Balapradhānā and Nigamapradhānāh of Mbh, V. 2. 6. * EHI, 1914, p. 141. Cf. Monahan, Early History of Bengal, pp. 157-64.

Stein, Megasthenes und Kauțilya, pp. 233 ff.

5 Arthasastra, 1919, p. 60. On page 57 we have the following passage-Hasty-asva-ratha-padatam-aneka-mukhyam-avasthapayet, i.e., elephants, cavalry, chariots, and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.

grāhak-Ottarādhyaksha-sakhāḥ karmāṇi kuryuḥ", "the Superintendents shall carry on their duties with the assistance of accountants, scribes, coin-examiners, stock-takers and additional secret overseers." Evidently Dr. Smith notices only the Adhyakshas but ignores the existence of the Uttarādhyakshas and others. As in regard to the Arthaśāstra Smith notices only the Adhyakshas, so in regard to the classical accounts he takes note only of the Boards, but ignores the chiefs who are expressly men-

tioned in two passages,1 viz.-

"One division is associated with the Chief Naval Superintendent," "another (division) is associated with the person who has the charge of the bullock-teams." The Chief Naval Superintendent and the Person-in-Charge of the Bullock-teams, doubtless, correspond to the Nāva-dhyaksha and the Go'dhyaksha of the Arthaśāstra. It is a mistake to think that the Nāvadhyaksha of the early Hindu period was a purely civil official, for he was responsible for the destruction of Himsrikās (pirate ships?) and the Mahābhārata² clearly refers to the navy as one of the aṅgas or limbs of the Royal Forces. The civil duties of the Nāvadhyaksha have their counterpart in those of Megasthenes' Admiral relating to the "letting out of ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize."

Central popular assemblies like those that existed among the Lichchhavis, Mallas, Śākyas and other Saṅghas had no place in the Maurya constitution. The custom of summoning a great assembly of Grāmikas or Village Headmen seems also to have fallen into disuse. The royal council gradually became an aristocratic body attended only by nobles and rich men.

Administration of Justice

At the head of the judiciary stood the king himself.

¹ H. & F., Strabo, III, p. 104.

² XII. lix, 41-42.

³ Strabo, XV. 1. 46.

Pliny quoted in Monahan's Early History of Bengal, 148,



Besides the royal court there were special tribunals of justice both in cities (nagara) and country parts (janapada) presided over by Vyāvahārika Mahāmātras and Rājūkas respectively. Greek writers refer to judges who listened to cases of foreigners. Petty cases in villages were doubtless decided by the headmen and the village elders. All our authorities testify to the severity of the penal code. But the rigours of judicial administration were sought to be mitigated by Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, who meted out equal justice to all and instituted the system of itinerant Mahāmātras to check maladministration in the outlying provinces. Considerable discretion was, however, allowed to the Rājūkas. We are informed by Greek writers that "theft was a thing of very rare occurrence" among Indians. They express their surprise at this for they go on to observe that the people "have no written laws but are ignorant of writing, and conduct all matters by memory." The assertion about the Indians' ignorance of writing is hardly correct. Nearchus and Curtius record that Indians use pieces of closely woven linen and the tender bark of trees for writing on. Strabo tells us that a philosopher who has any useful suggestion to offer, commits it to writing. Attention may also be invited to the marks on Mauryan pillars intended to show the by-roads and distances.1

Provincial Government

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces which were subdivided into āhāras or vishayas (districts), because "no single administration could support the Atlantean load." The exact number of provinces in Chandragupta's time is unknown. In the time of his grandson, Aśoka, there were at least five, viz.:

1. Uttarāpatha² ... capital, Taxila

² Divyāvadāna, p. 407.

¹ Monahan, Early History of Bengal, pp. 143, 157, 167 f.

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2.	Avantirațțha ¹	***	***	Capital	Ujjayini	135
3.	Dakshiṇāpatha	***	***	"	Suvarņagiri	(1)
4.	Kalinga	***	***	"	Tosali	
E.	Prāchya, Prāchīna	(Prasii)2	***	**	Pāṭaliputra	

Of these only the first two and the last one can be said, with any amount of certainty, to have formed parts of Chandragupta's Empire. But it is not altogether improbable that Dakshināpatha, too, was one of Chandragupta's provinces. The outlying provinces were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were usually styled Kumāras. We learn from the Kautiliya Arthaśāstras that the salary of a Kumāra was 12,000 panas per annum.

The Home Provinces, i.e., Prāchya and the Madhyadeśa (Eastern India and Mid-India), were directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of Mahāmātras or High Officers stationed in important cities like Pāţali-

putra, Kauśāmbī, etc.

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Besides the Imperial Provinces, Maurya India included a number of territories which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy. Arrian refers to peoples who were autonomous and cities which enjoyed a democratic Government.4 The Kautiliya Arthaśāstra5 refers to a number of Sanghas, i.e., economic, military or political corporations or confederations evidently enjoying autonomy in certain matters, e.g., Kamboja, Surāshtra, etc. The Kambojas find prominent mention as a unit in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka. R. E. V. alludes to various nations or peoples on the western border (Aparata) in addition to those named specifically.6 It is not improbable that Surashtra was included among these nations which, judged by the title of its local rulers, enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy. The commentary on

¹ The Questions of King Milinda, pt. II, p. 250 n. Mahāvamsa, Ch. XIII; Muhābodhivamsa, p. 98.

² Cf. the Questions of Milinda, II. 250 n.

⁴ Monahan, The Early History of Bengal, 150; Chinnock, Arrian, 413.

⁵ P. 378.

⁸ IHQ, 1931, 631.



the Petavatthu refers to one of the local Rajas named Pingala,1 the contemporary of Aśoka. Another contemporary,2 the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha finds mention in Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgadh. The Yavana-rāja was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed to look after the affairs of Surashtra by Aśoka, just as Rājā Mān Singh of Amber was appointed Subadār of Bengal by Akbar. His relations with Aśoka may also be compared to that subsisting between the Rājā of the śākya state and Pasenadi. In the time of the first Maurya Surāshtra had an officer named Pushyagupta, the Vaisya who is described as a Rāshtriya of Chandragupta. In the Bombay Gazetteer,3 the word Rāshţriya was taken to mean a brother-in-law. Kielhorn, however, in the Epigraphia Indica, took the term to mean a provincial Governor. This rendering does not seem to be quite adequate because we have already seen that Surāshtra had possibly its group of Rājās in the Maurya Age and could not be regarded as an Imperial Province under a bureaucratic governor of the ordinary type. The Rāshtriya of the inscription seems to have been a sort of Imperial High Commissioner,5 and the position of Pushyagupta in Surāshtra was probably like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt. Neither the Arthaśāstra nor the edicts of Asoka mention clearly any class of officials called Rāsh-

¹ Law, Buddhist Conception of Spirits, 47 ff.

² Attempts in recent times to assign Tushāspha to the post-Asokan period lack plausibility. In the Junāgadh epigraph the name of the suzerain invariably accompanies that of the local ruler or officer. There is no reason to think that the relationship between Asoka and Tushāspha was different from that between Chandragupta and Pushyagupta or between Rudradāman and Suvišākha.

³ Vol. I, Part I, p. 13.

⁴ Vol. VIII, p. 46.

⁵ Cf. the type met with in the Near East after the First World War. The High Commissioner acted for the de facto paramount power. His office does not preclude the possibility of the existence of a local potentate or potentates. Note also Wendel Wilkie's observation (One World, p. 13) on the British "ambassador" to Egypt, who is "for all practical purposes its actual ruler".

triya.¹ It is, however, probable, that the Rāshtriya was identical with the Rāshtrapāla whose salary was equal to that of a Kumāra or Prince.²

A hereditary bureaucracy does not seem to have come to existence in the early Maurya period at least in the territory of Surāshţra. The assumption of the title of Rājā by local rulers and the grant of autonomy to the Rājūkas in the days of Aśoka ultimately let loose centrifugal forces which must have helped in the dismemberment of the empire.

Overseers and Spies

The classical writers refer to a class of men called Overseers (Episkopoi) who "overlook what is done throughout the country and in the cities, and make report to the king where the Indians are ruled by a king, or the magistrates where the people have a democratic Government." Strabo calls this class of men the Ephori or Inspectors. "They are," says he, "intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report pri-

¹ The Asokan inscriptions, however, mention the Rathikas and the Pāli English Dictionary, edited by Rhys Davids and Stede compares Ratthika with Rāshtriya.

Chinnock, Arrian, p. 413.

Arthasastra, p. 247. For Rashtriya see also Mbh, XII. 85. 12; 87. 9. According to Amara (V. 14) a Rāshṭriya is a rājasyāla (brother-in-law of the king). But Kshīrasvāmin says in his commentary that except in a play a Rāshtriya is a Rāshtrādhikrita, i.e. an officer appointed to look after or supervise the affairs of a rashtra, state or province. Cf., the Macedonian episkopos. Note the position of Eudamos in relation to the Indian Rajas of the Panjab, and that of Pratihara Tantrapalas of the tenth century A.D. Dr. Barua draws attention (in IC, X. 1944, pp. 88ff.) to several texts including Buddhaghosha's statement that during a royal state-drive the place assigned to the Rāshtriyas was just between the Mahāmātras and Brahmins shouting the joy of victory. They themselves were gorgeously dressed holding swords and the like in their hands. This may well be true. But the texts cited by him are not adequate enough to prove that in the days of Chandragupta Maurya the Rāshtrika or Rāshtriya was nothing more than the foremost among the bankers, business magnates, etc., who functioned as Mayors, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace. The analogy of Tushaspha and Suvisakha mentioned in the same epigraph suggests that the Rāshtriya here was a more exalted functionary, and that the evidence of Kshīrasvāmin cannot be lightly brushed aside,



vately to the king...The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of Inspectors." The Overseer of Arrian and the Inspector of Strabo may correspond to the Rāshṭriya of the Junāgaḍh Inscription or to the Pradeshṭri or the Gūḍha-Purushas (secret emissaries) of the Arthaśāstra. Pradeshṭri may be derived from Pradiś which means 'to point,' 'to communicate'."

Strabo speaks of different classes of Inspectors. He tells us that the City Inspectors employed as their coadjutors the city courtesans; and the Inspectors of the Camp, the women who followed it. The employment of women of easy virtue as spies is also alluded to by the Kauţiliya Arthaśāstra. According to that work there were two groups of spies, viz.:

1. Sainsthāḥ, or stationary spies, consisting of secret agents styled Kāpaţika, Udāsthita, Grihapatika, Vaidehaka and Tāpasa, i.e., fraudulent disciples, recluses, householders, merchants and ascetics.

2. Sañchārāḥ or wandering spies,³ including emissaries termed Satri, Tîkshṇa and Rashada, i.e., class-mates, firebrands and poisoners and certain women described as Bhikshukis (mendicants), Parivrājikās (wandering nuns), Muṇḍas (shavelings) and Vṛishalīs. It is to the last class, viz., the Vṛishalīs that Strabo evidently refers.⁴ We have also explicit references to courtesan (puṁśchalī, veśyā, rūpājīvā) spies in the Arthaśāstra.⁵

Care of Foreigners

It is clear from the accounts of Diodoros and Strabo that the Maurya government took special care of foreigners.

¹ H. and F., Strabo, III, p. 103.

[&]amp; Cf. Thomas, JRAS, 1915, p. 97-

³ Cf. Lüders, Ins. No. 1200.

⁴ A Vrishalī is taken to mean a gaņikā or courtesan by the author of the Bhagavadajjukīyam (p. 94).

⁵ Pp. 224. 316 of the Arthalastra (1919).

⁶ II. 42.

⁷ XV. I. 50.

"Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any one of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned with the greatest care and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them."

Village Administration

The administrative and judicial business of villages was, in Ancient India, carried on by the Grāmikas, Grāmabhojakas or Āyuktas who were, no doubt, assisted by the village elders. The omission of the Grāmika from the list of salaried officials given in the Arthaśāstra is significant. It probably indicates that in the days of the author of the treatise the Grāmika was not a salaried servant of the crown, but possibly an elected official of the villagers. The king's servant in the village was the Grāmabhritaka or Grāmabhojaka. Above the Grāmika the Arthaśāstra places the Gopa, who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and the Sthānika who controlled one quarter of a janapada or district. The work of these officers was super-

¹ McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, p. 42.

Fick, Social Organization, 162; Arthasāstra, pp. 157, 172. Cf. Lüders, Ins. Nos. 48, 69a. The Kalinga Edicts refer to Ayuktas who helped the princely viceroys and Mahāmātras in carrying out Imperial Policy. In the early Post-Mauryan and Scythian Age they are distinctly referred to as village officials (Lüders' List, No. 1347). In the Gupta Age the designation is applied to various functionaries including district officers.

³ Grāma-vriddhas, Artha, pp. 48, 161, 169, 178. Cf. Lüders, Ins., No. 1327. Rock Edicts, V and VIII refer to Mahālakas and Vriddhas.

Bk. V. Ch. III.

There is, however, evidence to show that in early times adhikritas were appointed for villages by the paramount ruler (Prasna Upanishad, III. 4).

6 Artha., pp. 175, 248.

The Grāmabhojaka of the Jātakas was an amātya of the king (Fick, Social Organization in N.E. Ind., p. 160).

The Gopas proper do not find mention in early epigraphs, but Lüders' Ins., No. 1266, mentions "Senā-gopas".



vised, according to that treatise by the Samāhartīi with the help of the Pradeshtris.¹ Rural administration must have been highly efficient. We are told by Greek observers that the tillers of the soil received adequate protection from all injury and would devote the whole of their time to cultivation.

Revenue and Expenditure

The cost of civil and military administration even at the centre must have been enormous. The chief sources of revenue from villages were the Bhaga and the Bali. The Bhaga was the king's share of the produce of the soil which was normally fixed at one-sixth, though in special cases it was raised to one-fourth or reduced to oneeighth. Bali seems to have been an extra impost from the payment of which certain tracts were exempted. According to Greek writers husbandmen paid, in addition to a fourth part of the produce of the soil, a land tribute because, according to their belief, "all India is the property of the crown and no private person is permitted to own land." Taxes on land were collected by the Agronomoi who measured the land and superintended the irrigation works. Other state dues included tribute and prescribed services from those who worked at trades, and cattle from herdsmen. In urban areas the main sources of revenue included birth and death taxes, fines and tithes on sales. The Mahābhāshya of Patañjali has an interesting reference to the Mauryas' love of gold which led them to deal in images of deities. The distinction between taxes levied in rural and in fortified areas respectively is known to the Arthaśāstra which refers to certain high revenue functionaries styled the Samāhartri and the Sannidhātri. No such

¹ Artha., pp. 142, 217. We do not know how far the system described in the treatise on polity applies to the early Maurya period. In the days of Asoka the work of supervision was done largely by special classes of Mahāmātras (cf. R.E.V. and the Kalinga Edicts), Pulisā (agents) and Rājukas (Pillar Edict IV).

officials are, however, mentioned in Maurya inscriptions. Greek writers, on the other hand, refer to 'treasurers of

the state' or 'superintendents of the treasury'.

A considerable part of the revenue was spent on the army. The artisans, too, received maintenance from the Imperial exchequer. Herdsmen and hunters received an allowance of grain in return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls. Another class which benefited from royal bounty were the philosophers among whom were included Brāhmaṇas as well as Śramaṇas or ascetics. Vast sums were also spent for irrigation, construction of roads, erection of buildings and fortifications, and establishment of hospitals in the days of Chandragupta's grandson.

The last Days of Chandragupta

Jaina tradition recorded in the Rājāvalīkathe¹ avers that Chandragupta was a Jaina and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated in favour of his son Simhasena and repaired to Mysore where he died. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāverī near Seringapatam of about 900 A.D., describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, i.e., Chandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta Munipati.² Dr. Smith observes: "The Jain tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists." Chandragupta died about 300 B.C., after a reign of 24 years.

Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 3-4-

¹ Ind. Ant., 1892, 157.

³ The Oxford History of India, p. 76. As already stated, Fleet is sceptical about the Jaina tradition (Ind. Ant., 1892, 156f). According to Greek evidence Chandragupta was a follower of the sacrificial religion (see p. 246 ante). The epithet Vrishala applied to him in the Mudrārākshasa suggests that in regard to certain matters he did deviate from strict orthodoxy (Indian Culture, II, No. 3, pp. 558 ff. See also C. J. Shah. Jainism in Northern India, 135n, 138).

pp. 56off. Buddhist tradition of Ceylon puts the date 162 years after the parinirvana of the Buddha, i.e., in 382 B.C., if we take 544 B.C., to be the year of the Great Decease; and 324 B.C., if we prefer the Cantonese date 486 B.C., for the death of the Buddha. The earlier date is opposed to Greek evidence. The date 324 B.C. accords with the testimony of Greek writers.



If the Parisishţaparvan¹ of Hemachandra is to be believed Chandragupta had a queen named Durdharā who became the mother of Bindusāra, the son who succeeded him on the throne. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, the name of the queen cannot be accepted as genuine.

SECTION II. THE REIGN OF BINDUSARA

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in or about the year 300 B.C. by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. The name or title Amitraghāta (slayer of foes) is a restoration in Sanskrit^a of the Amitrachates of Athenaios, and Allitrochades of Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus. Fleet prefers the rendering Amitrakhāda or devourer of enemies, which is said to occur as an epithet of Indra.^a In the Rājāvalīkathe the name of Chandragupta's son and successor is given as Simhasena. From Aśoka's Rock Edict VIII (e.g. the Kālsī Text) it appears probable that Bindusāra, as well as other predecessors of Aśoka, used the style Devānampiya.

The Jaina date, 313 B.C., for Chandragupta's accession, if it is based on a correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti in Malwa, as the chronological datum is found in a verse where the Maurya king finds mention in a list of successors of Pālaka, king of Avanti. Cf. IHQ, 1929, p. 402. Filliozat (Manuel des études indiennes, I, 212-19) and others who prefer the late Jaina evidence, ignore the much earlier Ceylonese testimony, see Raychaudhuri, HCIP, AIU, Vol. II, 92ff; ANM, 136ff; the date 313 B.C. moreover does not accord well with what is known about the synchronism of Asoka with some of the Hellenistic kings mentioned in Edict XIII, notably Magas of Cyrene whom a contemporary poet, Callimachus seems to place long before the Syrian War of Ptolemy III (c. 247-6 B.C.). Tarn in Gary, Greek World, 393 f.

1 VIII 439-443. For another tradition see Bigandet, II. 128.

3 JRAS, 1909, P. 24.

² Cf. Weber, IA, ii (1873). p. 148, Lassen and Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, p. 92). The term Amitraghāta occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya III. 2. 2. Cf., also Mbh, 30. 19; 62. 8; VII. 22.16, where Amitraghātin occurs as an epithet of princes and warriors. Dr. Jarl Charpentier observes (in Le Monde Oriental, quoted in Calcutta Review, May-June, 1926, p. 399). "that the Greek word Amitrachates as a synonym of Bindusāra, should be rendered Amitraghāta seems clear not only from the Mahābhāshya but also from the royal title amitrāṇām hantā in Ait. Br., VIII. 17." In JRAS, 1928, January, however, he prefers to restore Amitrachates as Amitrakhāda (p. 135). Cf. Rig-veda, X. 152. 1.

If the author of the Arya-Manjuśrī Mūla Kalpa, Hemachandra and Tāranātha are to be believed, Kautilya or Chāṇakya continued to serve as minister for some time after the accession of Bindusāra.1 "Chāṇakya" says Tāranātha, "one of his (Bindusāra's) great lords, procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns,2 and made the king master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." The conquest of the territory between the eastern and western seas has been taken by some scholars to refer to the annexation of the Deccan.3 But we should not forget that already in the time of Chandragupta the Maurya Empire extended from Surāshtra to Bengal (Gangaridae), i.e., from the western to the eastern sea. Tāranātha's statement need mean nothing more than the suppression of a general revolt. No early tradition expressly connects the name of Bindusara with the conquest of the Deccan.4 The story of the subjugation of sixteen towns may or may not be true, but we are told in the Divyāvadāna' that at least one town of note, viz, Taxila, revolted during the reign of Bindusara. The king is said to have despatched Asoka there. While the prince was nearing Taxila with his troops, the people came out to meet him, and said, "We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusara, but the wicked ministers (Dushţāmātyāḥ) insult us." The high-handedness of the Maurya officials in the outlying provinces is alluded to by Asoka himself in his Kalinga Edict.6 Addressing his Mahāmātras the Emperor says:

¹ Jacobi, Parišishţaparvan, p. 62; VIII. 446ff; Ind. Ant., 1875, etc. For the alleged connection of Bindusāra and Chāṇakya with another minister named Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhārā, see Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 208-11 and Parišishṭa, VIII. 447. The Divyāvadāna (p. 372) mentions Khallāṭaka as Bindusāra's agrāmātya or chief minister.

* Were these the capitals of the sixteen mahajanapadas?

2 Cf. Smith, EHI, 3rd ed., p. 149, JRAS, 1919, 598; Jayaswal, The Empire

of Bindusāra, JBORS, ii. 79 ff.

5 Cowell and Neil's Ed., p. 371.

^{*} See, however, Subramaniam, JRAS, 1923, p. 96, "My Guru's Guru had written in his commentary on a Sangam work that the Tulu-nāda was established by the son of Chandragupta," perhaps Tuliyan (Tuli-Bindu).

⁵ Smith, Ašoka, third edition, pp. 194-95.



"All men are my children: and, just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent.1 Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture, and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved. In such a case you must desire to do justice2.... and for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons (Mahāmātras) as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instructions.3 From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials and will not over-pass three years. In the same way from Taxila."

Taxila made its submission to Aśoka. The Maurya prince is further represented as entering the "Svaśa rājya"

(Khaśa according to Burnouf).4

Foreign Relations

In his relations with the Hellenistic powers Bindusāra

1 "You do not learn how far this (my) object reaches." (Hultzsch, Ins-

criptions of Asoka, p. 95).

3 "I shall send out every five years (a Mahāmātra) who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions (viz., in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers) paying attention to this object... are acting thus, as my

^{3 &}quot;It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer. In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially." (Hultzsch, p. 96).

instruction (implies)". (Hultzsch, p. 97).

* Divyāvadāna, p. 372. The emendation Khasa is supported by the testimony of Taranatha (IHQ, 1930, 334). For the Khasas see JASB, (Extra No. 2. 1899).

pursued a pacific policy. We learn from the classical writers' that the king of Syria despatched to his court an ambassador named Deïmachos. Pliny2 tells us that (Ptolemy II) Philadelphos King of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent an envoy named Dionysios. Dr. Smith points out that it is uncertain whether Dionysios presented his credentials to Bindusāra or to his son and successor, Aśoka. It is, however, significant that while Greek and Latin writers refer to Chandragupta and Amitraghāta they do not mention Aśoka. This is rather inexplicable if an envoy whose writings were utilized by later authors, really visited the third of the great Mauryas. Patrokles,3 an officer who served under both Seleukos and his son, sailed in the Indian seas and collected much geographical information which Strabo and Pliny were glad to utilize. Athenaios tells an anecdote of private friendly correspondence between Antiochos (I, Soter), king of Syria, and Bindusāra which indicates that the Indian monarch communicated with his Hellenistic contemporaries on terms of equality and friendliness. We are told on the authority of Hegesander that Amitrochates (Bindusara), the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochos asking that king to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist, and Antiochos replied: We shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece the laws forbid a sophist to be sold.4 In connection with the demand for a Greek sophist it is interesting to recall the statement of Diodoros that one Iamboulos was carried to the king of Palibothra (Pātaliputra) who had a great love for the Graecians. Dion Chrysostom asserts that the poetry of Homer is sung by the Indians who had translated it into their own language and modes of expression.5 Garga and Varāhamihira in a

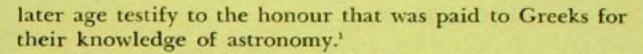
McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 177. Cf. Grote, XII. p. 169, possible representation of a Greek drama on the Hydaspes.

¹ E.g., Strabo.

² McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 108.

Smith, Ašoka, third edition, p. 19.

⁴ McCrindle, Inv. Alex., p. 409. Hultzsch, Ašoka, p. xxxv. Bindusāra's interest in philosophy is also proved by his association with Ajīva-parivrājakas, Divyāvadāna, 370ff. Cf., also the first lines of Pillar Edict VII.



Bindusāra's Family

Bindusāra had many children besides Aśoka, the son who succeeded him on the throne. We learn from a passage of the Fifth Rock Edict in which the duties of the Dharma-mahāmātras* are described, that Asoka had many brothers and sisters. The Divyāvadāna mentions two of these brothers, namely, Susīma and Vigataśoka.3 The Ceylonese Chronicles seem also to refer to these two princes though under different names, calling the former Sumana and the latter Tishya. Susīma-Sumana is said to have been the eldest son of Bindusara and a stepbrother of Aśoka, while Vigataśoka-Tishya is reputed to have been the youngest son of Bindusara and a co-uterine brother of Asoka, born of a Brāhmaṇa girl from Champā. Hiuen Tsang mentions a brother of Aśoka named Mahendra. Ceylonese tradition, however, represents the latter as a son of Aśoka. It is possible that the Chinese pilgrim has confounded the story of Vigataśoka with that of Mahendra.5

Bindusāra died after a reign of 25 years according to the *Purāṇas* and 27 or 28 years according to Buddhist tradition.⁶ According to the chronology adopted in these pages his reign terminated about 273 B.C.⁷

2"High Officers for the Establishment and Propagation of the Law of

3 Pp. 369-73; Smith, Ašoka, 3rd ed., pp. 247 ff.

5 Cf. Smith, Ašoka, 3rd ed., p. 257-

¹ Bṛihat Samhitā. II, 14. Aristoxenus and Eusebius refer to the presence in Athens, as early as the fourth century B.C., of Indians who discussed philosophy with Socrates. (A note by Rawlinson quoted in the Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22.11.36, p. 17).

^{*} According to R. L. Mitra (Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, 8) and Smith the name of Asoka's mother was Subhadrāngī. Bigandet II. 128, mentions Dhammā as the mother of Asoka and Tissa.

⁶ Hultzsch points out (p. xxxii) that Burmese tradition assigns 27 years to Bindusāra, while Buddhaghosha's Samanta-pāsādikā agrees with the Mahāvarhsa in allotting 28 years to that king.

⁷ Cf. Smith, Asoka, p. 73-

SECTION III. THE EARLY YEARS OF ASOKA

Both the Divyāvadāna and the Ceylonese Chronicles agree that there was a fratricidal struggle after the death of Bindusāra. Aśoka is said to have overthrown his eldest step-brother with the help of Radhagupta whom he made his Agrāmātya (Chief Minister). Dr. Smith observes,1 "the fact that his formal consecration or coronation (abhisheka) was delayed for some four years until 269 B.C.,3 confirms the tradition that his succession was contested, and it may be true that his rival was an elder brother named Susīma." In his Aśoka' published a few months later, he says, "it is possible that the long delay may have been due to a disputed succession involving much bloodshed, but there is no independent evidence of such a struggle." Dr. Javaswal' gave the following explanation for the delay in Asoka's coronation: "it seems that in those days for obtaining royal abhisheka the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession". The contention can hardly be accepted. The Mahābhārata, for instance, informs us that the abhisheka of king Vichitravīrya took place when he was a mere child who had not yet reached the period of youth:

¹ The Oxford History of India, p. 93. • ² Mahāvamsa, Geiger's translation, p. 28.

For the date of Asoka, see in the History and Culture of Indian People, Vol. II. 92ff; for the views of Eggerment, Acta Orientalia (1940), 103ff. For the views of Filliozat, see Manuel des études indiennes, Vol. I, pp. 212-19. Filliozat prefers the Jaina date 313 B.C. for the accession of Chandragupta, ignoring not only the evidence of the Ceylonese Chronicles but also the fact that the Jaina verses refer to the commencement of Maurya rule in Avanti, not in Magadha or the Indus Valley. For the date of Magas, see also Cary, A History of the Greek World, 393ff.

^{*} Third edition

^{*} JBORS, 1917. p. 438.

There were other kinds of abhisheka also, e.g., those of Yuvarāja, Kumāra, and Senāpati, as we learn from the epics and the Kauţilīya (trans., pp. 377. 391).



Vichitravīryancha tadā bālam aprāptayauvanam Kururājye mahābāhur abhyashinchadanantaram!

Dr. Smith characterises the Ceylonese tales which relate that Aśoka slew many of his brothers as silly because Asoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his reign whose households were objects of his anxious care. But we should remember that the Fifth Rock Edict refers only to the family establishments of his brothers (olodhanesu bhātinam) as existing. This does not necessarily imply that the brothers themselves were alive. We should however, admit that there is nothing to show, on the contrary, that the brothers were dead. The Fifth Rock Edict, in our opinion, proves nothing regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese tradition. In the Fourth Rock Edict Asoka himself testifies to the growth of unseemly behaviour to kinsfolk and slaughter of living creatures.

The first four years of Aśoka's reign is, to quote the words which Dr. Smith uses in another connection, "one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history; vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is at the best, unprofitable".

Like his predecessors Aśoka assumed the title of Devānampiya. He generally described himself as Devā-

nampiya Piyadasi. The name Asoka is found only in

¹ Mbh, I. 101. 12. As the Adiparva refers to Dattāmitra and Yavana rule in the lower Indus valley its date cannot be far removed from that of Asoka and Khāravela. Cf. also the cases of Samprati Parišishta parvan, IX. 52, who was anointed king though a baby in arms, and of Amma II, Eastern Chalukya.

² EHI, 3rd ed., p. 155. ² Cf. Rock Edict VIII, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsahra Texts.

We have already seen that the epithet "Piadamsana" is sometimes applied to Chandragupta also (Bhandarkar, Ašoka, p. 5; Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I. p. xxx).

literature, and in two ancient inscriptions, viz., the Māski Edict of Asoka himself, and the Junagadh inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I. The name Dharmāśoka is found in one Mediaeval epigraph, viz., the

Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī.1

During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka seems to have carried on the traditional Maurya policy of expansion within India, and of friendly co-operation with the foreign powers, which was in vogue after the Seleukidan war. Like Chandragupta and Bindusāra he was aggressive at home but pacific abroad. The friendly attitude towards non-Indian powers is proved by the exchange of embassies and the employment of Yavana officials like Tushāspha.3 In India, however, he played the part of a conqueror. The Divyāvadāna credits him, while yet a prince with the suppression of a revolt in Taxila and the conquest of the Svasa (Khasa?) country. In the thirteenth year of his reign (eight years after consecration), he effected the conquest of Kalinga. We do not know the exact limits of this kingdom in the days of Aśoka. But if the Sanskrit epics and Purānas are to be believed, it extended to the river Vaitaranī in the north,3 the Amarakantaka Hills in the west4 and Mahendragiri in the south.5

An account of the Kalinga war and its effects is given in Rock Edict XIII. We have already seen that certain places in Kalinga formed parts of the Magadhan dominions in the time of the Nandas. Why was it necessary for Asoka to reconquer the country? The question admits of only one answer, viz., that it severed its connection with Magadha after the fall of the Nandas. If the story of a general revolt in the time of Bindusara be correct then it is not unlikely that Kalinga, like Taxila, threw

1 Dharmāšoka-narādhipasya samaye Srī Dharmachakro Jino yādrik tannayarakshitah punarayanchakre tatopyadbhutam.

4 Mbh, III. 114. 4.

² Note also the part played by the Yona named Dhammarakkhita (Mahāvarhsa, trans., p. 82).

⁴ Kūrma Purāṇa, 11, 39, 9, Vāyu, 77, 4-13. 5 Raghuvamsa, IV, 38-43; VI, 53-54.



off the allegiance of Magadha during the reign of that monarch. It appears, however, from Pliny, who probably based his account on the *Indika* of Megasthenes, that Kalinga was already an independent kingdom in the time of Chandragupta. In that case there can be no question of a revolt in the time of Bindusāra. Pliny says,¹ "the tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea.... the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in 'procinct of war'."

The Kalinga kings probably increased their army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes to that of Aśoka, because during the war with Aśoka the casualties exceeded 2,50,000. It is, however, possible that the huge total included not only combatants but also non-combatants. The existence of a powerful kingdom so near their borders, with a big army 'in procinct of war,' could not be a matter of indifference to the kings of Magadha. Magadha learnt to her cost what a powerful Kalinga meant, in the time of Khāravela.

We learn from the Thirteenth Rock Edict that Aśoka made war on the Kalinga country and annexed it to his empire. "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were carried away captive, one hundred thousand were slain, and many times that number died." Violence, slaughter,

¹ Ind. Ant., 1877. p. 538.

² If, as is probable, Kalinga included at this time the neighbouring country of Asmaka, then Parthalis may be the same as "Potali". For an interesting account of Kalinga and its early capitals Dantakura and Tosali, see Sylvain Lévi, "Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde," J. A., Juillet-Septembre, 1923; and Indian Antiquary, 1926 (May), pp. 94, 98. "The appellation of Kalinga, applied to Indians throughout the Malay world, attests the brilliant rôle of the men of Kalinga in the diffusion of Hindu civilisation." Not far from the earliest capital (Paloura-Dantapura-Dantakura) lay the apheterion, "where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea." Note, in this connection, the name Ho-ling (Po-ling, Kalinga) applied by the Chinese to Java (Takakusu, I-tsing, p. xlvii) an island which was known by its Sanskrit name to Ptolemy (150 A.D.) and even to the Rāmāyaṇa (Kishk. 40, 30). For the connection of early Kalinga with Ceylon, see IA, VIII. 2, 225.

and separation from their beloved ones befell not only to combatants, but also to the *Brāhmaṇas*, ascetics, and householders.

The conquered territory was constituted a viceroyalty under a prince of the royal family stationed at Tosalī,¹ apparently situated in the Purī district. The Emperor issued two special edicts prescribing the principles on which both the settled inhabitants and the border tribes should be treated. These two edicts are preserved at two sites, now called Dhauli² and Jaugaḍa.³ They are addressed to the Mahāmātras or High Officers at Tosalī and Samāpā.⁴ In these documents the Emperor makes the famous declaration "all men are my children", and charges his officers to see that justice is done to the people.

The conquest of Kalinga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha, and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Anga. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Digvijaya' was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dhamma-vijaya was about to begin.

We should pause here to give an account of the extent of Asoka's dominions and the manner in which they

¹ Toasali (variant Tosala) was the name of a country as well as a city. Lévi points out that the Gandavyūha, refers to the country (Janapada) of Amita-Tosala in the Dakshināpatha, "where stands a city named Tosala". In Brāhmanical literature Tosala is constantly associated with (South) Kosala and is sometimes distinguished from Kalinga. The form Tosalei occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy. Some mediaeval inscriptions (Ep. Ind., IX. 286; XV. 3) refer to Dakshina (South) Tosala and Uttara (North) Tosala.

² In Puri. ³ In Gañiam.

For the identification of Samāpā, see Ind. Ant., 1923. pp. 66 ff.

⁵ Cf. sara-sake vijaye (Bühler, cited in Hultzsch's Inscriptions of Ašoka, p. 25).

were administered before the Emperor embarked on a new policy.

Aśoka mentions Magadha, Pāṭaliputra, Khalatikapavata (Barābar Hills), Kosambī, Lummini-gāma, Kalinga (including Tosalī, Samāpā and Khepimgalapavata or the Jaugaḍa Rock), Aṭavī (the forest tract of Mid-India perhaps identical with Ālavī of the Buddhist texts), Suvarṇagiri, Isila, Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā expressly as being among those places which were under his rule.

Beyond Takshasilā the empire stretched as far as the confines of the realm of "Amtiyako Yonarājā", usually identified with Antiochos II Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.), and included the wide territory round Shāhbāzgarhi' and Mānsahra² inhabited by the Yonas, Kambojas and the Gandhāras. The exact situation of this Yona territory has not yet been determined. The Mahāvamsa evidently refers to it and its chief city Alasanda which Cunningham and Geiger identify with the town of Alexandria (Begram, west of Kāpiśa) founded by the Macedonian conqueror near Kābul.' Kamboja, as we have already seen, corresponds to Rājapura or Rajaur near Punch in Kaśmīra and some neighbouring tracts including Kāfiristān. The tribal territory of the Gandharas at this time probably lay to the west of the Indus, and did not apparently include Takshasilā which was ruled by a princely Viceroy, and was the capital of the province of Uttarapatha. The capital of Trans-Indian Gandhāra was Pushkarāvatī, identified by Coomaraswamy with the site known as Mīr Ziyārat or Balâ Hisār at the junction of the Swāt and Kābul rivers.5

The inclusion of Kasmira within Asoka's empire is

¹ In the Peshawar District.

² In the Hazāra District.

³ Cunn. AGI 18. Geiger, Mahāvarhsa, 194. The Yona territory probably corresponds to the whole or a part of the Province of the Paropamisadae.

^{*} Cf. Kalinga Edict: Divyāvadāna, p. 407. Rājno šokasy-ottarāpathe Takshasilā nagaram, etc.

⁵ Cf. Carm. Lec., 1918, p. 54. Indian and Indonesian Art, 55.

proved by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang's Records' and Kalhana's Rājatarangini. Kalhana says: "The faithful Aśoka reigned over the earth. This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of the Jina covered Sushkaletra and Vitastatra with numerous Stūpas. At the town of Vitastātra there stood within the precincts of the Dharmaranya Vihara a Chaitya built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye. That illustrious king built the town of Śrīnagarī. This sinless prince after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara built in its stead a new one of stone. He . . . erected within the enclosure of Vijayesa, and near it, two temples which were called Aśokeśvara." The description of Asoka as a follower of the Jina, i.e., Buddha, and the builder of numerous stūpas leaves no room for doubt that the great Maurya monarch is meant. We are told by Kalhana himself that he is indebted for much of the above account to an earlier chronicler named Chhavillākara.

The inscriptions near Kālsī and those on the Rummindeī and the Nigāli Sāgar pillars prove the inclusion of the Dehra-Dūn District and the Tarāi within the limits of Aśoka's Empire, while the monuments at Lalitapātan and Rāmpurwā attest his possession of the valley of Nepāl and the district of Champāran. Further evidence of the inclusion of the Himalayan region within Aśoka's empire is possibly furnished by Rock Edict XIII which refers to the Nābhapamtis of Nābhaka, probably identical with Na-pei-kea of Fa Hien,3 the birthplace of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, about 10 miles south or southwest of Kapilavastu.4

¹ Watters, Vol. I, pp. 267-71.

² I. 102-06.

³ Legge, 64.

^{4&}quot;The Brahma (vaivarta?) Purăna assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus" (Hultzsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xxxix n). Mr. M. Govinda Pai (Aiyangar Com. Vol. 36), however, invites attention to the Nabhakānanas, apparently a southern people, mentioned in the Mbh. vi. 9. 59. In connection with the northern limits of the Maurya empire attention may also be invited to the statement in the Divyāvadāna (p. 372) about Ašoka's subjuga-



According to Bühler, Rock Edict XIII also mentions two vassal tribes Visa (Besatae of the Periplus?) and Vajri (Vṛijikas?). More recent writers do not accept Bühler's reading and substitute (Rāja) Visayamhi, 'in the (king's) territory', in its place. There is, thus no indubitable reference either to the Vrijikas or the 'Besatae' in the

inscriptions of Aśoka.

We learn from the classical writers that the country of the Gangaridae, i.e., Bengal, formed a part of the dominions of the king of the Prasii, i.e., Magadha, as early as the time of Agrammes, i.e., the last Nanda king.2 A passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the "Palibothri," i.e., the rulers of Pātalīputra, dominated the whole tract along the Ganges.3 That the Magadhan kings retained their hold on Bengal as late as the time of Aśoka is suggested by the testimony of the Divyāvadāna* and of Hiuen Tsang who saw Stūpas of that monarch near Tāmralipti and Karņasuvarņa (in West Bengal), in Samatata (East Bengal) as well as in Pundravardhana (North Bengal). Kāmarūpa (Assam) seems to have lain outside the empire. The Chinese pilgrim saw no monument of Aśoka in that country.

We have seen that in the south the Maurya power at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil

tion of the Svasa (Khasa?) country. According to a legend narrated by the Chinese pilgrims (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, p. 295) exiles from Takshasila settled in the land to the east of Khoten in the days of Aśoka.

3 McCrindle, Inv. Alex., pp. 221, 281,

For early references to Vanga, see Lévi "Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde". For its denotation, see Manasi-o-Marmavani, śravana, 1336. Several scholars find it mentioned in the Aitareya Aranyaka. But this is doubtful. Bodhāyana brands it as an impure country and even Patañjali excludes it from Aryāvarta. The country was, however, Aryanised before the Manusamhitä which extends the eastern boundary of Aryavarta to the sea. and the Jain Prajñāpanā which ranks Anga and Vanga in the first group of Aryan peoples. The earliest epigraphic reference to Vanga is probably that contained in the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions.

³ Ind. Ant., 1877, 339. Megasthenes and Arrian (1926), pp. 141-2.

P. 427. Cf. Smith's Ašoka, grd ed., p. 255. The Mahasthana Inscription which is usually attributed to the Maurya period, contains no reference to Asoka,

Hill in the Tinnevelly district.1 In the time of Aśoka the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennār river near Nellore as the Tamil Kingdoms are referred to as "Prachamta" or border states and are clearly distinguished from the imperial dominions (Vijita or Rājavishaya), which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. The major part of the Deccan was ruled by the viceregal princes of Suvarnagiri2 and Tosali, the Mahāmātras of Isila and Samāpā and the officers in charge of the Atavi or Forest Country.3 But in the belt of land on either side of the Nerbudda, the Godavarī and the upper Mahanadī there were, in all probability, certain areas that were technically outside the limits of the empire proper. Asoka evidently draws a distinction between the forests and the inhabiting tribes which are in the dominions (vijita) and peoples on the border (antā avijitā) for whose benefit some of the special edicts were issued. Certain vassal tribes are specifically mentioned, e.g., the Andhras, Palidas (Pāladas, Pārimdas), Bhojas and Rathikas (Ristikas, Rāshṭrikas?). They enjoyed a status midway between the Provincials proper and the unsubdued borderers. The word Petenika or Pitinika mentioned in Rock Edicts V and XIII should not, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and some other writers, be read as a separate name but as an adjective qualifying Rishtika (Edict V) and Bhoja (Edict XIII). They draw our attention to certain

¹ Mr. S. S. Desikar thinks that the last point reached by the Mauryas was the Venkata hill (IHQ, 1928, p. 154), Prof. N. Sastri lays stress (ANM, pp. 253ff.) on the legendary features of the account in Tamil texts.

3 Edict XIII.

² A clue to the location of this city is probably given by the inscriptions of the later Mauryas of the Końkan and Khāndesh, apparently the descendants of the Southern Viceroy (Ep. Ind., III. 136). As these later Maurya inscriptions have been found at Vāda in the north of the Thāṇa district (Bomb, Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 14) and at Wāghlī in Khāndesh (ibid., 284), it is not unlikely that Suvarṇagiri was situated in that neighbourhood. Curiously enough, there is actually in Khāndesh a place called Songir. According to Hultzsch, (CII. p. xxxviii) Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with Kanakagiri in the Hyderabad State, south of Maski, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. Isila may have been the ancient name of Siddāpura,



passages in the Anguttara Nikāya¹ where the term Pettanika occurs in the sense of one who enjoys property given by his father.² The view that Pitinika is merely an adjective of Raṭhika (Risṭika) or Bhoja is not, however, accepted by Dr. Barua who remarks that "it is clear from the Pāli passage, as well as from Buddhaghosha's explanations, that Raṭṭhika and Pettanika were two different designations."

The Andhras are, as we have already seen, mentioned in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Bhojas are also mentioned in that work as rulers of the south.³ Pliny, quoting probably from Megasthenes says that the Andarae (Andhras) possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.⁴ The earliest Andhra capital (Andhapura) was situated on the Telavāha river which, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is either the modern Tel or Telingiri, both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. But the identification is by no means certain.⁵ The Palidas

¹ III. 76, 78 and 300 (P.T.S.).

² Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 80. Cf. Hultzsch, Ašoka, 10; IHQ, 1925, 387. Other scholars, however, identify the Pitinikas with the Paithanakas or natives of Paithan, and some go so far as to suggest that they are the ancestors of the Sātavāhana rulers of Paithan. See Woolner, Ašoka Text and Glossary, II, 113; also JRAS, 1923, 92. Cf. Barua, Old Brāhmī Ins., p. 211.

³ For other meanings of Bhoja, see Mbh., Adi., 84, 22; IA, V. 177; VI. 25-28; VII. 36, 254.

^{*} Ind. Ant., 1877. p. 339-

of the Kṛishṇā and Gauṇṭūr districts as we learn from the Mayidavolu plates and other records. The earliest capital of the Andhra-country or "Andhra-patha" known from the inscriptions is apparently Dhamnakaḍa at or near Amarāvati (or Bezvāḍa). Kubiraka of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription (c. 200 B.C.) is the earliest known ruler. One recension, in the Brāhmī script, of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka, has recently been discovered in the Kurnool District (IHQ, 1928, 791; 1931, 817ff.; 1933, 113ff.; IA, Feb., 1932, p. 39) which falls within the "Andhra" area of the Madras Presidency. Recent discoveries of the Aśokan epigraphs include, besides the Yerraguḍi inscriptions (Kurnool District) two new Rock Edicts at Kopbal in the South-West corner of the Hyderabad State. The Kopbal inscriptions are found on the Gavīmaṭh and the Pālkiguṇḍu Hills. They belong to the class of Minor Rock Edicts.

were identified by Bühler with the Pulindas¹ who are invariably associated with the Nerbudda (Revā) and the Vindhyan region:—

Pulinda-rāja sundarī nābhimandala nipīta salilā

(Revā).3

Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā(?) Vaidarbhā Dandakaih saha* Pulindā Vindhya Mūlikā Vaidarbhā Dandakaih saha*

Their capital Pulinda-nagara lay not far from Bhilsā and may have been identical with Rūpnāth, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict I.5

Hultzsch, however, doubts the identification of the "Palidas" of Shahbazgarhi with the Pulindas, for the Kālsī and Girnār texts have the variants Pālada and Pārimdanames that remind us of the Pāradas of the Vāyu Purāṇa. the Harivamsa and the Brihat Samhita. In those texts the people in question are mentioned in a list of barbarous tribes along with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas, Khasas, Māhishikas, Cholas, Keralas, etc. They are described as muktakeśā ("having dishevelled hair"). Some of the tribes mentioned in the list belong to the north, others to the south. The association with the Andhras in Asokan inscriptions suggests that in the Maurya period they may have been in the Deccan. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled. It is interesting to note in this connection that a river Pāradā (identified with the Paradi or Par river in the Surat District) is mentioned in a Nāsik inscription."

4 Vāyu, 55, 126.

¹ Hultzsch, Aśoka, 48 (n. 14).

² Subandhu's Vāsavadattā,

³ Mastsya, p. 114, 48.

^{*} The Navagrāma grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 198 (A.D. 517) refers to a Pulinda-rāja-rāshţra which lay in the territory of the Parivrājaka kings, i.e., in the Dabbālā region in the northern part of the present Madhya Pradesh (Ep. Ind., xxi. 126).

⁶ Ch. 88, 128. Cf. Paradene in Gedrolic (McCrindle, Ptolemy, 1927), 320.

^{*} I, 14. * XIII, 9.

Rapson, Andhra Coins, Ivi. Pargiter places the Paradas in the north-west, AIHT. p. 268. Cf. Paradene, Gedrosia (Ptolemy, ed. 1927) 320 and Paraitakai, Ind. Alex., 44.



The **Bhojas** and the **Rathikas** (Risţikas) were evidently the ancestors of the Mahābhojas and the Mahāraṭhis of the Sātavāhana period.¹ The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar,² and the Raṭhikas or Risţikas possibly in Mahārāshṭra or certain adjoining tracts.³ The former were, in later ages, connected by matrimonial alliances with chieftains of the Kanarese country.

In the west Asoka's Empire extended to the Arabian Sea and embraced all the Aparantas⁴ including no doubt the vassal state (or confederation of states) of Surāshtra the affairs of which were looked after by the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha with Giri-nagara (Girnar) as his capital. Dr. Smith says that the form of the name shows that the Yavana-rāja must have been a Persian. But according to this interpretation the Yavana Dhammadeva, the Śaka Ushavadāta (Risahabha-datta), the Parthian Suviśākha and the Kushān Vāsudeva must have been all native Hindus of India. If Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names there is no wonder that some of them assumed Irāṇic appellations. There is, then, no good ground for assuming that Tushāspha was not a Greek, but a Persian.⁵

Rapson⁶ seems to think that the Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yavanas, Rishţikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pāladas and Andhras lay beyond Aśoka's dominions, and were not his subjects, though regarded as coming within his sphere of influence. But this surmise can hardly be accepted in view of the fact that Aśoka's *Dharma-mahāmātras* were employed amongst them "on the revision of (sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of)

¹ Smith, Ašoka, third ed., pp. 169-70.

² Cf. Bhoja-kata, Bhāt kuli in Amraoti.

The Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 41. 10, places the Rishţikas between the Vidarbhas of (Berar) and the Māhishakas of the Nerbudda valley or of Mysore. Raṭhīka is also used as an official designation and it is in that sense that the expression seems to be used in the Yerraguḍi inscription (Ind. Culture, I, 310; Aiyangar Com. Vol. 35; IHQ, 1933, 117).

Sūrpāraka, Nāsik, etc., according to the Mārkandeya, p. 57, 49, 52.

⁵ Cf. IA, 1919, 145; EHVS, 2nd ed., 28-29.

⁶ CHI, pp. 514. 515.

release" (Rock Edict V). In the Rock Edict XIII, they seem to be included within the Rāja-Vishaya or the King's territory, and are distinguished from the real border peoples (Amta, Prachamta), viz., the Greeks of the realm of Antiochos and the Tamil peoples of the south (Nīcha). But while we are unable to accept the views of Rapson, we find it equally difficult to agree with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who denies the existence of Yonas and others as feudatory chieftains in Aśoka's dominions. The case of the Yavana-rāja Tushāspha clearly establishes the existence of such vassal chiefs whose peoples undoubtedly enjoyed partial autonomy though subject to the jurisdiction of special Imperial officers like the Dharma-mahāmātras.

Having described the extent of Aśoka's empire we now proceed to give a brief account of its administration. Aśoka continued the Council government of his predecessors. There are references to the Emperor's dealings with the Parishā or Parisha in Rock Edicts III and VI. Senart took Parishad to mean Sangha and Bühler understood by it the Committee of caste or sect. But Dr. K. P. Jayaswal pointed out that the Parishā of the Edicts is Mantriparishad of the Arthaśāstra. The inscriptions prove that Aśoka retained also the system of Provincial Government existing under his forefathers. Tosalī, Suvarṇagiri, Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā were each under a prince of the blood (Kumāla or Ayaputa).

^{1 &}quot;They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free" (Hultzsch, Ašoka, p. 33).

² Aśoka, 28.

³ Compare the references to the "Sarājikā Parishā" in the Mahāvastu, Senart, Vol. III. pp. 362, 392. For different kinds of Parishā, see Anguttara, 1, 70.

⁴ That Ayaputa or Āryaputra meant a member of a ruling house of clan appears probable from the evidence of the Bālacharita, attributed to Bhāsa, in which Vasudeva is addressed by a Bhaṭa as Āryaputra. Pandrt T. Ganapati śāstrī further points out that in the Svapnanāṭaka the term Āryaputra is employed as a word of respect by the thamberlain of Vāsavadattā's father in addressing King Udayana (Introduction to the Pratimā-nāṭaka, p. 32). An interesting feature of Aśoka's administration was the employment of a Yavana



The Empire and the Princes were helped by bodies (Nikāyā) of officials who fell under the following classes:—

The Māhāmātras¹ and other Mukhyas.

2-3. The Rājūkas and the Rathikas.

The Pradeśikas or Prādeśikas.

5. The Yutas.

6. Pulisā.

7. Paţivedakā.

8. Vachabhūmikā.

9. The Lipikaras.

10. The Dūtas.

11-12. The Ayuktas and Kāranakas.

There was a body of Mahāmātras in each great city and district of the empire.³ The inscriptions mention the Mahāmātras of Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbī, Tosalī, Samāpā, Suvarṇagiri and Isila.⁴ In the Kalinga Edicts we have certain Mahāmātras distinguished by the terms Nagalaka and Nagala-Viyohālaka. The Nagalaka and Nagala-Viyohālaka of the Edicts correspond to the Nāgaraka and Paura-vyāvahārika of the Arthaśāstra⁵ and no doubt

governor or episkopos in one territory to which reference has already been made.

1 Cf. also Arthašāstra, pp. 16, 20, 58, 64, 215, 237-39; Rājašekhara, KM,

XLV, 53.

² The Yuktas of the Arthasastra, pp. 59, 65, 199. Rāmāyaņa, VI, 217, 34; Mahābhārata, II, 56, 18; Manu, VIII. 34; cf. the Rāja-yuktas of the

sāntiparva, 82. 9-15.

The empire, as already stated, was divided into a number of provinces (disā, deša, etc.). Each province seems to have been further subdivided into āhālas or districts under regular civil administration, and koţţa-vishayas or territories surrounding forts (Hultzsch, p. xl). Each civil administrative division had a pura or nagara (city) and a rural part called janapada which consisted of grāmas or villages. An important official in each janapada was the Rājūka. The designations Prādešika and Raṭhika possibly suggest the existence of territorial units styled pradeša and raṭṭha or rāshṭra.

4 Mahāmātras of Śrāvastī are according to certain scholars, mentioned in the Sohgaura copperplate inscription found in a village on the Rāptī, not far from Gorakhpur. But the exact date of the record is not known (Hoernle, JASB, 1894; 84; Fleet, JRAS, 1907, 523ff.; Barua, Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst., xi, i (1930), 32ff.; IHQ, 1934, 54ff.; Jayaswal, Ep. Ind., xxii, 2).

s P. 29, 143f. Cf. the royal epistates or city governor in the Antigonid realm (Tarn., GBI, 24).

administered justice in cities. In Pillar Edict I mention is made of the Amta Mahāmātras or the Wardens of the Marches, who correspond to the Antapālas of the Arthašāstra and the Goptris of the age of Skanda Gupta. The Kauţilīya tells us that the salary of an Antapāla was equal to that of a Kumāra, a Paura-vyāvahārika, a member of the Mantriparishad or a Rāshṭrapāla. In Edict XII mention is made of the Ithījhaka Mahāmātras who, doubtless, correspond to the Stry-adhyakshas (the Guards of the Ladies) of the epics.

As to the Rājūkas, Dr. Smith takes the word to mean a governor next below a Kumāra.5 Bühler identifies the Rājuka of the Aśokan inscriptions with the Rajjūka or the Rajjugāhaka Amachcha (Rope-holder, Field-measurer or Surveyor) of the Jātakas. Pillar Edict IV refers to the Rājūkas as officers "set over many hundred thousands of people," and charged with the duty of promoting the welfare of the Jānapadas to whom Aśoka granted independence in the award of honours and penalties. The reference to the award of penalties (Danda) probably indicates that the Rājūkas had judicial duties. In the Rock Edict III as well as in Pillar Edict IV they are associated with the Yutas, and in the Yerragudi inscriptions with the Rathikas.7 Strabos refers to a class of Magistrates (Agronomoi) who "have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, have charge also of hunters

¹ Cf. also Nagara-dhānya Vyāvahārika, p. 55. The Nagalaka may have had executive functions as well, as is suggested by the evidence of the Artha-sāstra (II. Ch. 36).

² Pp. 20, 247. ³ P. 247.

5 Ašoka, 3rd ed., p. 94-

6 The Social Organisation in North-East India by Fick, translated by

S. Maitra, pp. 148-51.

* H. & F., Vol. III, p. 103.

^{*} Rām., II. 16. 3, Vriddhān vetrapānīn...stryadhyakshān; Mbh, IX, 29. 68, 90; XV. 22, 20; 23, 12. Cf. the Antarvamsika of the Arthasastra.

of the Yerragudi copy of the Minor Rock Edict to mean 'people of the district' and 'citizens of the hereditary tribal states' respectively. But Rathika of the record probably corresponds to Rāshṭriya of the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman so that the expressions Jānapadas and Rathikas mean 'people of the country parts,' and 'officials of the district.' Cf. Rathika Mahāmātra of Brithat Sam., XV. 11.



and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either." The measuring of the land connects those Magistrates with the Rajjugāhaka Amachcha of the Jātakas, while the power of rewarding and punishing people connects them with the Rājūkas of Aśoka. It is probable, therefore, that the Agronomoi referred to by Strabo were identical with the Rājūkas and the Rajjugāhaka Amachchas. The Arthaśāstra² refers to a class of officials called "Chora Rajjukas," but there is no reference to the Rajjukas proper although on p. 60 "Rajju" is mentioned in conjunction with "Chora Rajju."

As regards the Pradesikas or Prādesikas, Senart, Kern and Bühler understood the term to denote local governors or local chiefs. Smith took it to mean District Officers. Hultzsch compares it with Prādeśikeśvara of Kalhana's Rājatarangini.3 The word occurs only in the Third Rock Edict where the functionaries in question are included with the Rajūkas and the Yutas in the ordinance of the Anusamyana or circuit. Thomas derives the word from pradesa which means report' and identifies the Prādeśikas or Pradeśikas of the Edict with the Pradeshtris of the Arthasastra.5 The most important functions of the Pradeshtris were Bali-pragraha (collection of taxes or suppression of recalcitrant chiefs), Kantakasodhana (administration of criminal justice), Choramārgaņa, (tracking of thieves) and Adhyakshānām adhyaksha purushāṇām cha niyamanam (checking superintendents and their men). They acted as intermediaries between the Samāhartri on the one hand and the Gopas,

5 Cf. The Irda grant where Pradeshfris find mention along with Sanghamukhyas and others.

¹ Cf. Maitra, Fick, pp. 148-49.

² P. 234. ³ IV. 126.

^{*} JRAS, 1915, p. 97. Arthasāstra, p. 111. In the Vishņu Purāņa, V. 26 3. Pradeša has apparently the sense of counsel, instruction. S. Mitra suggests (Indian Culture, I. p. 310) that the Prādesikas were Mahāmātras of the Provincial governments, while the Rājūkas were Mahāmātras of the central

Sthānikas and Adhyakshas on the other.1 It is, however, doubtful if the Prādešikas can really be equated with Reporters. The more probable view is that they correspond to the subordinate governors, the nomarchs, hyparchs and meridarchs of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

As to the Yutas or Yuktas, they are described by Manu² as the custodians of Pranashtādhigata dravya (lost property which was recovered). In the Arthasāstra too, they are mentioned in connection with Samudaya or state funds' which they are represented as misappropriating. Hultzsch suggests that they were 'secretaries' employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the Mahāmātras. The Pulisā or Agents are apparently identical with the Purushas or Raja Purushas of the Arthaśāstra. Hultzsch prefers to equate them with the Gudha-purushas and points out that they were graded into high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank.5 They were placed in charge of many people⁶ and controlled the Rājūkas. The Paţivedakā or Reporters are doubtless the Chāras mentioned in Chapter 16 of the Arthāśastra, while the Vachabhūmikas or "Inspectors of cowpens" were evidently charged with the superintendence of "Vraja" referred to in Chapter 24." The Lipikaras are the royal scribes one of whom, Chapada, is mentioned by name in Minor Rock Edict II. Dūtas or envoys are referred to in Rock Edict XIII. If the Kauţilīya is to be believed, they were divided into three classes, viz., Nisrishtārthāh or Plenipotentiaries, Parimitarthah or Charges d'Affaires and Sasanaharas or con-

¹ Cf. Arthasāstra, pp. 142, 200, 217, 222, as stated above Pradeshtris also occur in the Irda grant, Ep. Ind., XXII, 150ff.

² VIII. 34.

³ Cf. also Mbh., ii. 5. 72. Kachchichchaya vyaye yuktah sarve ganaka lekhakāh.

⁴ Pp. 59. 75-

⁵ The three classes of Purushas are also known to the Great epic (Mbh.,

Pillar Edict VII.

⁷ P. 38.

^{*} Pp. 59-60.



veyers of royal writ.¹ The Āyuktas possibly find mention in the Kalinga Edicts. In the early Post-Mauryan and Scythian Age Āyuttas appear as village officials.² In the Gupta Age they figure as officers in charge of Vishayas or districts,³ and also as functionaries employed in restoring the wealth of conquered kings. The full designation of the officers in question was Āyukta-Purusha.⁴ They may have been included under the generic name of Pulisā referred to above. The Kāranakas who appear to be mentioned in the Yerragudi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, probably refer to judicial officers, teachers, or scribes.⁵

¹ With the Sāsanaharas may be compared the Lekha-hārakas of the Harshacharita, Uchchhāsa, II, p. 52.

² Lüders' List, No. 1347-

³ Ep. Ind., XV, No. 7, 138.

Fleet, CII, pp. 8, 14.

5 Cf. Karanika, Officer-in-Charge of Documents or Accounts (IHO, 1935, 586). In inscriptions of the seventh century A.D. the word Karana stood for Adhikarana (Departmental or District Secretariat), Prabāsī, 1350 B.S. Srāvana, 294. In Mhb., ii. 5, 34. Kāranika has, according to the commentary, the sense of a teacher. In the text itself the officers in question instruct the Kumāras and have to be dharme sarvašāstreshu kovidāh, implying that their Kumāras and have to be dharme sarvašāstreshu kovidāh, implying that their duties included among other things, those relating to Dharma (law, justice?).

CHAPTER V. THE MAURYA EMPIRE

THE ERA OF DHAMMAVIJAYA AND DECLINE

SECTION 1. ASOKA AFTER THE KALINGA WAR

Chakkavatti ahum rājā Jambusandassa issaro muddhābhisitto khattiyo manussādhipatī ahum adandena asatthena vijeyya pathavim imam asāhasena dhammena samena manusāsiyā dhammena rajjam kāretvā asmim pathavimandale

-Anguttara Nikāya.

We have already seen that the Kalinga war opened a new epoch in the history of Magadha and of India. During the first thirteen years of his reign Aśoka was a typical Magadhan sovereign—the inheritor of the policy of Bimbisāra, of Mahāpadma and of Chandragupta—conquering peoples, suppressing revolt, annexing territory. After the Kalinga war all this is changed. The older political philosophy which tradition associates with the names of Vassakāra and Kauṭilya gave way to a new statecraft inspired by the teaching of the sage of the śākyas. Before proceeding to give an account of the remarkable change we should say a few words about the religious denominations of India and the condition of society during the reign of the great innovator.

In the days of Asoka the people of India were divided into many sects of which the following were the most important:—

1. The orthodox Deva-worshippers.1

2. The Ajivikas or the followers of Gosāla Mańkhaliputta.

Among the Devas worshipped in the Maurya period, Patañjali makes special mention of siva, Skanda and Visākha.

⁴ This teacher was born in Saravana, probably near Savatthī or Śrāvastī. Jaina writers represent him as a person of low parentage and of contemptible



- 3. The Nirgranthas or Jainas, i.e., the followers of Nigantha Nātaputta who is commonly called Mahāvīra of Vardhamāna.
 - The followers of Gautama Buddha Śākyamuni.
 - 5. Other sects alluded to in Pillar Edict VII.

In Edict IV we have the following account of the prevailing state of society: "for a long period past, even for many hundred years, have increased the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, unseemly behaviour to Brāhmaņas and ascetics (Śramaṇas)." Kings used to go out on so-called Vihāra yātrās in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.3 The people performed various ceremonies (maingala)4 on occasions of sickness, weddings of sons,5 the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on journeys. The womankind performed many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies.5

From the references in the Edicts to Brahmanas, Kaivartas (of Kevața bhoga) and Śramanas, Bhikshu and

character. The attitude of Buddhist authors is also not friendly. In reality he was one of the leading sophists of the sixth century B.C., and, for a time, was a close associate of Mahāvīra. According to the Ajīvika belief as expounded in the Sāmañña phala Sutta "the attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend on human effort (purisa-kāre). There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour (purisaparakkamo). All beings ... are bent this way and that by their fate (nīyati)." (Dialogues, Pt. I. p. 71; Barua, The Ajīvikas, 1920, p. 9). An Ajīvaparivrājaka appears as a court astrologer of Bindusāra in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 370 ff.). A tax on "Ajīvakas" is referred to in an inscription of the twelfth century A.D. (Hultzsch., SII. I. 88) showing that the sect flourished in S. India even in that late age. See also A. L. Basham, The Ajivikas.

1 Cf. Ajātašatru's treatment of Bimbisāra, Vidudabha's massacre of the Sākyas, Udayana's cruelty towards Pindola, and Nanda's haughty demeanour towards Chāṇakya.

* Tours of pleasure, cf. Kautilya, p. 332. Mahābhārata, XV. 1, 18: Vihārayātrāsu punah Kururājo Yudhishthirah sarvān kāmān mahātejāh pradadāv-Ambikāsute.

³ R. Edict VIII.

For "Mamgala" see also Jātakas No. 87, and No. 163 (Hatthi-mamgala). and Harsa-charita, II (p. 27 of Parab's edition, 1918).

⁵ For Avaha and Vivaha see also Mbh., V. 141. 14; Kautilya, VII, 15.

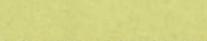
[&]amp; R. Edict IX.

Bhikshuṇī-Saṃghas it may be concluded that Varṇa (social gradation) and Āśrama (stages of socio-religious discipline) were established institutions. The position of the slaves and labouring poor in general (dāsa, bhataka) was, in some cases at any rate, not enviable. Women had to tolerate the purdah as well as polygamy. Ladies of the harem were under special guards (stry-adhyaksha). As will be seen in the following pages, the policy of Aśoka in regard to social matters was, in the main, one of mitigation and not, except in respect of certain kinds of Samāja and sundry obnoxious practices, of radical reform.

The Change of Asoka's Religion

Aśoka had doubtless inherited the traditional devotion of Hindu kings to the gods (devas) and the Brahmanas and, if the Kāśmīra chronicle of Kalhana is to be believed, his favourite deity was Siva. He had no scruples about the slaughter of men and animals: "formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries." The hecatombs of thousands of men and women sent to their doom during the Kalinga war have already been mentioned. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of anusochana, "remorse, profound sorrow, and regret". About this time he came under the influence of Buddhist teaching. We read in Rock Edict XIII "after that, now that the Kalingas had been annexed, began His Sacred Majesty's zealous practice of the Law of Piety (dhramasilana), his love of that Law (dhramakamata), and his inculcation of that Law (dhramanuśasti)."

The view held by some well-known writers that the conversion of Aśoka took place before the Kalinga war rests on the evidence of the Mahāvamsa (Ch. V) and on certain assumptions, viz., that Aśoka's dhramakamata became tivra (intense) immediately after the Kalinga war (there being no interval) and that Aśoka was indifferent during the period of Upāsakatva (when he was only a lay disciple) which, therefore, must have preceded the Kalinga war,



Although Aśoka became a Buddhist¹ he was not an enemy either of the *Devas* or of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Up to the last he took pride in calling himself *Devānaṃpiya*, beloved of the gods.² He found fault with unseemly behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas³ and inculcated liberality to the same class. He was perfectly tolerant. "The king does reverence to men of all sects." He reprobated ātmapāsamḍa-pūjā, honour to one's own sect, when coupled with para-pāsamḍa-garahā, disparagement of other sects. That he was sincere in his professions is proved

immediately after which his devotion became tivra. But the so-called indifference or want of activity is only relative. On the other hand, the supporters of the new theory have to explain why a recent convert to Buddhism should engage in a sanguinary conflict involving the death of countless \$ramanas. Why again do the Minor Rock Edicts refer to contact with the Samgha, and not the Kalinga war, as the prelude and cause of more intense activity? It is to be noted that activity in the period of Upasakatva is also described as parākrama, though it was surpassed by the greater energy of the period after contact with the Holy Order. Note also the explicit reference to dhramakamata as the result of the annexation of Kalinga sometime after (tato pachhā adhunā) the war. The use of the expressions tato pachhā and adhunā suggests that an interval supervened between the war and the intensity of Aśoka's dhramasilana and dhramakamata. Moreover, we learn from the Minor Edicts and Pillar Edict VI that pious proclamations began to be issued a little more than 21 years after Asoka became an Upāsaka and 12 years after his coronation. This would place his conversion a little less than 91 years after his Abhisheka, i.e., a little less than 11 years after the Kalinga war.

1 śākya (Rūpnāth), Buddha śākya (Maski), Upāsaka (Sahasrām); see Hultzsch, CII, p. xliv. Cf. also Kalhana, Rājatarangini, 1. 102ff. That Asoka did become a Buddhist admits of no doubt. In the Bhabru Edict he makes an open confession of his faith in the Buddha, the Dharma (Doctrine) and the Samgha (Order of Monks). He called the Buddha Bhagavat. He went on pilgrimage to the places of the Blessed One's nativity and enlightenment and worshipped at the former place. He declared that whatsoever had been spoken by the Buddha, all that was quite well spoken. He also believed in the cult of the "former" Buddhas. He took much interest in the exposition of the Buddhist Doctrine so that it might endure long. As to the Sanigha he kept in close touch with it since his memorable visit to the Fraternity a year or so after his conversion. He impressed on the clergy the need of a correct exposition of the true doctrine and appointed special officers to busy themselves with the affairs of the Brotherhood. He also laid emphasis on Vinaya-samutkarsha and took steps to maintain the integrity of the Church and prevent schism within its fold.

2 The title is reminiscent of the age of Hammurabi (Camb. Anc. Hist. I.

p. 511).

³ Edict IV.

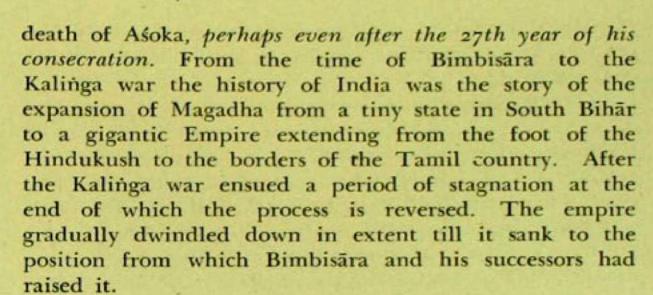
⁴ Edict XII.

by the Barābar Cave Dedications to the Ājīvika monks. His hostility was chiefly directed not towards the Devas and the Brāhmaņas, not even towards Varņāšrama, but the killing of men in war and Samājas (festive gatherings), ill-treatment of friends and acquaintances, comrades and relatives, slaves and servants, the slaughter of animals in sacrifice, and the performance of vulgar, useless and offensive ceremonies.

The Change of Foreign Policy

The effect of the change of religion was at once felt in foreign policy. The Emperor declared that "of all the people who were slain, done to death, or carried away captive in Kalinga, if the hundredth part or the thousandth part were now to suffer the same fate, it would be a matter of regret to His Sacred Majesty. Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that too must be borne with by His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with." In Kalinga Edict I, the Emperor expressed his desire that the unsubdued peoples in the frontiers of the imperial dominions (Amtā avijitā) "should not be afraid of him, that they should trust him, and should receive from him happiness not sorrow." The chiefest conquest in the Emperor's opinion was the conquest by righteousness (Dhamma-vijaya). In Edict IV he exultingly says, "the reverberation of the kettle-drums (Bherighoso) has become the reverberation of the Law of Piety (Dhammaghoso)." Not content with what he himself did he called upon his sons and even his great grandsons to eschew new conquests-putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma vijetaviyam. Here we have a complete renunciation of the old policy of military conquest or Digvijaya and the enunciation of a new policy. viz., that of Dhammavijaya.1 The full political effects of this change of policy became manifest only after the

¹ The Asokan conception of *Dhammavijaya* was similar to that described in the *Ghakkavatti Sihanāda Sutta*, "conquest not by the scourge, not by the



True to his principle Aśoka made no attempt to annex the frontier (Prachamta, amta, sāmanta, sāmīpa), kingdoms, viz., Chola, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapamni (Ceylon) and the realm of Amtiyako Yonarāja, who is usually identified with Antiochos II Theos, King of Syria and Western Asia. On the contrary, he maintained friendly relations with them.

The Chola country was drained by the river Kāverî and comprised the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. We learn from a South Indian inscription that Hara, i.e., the god Siva, asked Guṇabhara (Mahendravarman I, Pallava), "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kāverî?" When Pulakeśin II Chalukya strove to conquer the Cholas "the Kāverî had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants." The Chola capital was Uraiyūr

sword, but by righteousness' (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part III, p. 59). It was different from the Hindu conception explained and illustrated by the Mahābhārata (XII. 59, 38-39), the Harivamsa (I. 14.21), the Kautilīya (p. 382), and the Raghuvamsa (IV. 43). Attention may be invited in this connection to a Statement of Arrian that "a sense of justice prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India" (Camb. Hist. Ind. 1. 321); M'crindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, 209. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the discourse entitled the Chakkavatti Sihanāda (Lion Roar of the Chakravarti or emperor who 'conquers by righteousness') possibly affords a clue to a proper appreciation of the famous Sarnath Capital with its Chakra and crowning lions. Cf. also Rāmāyaṇa II. 10.36 Yāvadāvartate chakram tāvatī me vasundharā, IC. XV, 1.4. p. 179f. For the Ašoka chakra, see IC XV (1948-49), pp. 179ff.

1 Hultzsch. SII, Vol. I. p. 34-

(Sanskrit Uragapura) or Old Trichinopoly. The principal port was at Kāviripaṭṭinam or Pugār on the northern bank of the Kāverî.

The Pandya country corresponded to the Madura, and Tinnevally districts with perhaps the southern portions of Ramnad and the Travancore Cochin State. It had its capitals at Kolkai and Madurā (Dakshina Mathurā). The rivers Tāmraparņî and Kritamālā or Vaigai flowed through it. Kātyāyana derives Pāndya from Pāndu. The Pāndus are mentioned as the ruling race of Indraprastha in the Mahābhārata as well as in several Jātakas,3 Ptolemy (cir. 150 A.D.) speaks of the country of the Pandoouoi in the Pañjāb. There can be no doubt that Pāndu was the name of a real tribe or clan in northern India. Kātyāyana's statement regarding the connection of the Pandyas with the Pandus receives some support from the fact that the name of the Pāṇḍya capital (Madurā) was identical with the famous city of Mathurā in the Śūrasena country which, according to Epic tradition, was the seat of a family intimately associated by ties of friendship and marriage with the Pandus of Indraprastha. The connection between the Pandus, the Śūrasenas and the Pāndvas seems to be alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes regarding Herakles and Pandaia.4

Satiyaputra is identified by Mr. Venkatesvaraiyar with Satya-vrata-kshetra or Kañchîpura. But Dr.

Aelian, however, has the following reference to the realm of Soras (Chola?) and its chief city: "There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Bactrians, and the name of that city is Perimuda (city of Perumal?). It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who go off with nets and catch oysters." For Uragapura in Cholika Vishaya, see Ep. Ind., X. 103.

² For the early history of the Chola Kingdom and other Tamil states see CHI, Vol. I, Ch. 24; Smith. FHI, Ch. XVI; Kanakasabhai Pillay, Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Beginnings of South Indian History and Ancient India; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, The Colas, etc.

² I find it difficult to agree with Dr. Barua, Inscriptions of Ašoka, Part II (1943), p. 232, that the "line of Yudhishthira"...that ruled at Indraprastha in the Kuru country "has nothing to do with Pāṇḍu's eldest son",

⁴ Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 249. 5 JRAS, 1918 pp. 541-42.

Aiyangar points out that the term Satya-vrata-kshetra is applied to the town of Kāñchī or a part of it, not to the country dependent upon it. There is besides the point whether vrata could become puta. Dr. Aiyangar supports Bhandarkar's identification with Satpute. Satiyaputra to be a collective name of the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nāyars of Malabar.1 According to Dr. Smith2 Satiyaputra is represented by the Satyamangalam Tāluk of Coimbatore. Mr. T. N. Subramaniam^a prefers Kongunādu ruled by the Kosar people famous for their truthfulness. Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar takes Satiyaputra to be the equivalent of Atiyaman, chief of Kutiraimalai with his headquarters at Takadūr, now in Mysore. Mr. P. J. Thoma, however, gives reasons for identifying it with "Satyabhūmi" of the Kēralolpatti, a territory which corresponds roughly to "North Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Tāluk, South Canara."5

Keralaputra (Ketalaputo or Chera) is "the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Tāluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūshika." It was watered by the river Periyar, perhaps identical with the Churnī of the Arthaśāstra on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji (near Cochin) and at its mouth the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).

¹ JRAS, 1919, pp. 581-84.

² Ašoka, Third Ed., p. 161.

³ JRAS, 1922, 86.

¹ Cera kings of the Sangam period, 17-18, cf., now N. Sastri, ANM, 25.

the authority of the Keralolpatti (Indian Culture, I, 668). But Kirfel points out (Die Gosmographie Der Inder, 1920, p. 78) that Satīya (variants Satīratha, Sanīpa) finds mention in the list of southern Janapadas, along with the Mūshakas, in the Jambukhanda section of the Mahābhārata (Bk. VI). For other views see Ind. Cult., Vol. II. 549ff.; Aiyangar, Com. Vol., 45-47-Mr. M. G. Pai suggests that 'Satiya' corresponds to Sāntika of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, 58-37, and the Brihat Samhitā, xiv. 27, and included South Kanara. Cf. Setae of Pliny. (Bomb. Gaz. Gujrat, 533).

⁶ JRAS, 1923, p. 413.

⁷ P. 75. Cf. Suka samdesa (Aiyar, Cera kings, 94).

Ceylon was known in ancient times as Pārasamudra¹ as well as Tāmraparņī (Greek Taprobane).³ Tambapamni, i.e., Tāmraparņī is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka. Dr. Smith lately³ took the word to mean not Ceylon but the river Tāmraparņī in Tinnevally. He referred to the Girnar text "ā Tambapamni" which according to him inoicated that the river was meant, not the island. Now, in Edict II the phrase "ā Tambapamni" comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pāḍā. The expression "Ketalaputo as far as the (river) Tāmraparņī" is hardly appropriate because the Tāmraparņī is a Pāṇḍyan river.⁴ We, therefore, prefer to take Tāmraparņī to mean Ceylon. Aśoka's Ceylonese contemporary was Devānampiya Tissa whose accession may be dated about 250 or 247 B.C.

Asoka maintained friendly relations not only with the Tamil powers of the south, but also with his Hellenistic frontager, Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria and Western Asia (B.C. 261-246); and even with the kings the neighbours of Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy II, Philadelphos,

¹ Greek Palaesimundu, see Ray Chaudhuri, Ind. Ant., 1919, pp. 195-96, commentary on the Kauţiliya, Ch. XI; Rāmāyaņa, VI, 3, 21 (Lankā described as sthitā "pāre samudrasya").

On reading Law's Ancient Hindu Polity (p. 87 n.) I find that the identification was also suggested by Mr. N. L. Dey. The equation Pārasamudra = Palaesimundu is not less plausible than the equations Sātavāhana = Sālivahana; Katāha = Kaḍāram = Kiḍāram = Kantoli (pace Dr. Majumdar, Suvarņadvīpa, 56. 79, 168).

For other names of Ceylon see "Megasthenes and Arrian" published by Chuckerverty and Chatterjee, 1926, p. 60 n. For a short history of the island see Camb. Hist. Ind., Chap. XXV, and IHQ, II. 1. p. 1ff. According to tradition recorded in the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa the first Aryan immigrants were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāla, whom the chronicles represent as a grandson of a Princess of Vanga. The identification of Lāla is, however, open to controversy, some placing it in Gujarās, others identifying it with Rāḍha or Western Bengal. Barnett may be right in his assumption that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya. See also IHQ, 1933, 742ff.

3 Aloka, 3rd Ed., p. 162.

Even those who prefer to see in the passage a reference to a kingdom in the Valley of the Tamraparnī river, have to prove that such a kingdom did exist in the Maurya age apart from "Pāḍā" and Taprobane, and to explain the particular way in which it is mentioned in Edict II.



king of Egypt (B.C. 285-247); Magas, king of Cyrene in North Africa (who probably died not later than B.C. 258); Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (B.C. 277 or 276-239); and Alexander who ruled over Epirus (B.C. 272-c. 255) according to Norris, Westergaard, Lassen, Senart, Smith and Marshall.³ Beloch and Hultzsch, however, suggest³ that Alikasudara of Edict XIII is the comparatively insignificant ruler, Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus (B.C. 252—cir. 244) and not Alexander of Epirus (272—cir. 255), the son of Pyrrhus.

Though Aśoka did not covet the territories of his neighbours, there is evidence that he gave them advice on occasions, and established philanthropic institutions in their dominions. In other words, he regarded them as

objects of spiritual conquest (Dhamma-vijaya).

"My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson."

"Among his frontagers the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satyaputra, the Ketalaputra as far as Tāmraparṇī, Antiochos, the Greek king, and even the kings the neighbours of that Antiochos, everywhere have been made healing arrangements of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty

the King."

In Edict XIII Aśoka declares that the "conquest of the Law of Piety, has been won by His Sacred Majesty among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of the Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and beyond (the realm) of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings (rājāno) severally Ptolemy (Turamāyo), Antigonos (Amtekina), Magas (Maga or Maka), and Alexander (Alikasudaro)—(likewise) in the south (micha), the Cholas and the Paṇḍyas as far as Tambapamini Even where the envoys (dūtā) of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too,

¹ Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, p. 449 f.

² Monuments of Sanchī, I, 28 n.

³ JRAS, 1914. pp. 943ff. Ins. of Ašaka, xxxi.

M. R. Edict I.

Have we here a reference to countries like Suvannabhumi named in the list of territories to which missionaries were sent according to the Mahāvamsa?

hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in the Law, practise and will practise the Law." Buddhism doubtless made some progress in Western Asia and influenced later sects like the Manichaeans. But Greeks apparently were not much impressed by lessons on non-violence. When the strong arm of Aśoka, "who possessed the power to punish in spite of his repentance," was withdrawn, the Yavanas poured once more into the Kābul valley, the Pañjab and the Madhya-deśa and threw all the province into confusion. The southern missions were more successful. Curiously enough, the Ceylonese chronicles do not seem to refer to the envoys sent to the independent Tamil and Hellenistic kingdoms but name the missionaries sent to Ceylon and Suvannabhūmi (Lower Burma and Sumatra). The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra who secured the conversion of Devanampiya Tissa and many of his people. No direct reference to Suvannabhūmi occurs in the Edicts hitherto discovered.

The Change in Internal Policy

The effects of Aśoka's change of religion after Kalinga war were felt not only in foreign policy but also in internal affairs. The principal objects of his complaint according to Rock Edict IV and the Kalinga Edicts were:

1. The sacrificial slaughter (ārambho) of living creatures.

¹ From Buddhism in Western Asia, see Beal, Si-yu-ki, II. 378; and Alberüni, p. 21; JRAS, 1913, 76; M'Crindle, Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature, p. 185; Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III. p. 3. 350 f; cf. Smith, EHI, 4th ed., 197; Burlingame, trans., Dhammapada Commentary, Introduction.

² Mention is however made of the Yona country along with Kasmīra, Gandhāra and Himālaya (Geiger, 82). This Yona territory is perhaps to be identified with the homonymous land in the Kābul valley associated with Kamboja and Gandhāra in the Aśokan Inscriptions. But reference in a vague way to the Levantine world is not completely ruled out. The Deccan lands mentioned in connection with the traditional missionary activity of the Aśokan age include Mahishamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa (in the Kanarese area). Aparāntaka (on the west coast), and Mahāratṭha (Mahārāshṭra) in the upper valley of the Godāvarī.

- 2. Violence (vihimsā) to animate beings.
- Unseemly behaviour to (asampratipati) to kinsmen (jñāti).
- 4. Unseemly behaviour to Brāhmaņas and Śramaṇas.
- 5. Maladministration in the Provinces.

According to Rock Edict I. Asoka saw much offence not only in the sacrificial slaughter of animals, but also in certain Samājas or festive gatherings which, as we learn from the Kautilīya,1 were often witnessed by kings and emperors.2 The Samāja, says Smith, was of two kinds. The popular festival kind accompanied by animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting, including much consumption of meat, was necessarily condemned by Aśoka, as being inconsistent with his principles. The other kind, the semi-religious theatrical performance, sometimes given in the temples of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was apparently not included among offensive Samājas. Dr. Thomas describes the disapproved Samāja as "a celebration of games or contests taking place in an arena or amphitheatre surrounded by platforms (mañcha) for spectators (prekshā)." This kind of (Samāja) is apparently referred to in the following lines of the Virāţa parva of the Mahābhārata: -

Ye cha kechinniyotsyanti Samājeshu niyodhakāh.

"Those combatants who will take part in wrestling in the Samājas."

Tatra Mallāh samāpetur digbhyo rājan sahasrasah Samāje Brahmano rājan tathā Pasupater api Mahākāyāh Mahāvīryāh Kālakanjā ivāsurāh.

"O king, there arrived, by thousands, boxers from all quarters, in that festive gathering in honour of Brahman as well as Paśupati (Śiva). They possessed gigantic bodies and immense strength like the Titans styled Kālakañja."

¹ P. 45. ² For the holding of Samājas in Magadha and in neighbouring countries see Vinaya, IV. 267; Mahāwastu, III. 57 and 383.

³ JRAS. 1914. pp. 392ff.

⁴ Virāţa, 2, 7.

b Virāţa, 13, 15.16.

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The harmless Samāja is well illustrated by the gathering in the temple of the goddess of learning referred to in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Pakshasya māsasya vā prajñāte' hani Sarasvatyā bhavane niyuktānām nityam Samājaḥ). According to Hultzsch the harmless Samāja refers to

edifying shows.1

Asoka determined to put a stop to the practices, referred to above, which he did not approve. At the same time he sought to improve the moral and material condition of the people to such an extent as to effect the "association of gods with men." He did all this "in order that he might discharge the debt (which he owed) to living beings (that) he might make them happy in this (world) and (that) they might attain heaven in the other (world)." The means employed to achieve this object may be classed under four heads:

- 1. Administrative reforms.
- 2. Dissemination of instructions in the Dhamma (Law of Piety or Duty).
- 3. Benevolent activity; promotion of the welfare of man and beast.
- 4. Religious toleration and prevention of schism in the Buddhist church.

Administrative Reforms

In the first place, Aśoka instituted the Quinquennial and Triennial Anusamyāna or Circuit of the Yutas, Rājūkas Prādeśikas, and Mahāmātras. Jayaswal and Smith³ were

1 See also IHQ, 1928, March, 112ff.

² Cf. Minor Rock Edict I. Cf. The description in the Harivamsa of a prosperous realm where (rājye mahodaye) gods and men dwelt together (Bhavishyaparva, Ch. 32.1) "Devatānām manushyānām sahavāso" bhavattadā." Hultzsch, however, compares (xlv) Deva with Divyāni rūpāni of Rock Edict IV.

³ Ašoka, 3rd edition, p. 164; Mr. A. K. Bose (IHQ, 1933, 811) takes anusamyāna in the sense of 'a court-house or a citadel.' But the epic reference to punyatirthānusamyānam (Mbh. i. 2, 123), 'going forth to holy places of pilgrimage,' suggests that the interpretation proposed by Kern and Bühler is the one least open to objection. See also Barua, Ašoka Edicts in New Light, 83ff.

of opinion that the whole administrative staff from the Rājūkas and the Prādeśikas down to the Yutas could not possibly have gone on circuit at once every five years. They interpreted the term as signifying a regular system of transfers from one station to another. But there is nothing in the text to show that all the officers were required to go on circuit at once. The anusamyāna of the Yutas, Rājūkas and Prādeśikas was quinquennial and was mainly intended for propaganda work. The anusamyāna of the Mahāmātras was specially instituted for the purpose of checking miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment and torture in the outlying provinces (Kalinga, and the Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā regions).

Secondly, Asoka created a number of new posts, e.g., Dharma-mahāmātras and possibly Dharma-Yutas.1 The Dharma-mahāmātras were given a protective mission among people of all sects including the Brahmanas and the Nirgranthas or Jainas, and among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Ristikas and all the Aparāntas. "Among servants and masters, Brāhmaņas and the wealthy (Ibhyas),2 among the helpless and the aged, they are employed in freeing from worldly cares their subordinates (in the department) of the Law of Piety. They are also employed on the revision (of sentences of) imprisonment or execution, in the reduction of penalties, or (the grant of) release, on the grounds of motive, having children, instigation, or advanced years. . . At Pāṭaliputra and in all provincial (bāhira) towns, in the family establishments of the king's brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives, they are everywhere employed." The Dharma-mahāmātras were further engaged every where in the imperial dominions (vijita) or indeed in the whole world (Prithivī) as known to the Mauryas, among the Dharma-Yutas with

² We have here a reference probably to the fourfold division of society into Brāhmaņas, Kshatriyas or nobles (Ibhyas), Vaisyas (Aryas), and Sūdras (Bhafa).

¹ Dhammayuta may not be an official designation. It may mean simply 'one devoted to Dhamma' (morality, righteousness). Cf. Bhandarkar, Ašoka, and ed., pp. 311, 343-

regard to "the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law, and the business of almsgiving." The border countries (deśa) were placed under the special care of the Āvutikas.

The emperor was naturally anxious to keep himself fully informed without delay about all public affairs, specially about the doings of the Mahāmātras on whom the success of his mission mainly depended. He, therefore, gave special directions to the Paţivedakas or Reporters that when a matter of urgency committed to the Mahāmātras and discussed in the Parishad or Council occasioned a division of opinion or nijhatī (adjournment?)² he must be informed without delay.

It is apparent from the Kalinga Edicts and Rock Edict VI that Asoka kept a watchful eye on the Mahāmātras especially on those who administered justice in cities. But he was more indulgent towards the Rājūkas for whose intelligence he apparently entertained great respect. To the Rājūkas "set over many hundred thousands of people" the emperor granted independence in the award of honours and penalties in order that those officials might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly. He wanted, however, to maintain some uniformity in penalties as well as in procedure. For this reason he issued the following rule:—

"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted."

Lastly, Aśoka issued certain regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals, and up to the twenty-seventh year of his coronation effected twenty-five jail deliveries. This suggests, as has been pointed out by Hultzsch, that the emperor used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation.

¹ Cf. Hultzsch, Ašoka, 100 n 7.

² For procedure in cases of disputations in an Assembly see also Jaim. Up. Br. III. 7.6. Can Nijhatī imply reference to the Upadrashtris hinted at in the Brāhmaņa passage? The help of Upadrashtris was invoked by the Kuru-Pañchālas to arrive at a satisfactory agreement or understanding in case of dispute. (Cf. also Barua, Ašoka Edicts in New Light, p. 78).



Measures adopted to disseminate Instructions in the Law of Piety

Though himself convinced of the truth of the Buddha's teaching of the efficacy of worship at Buddhist holy places, of the necessity of making a confession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity, of keeping in close touch with the Buddhist Order of monks and maintaining its discipline and solidarity, Asoka probably never sought to impose his purely sectarian belief on others. He attempted, however, to put an end to practices and institutions that he considered to be opposed to the fundamental principles of morality which, according to him, constituted the essence of all religions. The prospect that he held before the people at large is not that of sambodhi (or of nirvāṇa) but of svarga (heaven) and of mingling with the devas. Svarga could be attained and the gods could be approached by all people, high or low, if only they showed parākrama, zeal, not in adherence to a sectarian dogma or the performance of barren ritual (mamgala) but in following the ancient rule (porāṇā pakitī), the common heritage of Indians of all denominations, viz., "obedience must be rendered to parents and elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards living creatures; truth must be spoken; these same moral virtues must be practised. In the same way the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and fitting courtesy should be shown to the relatives." In Edict XIII we have the following: "hearkening to superiors, hearkening to father and mother, hearkening to teachers (or elders), and proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves1 and servants, with steadfastness of devotion." Edict VII lays stress on "mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steady devotion". In the Second Pillar Edict it is declared that the Law of

¹ For the question of slavery in Maurya India, see Monahan, Early History of Bengal, pp. 164-65. It is to be noted that Aśoka did not abolish slavery, just as he did not do away with caste or purdah. He simply wanted to mitigate the rigours of the existing social politiy.

Piety consisted in Apāsinave, bahukayāne, dayā, dāne, sache sochaye, "little impiety, many good deeds, compas-

sion, liberality, truthfulness, purity".

In the Pillar Edicts again prominence is given to selfexamination and spiritual insight. Towards the end of his career Aśoka seems to have been convinced that reflection and meditation were of greater efficacy than moral regulations. But the need for such regulations was keenly felt by him in the early years of his reign.

We learn from Minor Rock Edict I that for more than two-and-a-half years Aśoka was a lay disciple (*Upāsaka*). During the first year he did not exert himself strenuously. Later on he seems to have *entered*¹ the *Saṅgha* and begun to exert himself strenuously. He issued the famous pro-

1 "Approached," according to Kultzsch, in whose opinion the two-and-a-half years of Upāsakatva include the period which followed his "Visit" (not "entry") to the Sangha. The view that Asoka actually joined the Holy Order is, however, supported by I-tsing who mentions an image of Asoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk (Takakusu, I-tsing, 73). That rulers and statesmen could be monks as well, even in early times, appears probable from Lüders Ins. No. 1144 which refers to a śramaņa mahāmātra of Nāsik in the days of the early Sātavāhana king Krishņa, Cf. Milinda, IV. 6. 49 (ref. to a śramaņa King); Geiger, trans., Mahāvamsa, 240 (Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa).

2 Rock Edict IV has been interpreted by scholars to mean that Asoka sought to promote the observance of the Buddhist doctrine by exhibiting spectacles of aerial chariots (Vimanadasana), of elephants (Hastidasana), masses of fire (Agikhamdhāni) and other representations of a divya, i.e., divine (not terrestrial) nature. Dr. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 26), refers to the Pāli Vimānavatthu which describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes (Vimānas) in order to induce listeners and spectators to live good and unblemished lives, and thereby attain to these. Asoka is said to have made representations of these Vimanas and paraded them in various places. Hasti, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, is Sveto hasti, i.e., Buddha himself who is also described as "Gajatama," i.e., Gajottama, the most excellent elephant. As regards Agikhamdha (Agnishandha) Dr. Bhandarkar draws our attention to Jātaka No. 40 which refers to a blazing fire-pit created by Māra on the surface of which the Bodhisattva strode and gave a bowl to a hungry Pachcheka Buddha and extolled alms-giving. Hultzsch suggests that Hasti may refer to the vehicles of the four "Mahārājas" (lokapālas or guardians of quarters). He takes Agikamdha to refer to 'radiant beings of another world' while Jarl Charpentier (IHQ, 1933, 87) understands it to mean piles of (hell-) fire. The interpretation of Hultzsch accords better with the testimony of the commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 68. 16) which explains divyam as višishţa devatādhishthitam. The celestial elephant figures prominently in the Tārāvaloka story of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara (Penzer, VIII. 131), and Mountain of fire, ibid. 50, 51: III. 6, 17; Cf. also aggi-khando in Jataka, VI 330, Coomaraswamy in



clamation, "Let small and great exert themselves," and caused to be engraved the imperishable record of his purpose on the rocks and upon stone pillars wherever there were stone pillars in his dominions.

Aśoka at first utilised the existing administrative machinery for religious propaganda.¹ He commanded his Council (Parishad) to inculcate the Dharma on the subordinate officials styled Yutas and ordered the latter as well as the higher officials styled Rājūkas, and Prādeśikas to inculcate the same while they set out for tour (anusamyāna). The Dharma which they were to preach was explained thus: "An excellent thing is the hearkening to father and mother²; an excellent thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and ascetics; excellent is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures; excellent is small expense with small accumulation."

When he had been consecrated thirteen years, Aśoka created the new officials called Dharma-mahāmātras who

B. C. Law, vol. I. 469; Note the Sutta referred to in Geiger, Mahāvamsa, trans. pp. 85, 110.

The passage containing the words Vimānadasanā, Hastidasanā, etc., has been explained differently in A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapson, pp. 546 f. According to the interpretation that finds favour with some writers, the spectacles in question were exhibited not by Aśoka but by previous rulers to the accompaniment of the sound of drums. But thanks to Aśoka "the sound of the bheri had become the sound of dharma," that is to say instruction in dharma took the place of martial music that used to be heard on the occasion of pompous shows of edifying subjects in bygone times. What former kings could not accomplish by gaudy spectacles, was achieved by Aśoka by the simple unostentatious teaching of the true Doctrine. The bheri was now used to announce the king's rescripts on morality, cf. the Yerragudi copy of the Minor Rock Edict—Rājuke ānapitaviye bherinā jānapadam ānāpayisati, raṭhīkānam cha (Ind. Culture, I, p. 310; IHQ, 1933, 117).

1 According to one view Asoka sent special missionaries styled Vyutha to expound his teaching. The interpretation of Vyutha as missionary was suggested by Senart and accepted by Smith (Asoka, Third Ed., p. 153). Dr. Bhandarkar takes Vyutha or Vivutha to mean "officials on tour," Hultzsch thinks that Vyutha refers to Asoka himself while he was on tour (p. 169, note 8). The word has also the sense of dawn, day-break, day, in other words, it has a chronological significance. Other interpretations are also suggested by scholars. The least plausible is the one offered by Dr. Barua (D. R. Bhandarkar volume, 369) who finds in the expression reference to the copies of the particular proclamation sent forth from the capital.

2 Cf. Sigālovāda Suttanta (Dialogues of the Buddha, III, 173ff).

were specially entrusted with the work of "dhammādhithāna" and "dhammavadhi", i.e., the establishment and increase of Piety.

While his officers were busy preaching the new Gospel, the emperor himself did not remain idle. Already in his eleventh regnal year he had "started on the path" leading to Sambodhi (ayāya Sambodhim)1 and commenced the tours of Piety (Dhamma-yātā) in the place of the old tours of pleasure (Vihāra-yātā). In the tours of Piety this was the practice-visiting ascetics and Brāhmaņas, with liberality to them; visiting elders, with largess of gold; visiting the people of the country or perhaps rural areas (Janapada) with instruction in the Law of Piety, and discussion of that law. The memory of a pious tour in Aśoka's twentyfirst regnal year2 (B.C. 249 according to Smith) is preserved by the Rummindeî and Nigāli Sāgar epigraphs in the Nepalese Tarai. These records prove that Aśoka visited the birthplace of Gautama and paid reverence to the stupa of Konākamana, one of the former Buddhas.3

In 242 B.C., according to Dr. Smith, Aśoka issued the Seven Pillar Edicts which contain, among other things, a review of the measures taken during his reign for the "promotion of religion, the teaching of moral duty".

Benevolent Activity, Promotion of the Welfare of Man and Beast

Asoka abolished the sacrificial slaughter of animals, offensive Samājas and the massacre of living creatures to make curries in the imperial kitchen. Rock Edict VIII refers to the abolition of the vihāra-yātrās or tours of

¹ Some scholars take Sambodhi to mean 'supreme knowledge'. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar contents that Sambodhi is equivalent to the Bodhi Tree or the Mahioodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 393) Ašoka visited Bodhi in the company of the Sthavira or Elder Upagupta (Hultzsch, CII, xliii).

Were these tours decennial?

³ He had enlarged the stupa of Konākamana six years earlier, but the personal presence on that occasion is by no means clear.



pleasure in which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised. Pillar Edict V contains a code of regulations' restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals. Dr. Smith points out that the prohibitions against animal slaughter in this edict coincide to a considerable extent with those recorded in the Arthasāstra.

The emperor established healing arrangements in two kinds, namely, healing arrangements for men and healing arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also both for men and for beasts, wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. Roots also and fruits,² wheresoever lacking, were imported and planted. On the roads wells were dug probably at intervals of 8 kos, flights of steps built for descending into the water, and banyan trees and mango groves planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

Pillar Edict VII refers to the employment of superior officers (Mukhyas) in the distribution of alms, both the emperor's own and those of the queens and princes. One of the Minor Pillar Edicts refers to the donations of the second Queen Kāruvākî, mother of Tīvara: "whatever gift has been given here by the second Queen—be it a mango-garden, or pleasure-grove (ārāma) or alms-house (dānagriha) or aught else—is reckoned as proceeding from that queen."

Mention may also be made of remission of taxes by the emperor himself, e.g., in Lumminigāma, and moneygrants (hirannapatividhāna) to old men. The people of janapadas (districts), doubtless including the grāmas (villages), were also sought to be benefited by the grant of autonomy and the establishment of uniformity of punish-

¹ Dhamma-niyama, cf. Patanjali I, I, I.

¹ Cf. reference to figs. in Bindusara's correspondence with Antiochos.

⁵ Dr. Barua suggests the identification of this lady with Asandhimitta of the Mahāvamsa and the Sumangalavilásini (Indian Culture, I, 123). The suggestion, though ingenious, is hardly convincing.

References to grāmas are found in the compounds Lummini-gāma and āma-kapota (Pillar Edict V).

ment and procedure (dandasamatā and vyāvahārasamatā) as well as diffusion of moral instruction (dhramanusasti).

Religious Toleration and the Prevention of Schism in the Buddhist Church

In Rock Edict XII the emperor declares that he "does reverence (Pūjā) to men of all sects (Pāsamdāni) whether ascetics (Pavajitāni) or householders (Gharastāni) by gifts and various forms of reverence". That he was sincere in his professions is proved by the Barābar cave dedications in favour of the Ājīvika ascetics, who were more closely connected with the Jainas than with the Buddhists.

The emperor only cared for the "growth of the essence (Sāra-Vaḍhi) of the matter in sects". He says that "he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect." Concord (or concourse, Samavāyo) is praised by him as meritorious (Samavāyo eva sādhu).

Just as Aśoka tried to secure concord among the various sects, so he wanted to prevent schism within the Buddhist church. Tradition affirms that a Buddhist Council was convened at Pāṭaliputra in the seventeenth year of his reign for the purpose of suppressing heresy and making a compilation of the true Buddhist doctrine (Saddhammasamgaha). The Sārnāth Edict and its variants may perhaps be regarded as embodying the resolution of this Council.¹

Asoka as a Builder

The gift of cave dwellings to the Ajīvika monks affords us a glimpse into another side of Aśoka's activity. As late



as the fifth century A.D., sojourners in Pāţaliputra were struck with wonder at the magnificence of the emperor's architectural achievements. Tradition credits him with the construction of a splendid palace besides numerous relic mounds, monasteries and temples. He is actually known to have enlarged the stūpa of Konākamana, a 'former Buddha' and a predecessor of Śākyamuni. He also set up 'pillars of morality' Dharma-stambhas. Modern critics are eloquent in their praise of the polished surface of his columns and the fine workmanship of their crowning sculptures.¹

Character of Asoka—His Success and Failure

Asoka is one of the most interesting personalities in the history of India. He had the energy of a Chandragupta, the versatility of a Samudragupta and the catholicity of an Akbar. He was tireless in his exertion and unflagging in his zeal-all directed to the promotion of the spiritual and material welfare of his people whom he looked upon as his children. His illustrious grandfather was accustomed to dispose of cases even when indulging in the luxury of a massage of the limbs. Similarly, Aśoka used to listen to reports about the affairs of his people even while 'he was eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin and in the parks'. The great soldier who had brought under subjection a huge territory unconquered even by his ever victorious grandfather, could, at the same time, argue points of doctrine and discipline with a fraternity of erudite monks. The statesman who could pilot an empire through the storm and stress of a war that involved the death and deportation of hundreds of thousands of men was, at the same time, capable of organizing religious missions the sphere of whose activities embraced three continents, and transforming a local sect in the Ganges Valley into one of the great reli-

For Aśoka's achievements in the domain of art, see Smith, HFAIC, 13. 57ff; Aśoka, pp. 107ff; CHI, 618ff; Havell, ARI, 104ff, etc.

gions of the world. The man who penetrated into the jungles of the Nepalese Tarai to pay homage to the birthplace of the Buddhas, bore no ill-will towards the descendants of their Brahmana and Jaina opponents, and granted cave-dwellings to the adherents of a rival sect. The king who undertook tours with the object of granting largesses of gold to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, admitted to office Yavanas in whose country there were neither Brahmanas nor śramanas. He preached the virtues of concord and toleration in an age when religious feeling ran high and disruptive influences were at work within the fold of the Jaina and Buddhist churches. He preached non-violence when violence in war, religious ritual, royal pastime and festive gatherings was the order of the day. He eschewed military conquest not after defeat but after victory and pursued a policy of patience and gentleness while still possessed of the resources of a mighty empire. The forbearance of this strong man was only matched by his truthfulness, and he describes in burning words which no Kalinga patriot could have improved upon, the terrible misery that he had inflicted on a hapless province. The example of Dharmāśoka, the pious king, exercised an ennobling influence on posterity. In the second century A.D. Queen Gautamî Balaśrî takes pride in the fact that her son was "alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy" (Kitāparādhe pi satujane apānahisāruchi). Even in the fifth century A.D., the rest-houses and free hospitals of Magadha excited the wonder and admiration of foreigners. The benefactions of Dharmāśoka were a source of inspiration to royal personages as late as the time of Govindachandra of the Gāhadavāla dynasty.

We have already seen that the political record of the great Maurya's early years was brilliant. His reign saw the final triumph of those centripetal forces that had been at work since the days of Bimbisāra. The conquest of Kalinga completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha. The dream of a United Jambudvīpa was nearly realised.



THE GREATNESS AND PIETY OF ASOKA

But the policy of Dhamma-vijaya which he formulated after the Kalinga War was not likely to promote the cause for which a long line of able sovereigns from Bimbisara to Bindusara had lived and struggled. The statesman who turned civil administrators into religious propagandists, abolished hunting and jousts of arms, entrusted the fierce tribesmen on the North-West Frontier and in the wilds of the Deccan to the tender care of "superintendents of piety" and did not rest till the sound of the kettle-drum was completely hushed and the only sound that was heard was that of moral teaching, certainly pursued a policy at which Chandragupta Maurya would have looked askance. Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer. Magadha after the Kalinga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ikhnaton. The result was politically disastrous as will be shown in the next section. Aśoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson.

According to Dr. Smith's chronology Aśoka died in 232 B.C., after a reign of about 40 years. A Tibetan tradition is said to affirm that the great Emperor breathed his last at Taxila.¹

SECTION II. THE LATER MAURYAS AND THE DECLINE OF THEIR POWER

The Magadha Empire under Asoka extended from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. But the withdrawal of the strong arm of Piyadasi was perhaps the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. "His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand." The provinces fell off one by one. Foreign barbarians began to pour

¹ The Oxford History of India, p. 116. I cannot vouch for the authenticity of this tradition.

across the north-western gates of the empire, and a time came when the proud monarchs of Paţaliputra and Rājagriha (and Malwa) had to bend their knees before the despised provincials of 'Andhra' and Kalinga.

Unfortunately, no Megasthenes or Kautilya has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successors from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few

Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist works.

Aśoka had many children. In Pillar Edict VII, he pays attention to the distribution of alms made by all his children, and in particular to those made by the "Princes, sons of the Queens". It is to this last category that belonged some of the Kumāras who represented the Imperial authority at Takshaśilā, Ujjayinî and Tosalī. Tīvara¹ the son of queen Kāruvāki, the only prince actually named in the inscriptions, does not appear to have mounted the imperial throne. Three other sons, namely, Mahendra, Kunāla (Dharma-vivardhana, Suyaśas?), and Jalauka are mentioned in literature. It is, however, uncertain whether Mahendra was a son of Aśoka or his brother.

The Vāyu Purāṇa says that after Aśoka's death his son Kunāla reigned for eight years. Kunāla's son and successor was Bandhupālita, and Bandhupālita's dāyāda or heir was Indrapālita. After Indrapālita came Devavarman, Satadhanus and Brihadratha.

The Matsya Purāṇa gives the following list of Aśoka's successor: —Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan and Bṛi-

hadratha.

The Vishņu Purāņa furnishes the following names:— Suyasas, Dasaratha, Sangata, Sālisūka, Somasarman Satadhanvan and Brihadratha.

The Divyāvadāna has the following list:—Sampadî, Vrihaspati, Vrishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra.

For Tivara as a Magadhan name see The Book of Kindred Sayings, II, pp. 128-30.

P. 433-

Jaina writers refer to a Maurya king of Rājagriha, named Balabhadra.1

The Rājatarangini mentions Jalauka as the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmira, while Tāranātha mentions another successor Virasena who ruled in Gandhāra and was, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably the predecessor of Subhāgasana of Polybius.²

It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of the different authorities. The reality of the existence of Kunāla is established by the combined testimony of the Purāṇic and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Sampadi) as well as the evidence of Hemchandra and Jinaprabhasuri, the well-known Jaina writers. The names Dharma-vivardhana occurring in the Divyāvadāna and the Records of Fa Hien and Suyaśas found in the Vishnu and the Bhagavata Puranas were probably birudas or epithets of this prince. Tradition is not unanimous regarding the accession of Kunāla to the imperial throne. He is reputed to have been blind. His position was, therefore, probably like that of Dhritarashtra of the Great Epic and, though nominally regarded as the sovereign, he was physically unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka.

Kunāla's son was Bandhupālita according to the Vāyū Purāṇa, Sampadî (Samprati) according to the Divyāvadāna and the Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri, and Vigatasoka according to Tāranātha. Either these princes were identical or they were brothers. If the latter view be correct then Bandhupālita may have been identical with Daśaratha whose reality is established by the brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cavedwellings at the Nāgārjuni Hills which he bestowed upon

* Ind. Ant., 1875. p. 362.

¹ Jacobi, Introduction to the Kalpasütra of Bhadrabahu, 1879. p. 9.

³ Ind. Ant., 1875. p. 362; Camb. Hist. Ind., I, p. 512.

³ See also Parisishtaparvan, IX, 51-53.

the Ajîvikas. Dasaratha, who receives the epithet "devānampiya" in the inscriptions, was a grandson of Asoka according to the Matsya and Vishnu Purāṇas, and the predecessor of Samprati (variant Sangata) accord-

ing to the same authorities.

Indrapālita must be identified with Samprati or sālisūka according as we identify Bandhupālita with Daśaratha or Samprati. "In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records do of Aśoka." The Pāṭaliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri says, "in Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunāla, lord of Bhārata with its three continents (trikhaṇḍam Bharatakshetram Jināyatanamaṇḍitam), the great Arhanta who established Vihāras for Śramaṇas even in non-Aryan countries."

Dr. Smith shows good grounds for believing that the dominions of Samprati included Avanti and Western India.³ In his Aśoka³ he admits that the hypothesis that Aśoka left two grandsons, of whom one (Daśaratha) succeeded him in his eastern and the other (Samprati) in his western dominions, is little more than a guess.⁴ The Jaina writers represent Samprati as ruling over Pāṭaliputra as well as Ujjayini. His name is mentioned in the Purāṇic list of Aśoka s Magadhan successors.

The existence of Sāliśūka is proved not only by the testimony of the Vishņu Purāņa but also by that of the Gārgi Samhitā and the e Vāyu manuscript referred to

parim.
2 Third ed., p. 70.

⁵ Kern's Brihatsamhitā, p. 37. The Gārgī Samhitā says, "There will be Sālitāka, a wicked quarrelsome king. Unrighteous, although theorising

¹ Bomb., Gaz., I. i, 6-15. Parišishta, XI. 65. 2 Parišishtaparvan, xi. 23. itašcha Samprati nripo yayav Ujjayinim

Curiously enough, Prof. Dhruva maintains in spite of this and the clear evidence of Jaina literature that "historians say that on the death of Kunāla there was a partition of the Maurya Empire between his two sons Daśaratha and Samprati (JBORS, 1930, 30)." Prof. Dhruva's emendations of the text of the Yugapurāņa are largely conjectural and of little probative value.

by Pargiter. He may have been identical with Vṛihaspati, son of Samprati, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, unless Vṛihaspati represented a different branch of the imperial family.

Devavarman and Somasarman are variant readings of the same name. The same is the case with Satadhanus' and Satadhanvan. It is not easy to identify Vṛishasena and Pushyadharman; they may be merely birudas or secondary names of Devavarman and Satadhanvan. But the possibility that they represent a distinct branch of the Maurya line is not entirely excluded.

The last of the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha, Bṛiha-dratha, is mentioned not only in the Purāṇas but also in Bāṇa's Harsha-charita. He was crushed by his general Pushyamitra who is perhaps wrongly described by the Divyāvadāna as of Maurya descent. A Maurya minister is said to have been imprisoned by the regicide family.

Petty Maurya kings continued to rule in Western India as well as Magadha long after the extinction of the Imperial line. King Dhavala of the Maurya dynasty is referred to in the Kaṇaswa inscription of A.D. 738. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies him with Dhavalappadeva, the overlord of Dhanika, mentioned in the Dabok (Mewar) inscription of cir. A.D. 725. Maurya chiefs of the Konkan and Khāndesh are referred to in Early Chalukya and Yādava epigraphs. A Maurya ruler of Magadha named Pūrṇavarman is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

on righteousness, dharmavādi adhārmikah (sic) he cruely oppresses his country."

¹ For an interesting account of a King named Satadhanu see Vishnu Purana, III. 18. 51; Bhag., 11-8-41. His identity is, however, uncertain.

** Ind. Ant., XIII, 163; Bomb. Gaz., I. Part 2, p. 284. Kanaswa is in the Kotah State, Rājputāna. It is not unlikely that Dhavala was a descendant of some princely Viceroy of Ujjain. See also reference to the Mauryas in the Navasārikā grant, Fleet, DKD, 375-

2 Ep. Ind., XII, p. 11. But see Ep. XX. 122. The date A.D. 725 is not

accepted by other scholars who prefer A.D. 813.

* Bomb. Goz., I, Part 2, pp. 283, 284. Bühler suggests (Ep. Ind., III, p. 136) that these Maurya chieftains of the Konkan were probably descendants of the princely Viceroy of the Deccan. He also draws our attention to the family name 'More' which is met with in the Mahratta country, and is apparently a corruption of 'Maurya'.

There can be no doubt that during the sovereignty of the later Mauryas the Magadha Empire experienced a gradual decay. Asoka died in or about the year 232 B.C. Within a quarter of a century after his death a Greek army crossed the Hindukush which was the Maurya frontier in the days of Chandragupta and his grandson. The Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgî Samhitā bears testimony to the decline of the Maurya power in the Madhyadesa after the reign of Sālisūka:

Tataḥ Sāketam ākramya
Pañchālān Mathurāmstathā
Yavanā dushṭavikrāntāḥ
prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam
tataḥ Pushpapure¹ prāpte
kardame prathite hite
ākulā vishayāḥ sarve
bhavishyanti na samšayaḥ².

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa (in Oudh), the Pañchāla country and Mathurā, will reach (or take) Kusumadhvaja. Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra) being reached....all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

Where was now the power that had expelled the prefects of Alexander and hurled back the battalions of Seleukos?

According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāastrī^a a reaction promoted by the Brāhmanas had sapped the foundations of the Maurya authority and dismembered the empire.

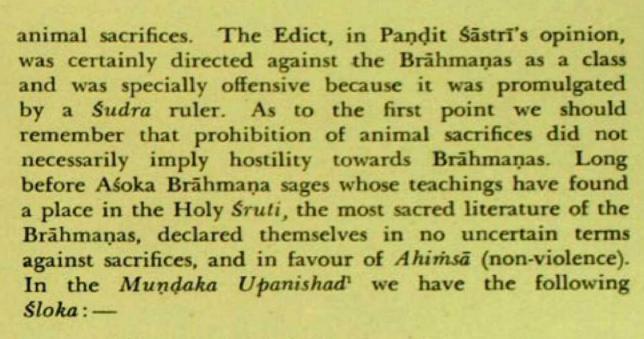
Among the causes of the alienation of the Brahmanas the foremost place is given to Aśoka's Edict against

Allegeria de Pro

Cf. Strabo, XV. I. 27—"We became acquainted with the eastern parts of India on this side of the Hypanis and whatever parts beside which have been described by those who after Alexander advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra".

^{*} Kern, Brihat Samhita, p. 37-

^{*} JASB, 1910, pp. 259ff.



Plavā hyete adridhā yajñarūpā ashtādašoktam avaram yeshu karma etachchhreyo ye'bhinandanti mūḍhā jarāmrityum te punarevāpi yanti.

"Frail, in truth are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen in which this lower ceremonial has been told. Fools, who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death." In the Chhāndogya Upanishad Ghora Āngirasa lays great stress on Ahimsā.

As to the second statement we should remember that tradition is not unanimous in representing the Mauryas as of Śūdra extraction. Certain Purāṇic texts assert no doubt, that after Mahāpadma there will be kings of Śūdra origin. But this statement cannot be taken to mean that all the post-Mahāpadman kings were Śūdras, as in that case the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas also will have to be classed as Śūdras. The Mudrārākshasa, the evidence

^{1 1. 2. 7;} SBE. The Upanishads, pt. II, p. 31.

² III. 17. 4. ³ Tatah prabhritirājāno bhavishyāh Sūdrayonayah. The reading in other texts is, however, Tato nripā bhavishyanti Sūdraprāyāstvadhārmikāh (DKA, 25).

Among real sūdra (or partially sūdra) kings may be included the Nandas, a few rulers mentioned in the Garuda Purāna (Ch. 145. 4) and the Si-yū-ki of Hiuen Tsang (Watters, I. 322; II. 252), and certain princes of Western India and the Indus Valley mentioned on pp. 54-55 of Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age.

of which is cited to prove that Chandragupta was a Sūdra, is a late work, and its evidence is contradicted by earlier authorities. As already pointed out above2 the Mahāparinibbāna sutta represents the Moriyas (Mauryas) as belonging to the Kshatriya caste. The Mahāvamsa' refers to the Moriyas as a noble (kshatriya) clan and represents Chandragupta as a scion of this clan. In the Divyāvadāna Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta, said to a giri, "Tvam Nāpinī aham Rāja Kshatriyo Mūrdhābhishiktah katham mayā sārdham samāgamo bhavishyati?" "Thou art a barber girl, I am a consecrated kshatriya (king). How can I unite myself with thee?" In the same work' Aśoka says to one of his queens (Tishyarakshitā), "Devi aham Kshatriyah katham palandum paribhakshayami?" 'Queen, I am a kshatriya, how can I take onion?' In a Mysore inscription Chandragupta is described as "an abode of the usages of eminent kshatriyas". The Kautiliya's preference of an "abhijāta" king seems also to suggest

¹ In the play Chandragupta is styled 'Nandanwaya' and Vyishala. As to the former appellation we should note that the play describes Nanda as abhijana. Further it calls Chandragupta Mauryaputra, and though commentators try to reconcile the epithets Nandanvaya and Mauryaputra, we learn from early Buddhist writers that Maurya is not a metronymic of Chandragupta or of his father, but the designation of an old clan. The Greeks, too, refer to a tribe called Morieis (Weber, IA, ii. (1873), p. 148; Max Müller, Sans. Lit., 280; Cunn., JASB, XXIII, 680). As to the epithet Vrishala it should be remembered that a Purapic text applies it even to the founder of the so-called Andhra dynasty (Pargiter, DKA, 38). But we learn from contemporary epigraphs that the dynasty regarded itself as 'Bamhana'. According to Manu (X. 43) the epithet Vrishala could be applied to degraded Kshatriyas (Cf. IHQ. 1930, 271ff. Cf. also Mbh. XII. 90, 15ff., "The Blessed Dharma is Vrisha. He who deals with it in such a way that it ceases to be of any use, i.e., transgresses it, is called a Vrishala, Vrishohi Bhagavan Dharmo yastasya kurute hyalam). The Mauryas by their Greek connection and Jaina and Buddhist leanings certainly deviated from the Dharma as understood by the great Brahmana law-givers. Attention may be invited in this connection to the epithet Vasalaka (Vrishala) applied by Brahmanas to the Buddha himself (Mookerji, Hindu Civilization, 264).

¹ P. 267 supra.

³ Geiger's Translation, p. 27.

^{*} P. 370.

⁵ P. 409.

Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 10.

that the sovereign of the reputed author was born of a noble family.1

Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices Paṇḍit Śāstrī goes on to say: "this was followed by another edict in which Aśoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as Bhūdevas or gods on earth had been shown up by him."

The original passage referred to above runs thus:—
Y (i)-imāya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te
dāni m (i) s-kaṭā.

Paṇḍit Śāstrī followed the interpretation of Senart. But Sylvian Lévi² has shown that the word amisā cannot stand for Sanskrit amṛishā, for in the Bhābrū edict we find Musā and not Misā for Sanskrit mṛishā (falsely or false). The recently discovered Māski version reads misibhūtā for misamkatā, showing that the original form was miśribhūtā. It will be grammatically incorrect to form misibhūtā from Sanskrit mṛishā. The word miśra means mixed. And miśribhūtā means "made to mix" or made to associate. The meaning of the entire passage is "during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated with them." There is thus no question of "showing up" anybody.

Paṇḍit śāstrī adds that the appointment by Aśoka of Dharma-mahāmātras, i.e., of superintendents of morals,

¹ Cf. Arthasāstra, p. 326. See also supra, 266 f. (the reign of Chandragupta)

² Hultzsch, Asoka, 168.

^{*}Cf. Apastamba Dharmasütra, II. 7. 16. 1: "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell with the gods and Brahma in heaven." My attention was first drawn to this passage by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Cf. also Hariwamsa (III. 32. 1): "Devatānām manushyānām sahawāsobhawattadā;" and SBE, XXXIV, p. 222-3 (Sankara's Com. on the Vedāntasūtras): "The men of ancient times, in consequence of their eminent religious merit, conversed with the gods face to face. Smriti also declares that 'from the reading of the Veda there results intercourse with the favourite divinity."

The true import of the passage was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar in the Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 170.

was a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. It is hardly correct to represent the *Dharma-mahāmātras* as mere superintendents of morals when their duties consisted in the establishment of the Law of Piety (which included liberality to Brāhmaṇas), the promotion of the welfare of the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Risṭikas, Brāhmaṇas and others, revision of sentences of imprisonment or execution, the supervision of the family establishments of the Emperor's brothers and other relatives, and the administration of alms-giving. These duties were not essentially those of a mere superintendent of morals, and were not a direct invasion of the rights and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, there is nothing to show that the *Dharma-mahāmātras* were wholly recruited from non-Brāhmaṇas.

Our attention is next drawn to the passage where Aśoka insists upon his officers strictly observing the principles of Daṇḍa-samatā and Vyavahāra-samatā. Paṇḍit Śāstrī takes the expressions to mean 'equality of punishment' and 'equality in lawsuits' irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order was very offensive to the Brāhmaṇas who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.

The passage containing the expressions Dand-asamatā and Vyavahāra-samatā should not be divorced from its context and interpreted as if it were an isolated ukase.

We quote the passage with the context below:-

"To my Rājūkas set over many hundred thousands of people I have granted independence (or discretion) in the award of honours and penalties. But as it is desirable that there should be uniformity in judicial procedure (Vyavahāra-samatā) and uniformity in penalties (Daṇḍa-samatā), from this time forward my rule is this—'To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me'."

It is clear from the extract quoted above that the



order regarding Vyavahāra-samatā and Daṇḍa-samatā is to be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation which the Emperor introduced. Aśoka allowed discretion to the Rājūkas in the award of penalties, but he did not like that the Daṇḍa and Vyavahāra prevalent within the jurisdiction of one Rājūka should be entirely different from those prevailing within the jurisdiction of others. He wanted to maintain some uniformity (samatā) both in Daṇḍa (penalties) as well as in Vyavahāra (legal procedure). As an instance he refers to the rule about the granting of a respite of three days to condemned men. The Samatā which he enforced involved a curtailment of the autonomy of the Rājūkas and did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brā. saṇas from capital punishment.

But were the Brāhmaṇas really immune under all circumstances from capital punishment in ancient India? We learn from the Pañchavimsa Brāhmaṇa² that a Purohita (priest) might be punished with death for treachery to his master. The Kauţiliya,² tells us that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of treason was to be drowned. Readers of the Mahābhārata are familiar with the stories of the punishments inflicted on Māṇḍavya and Likhita.⁴ The life of a Brāhmaṇa was not so sacrosanct in ancient as in mediaeval and modern India. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that king Hariśchandra of the Ikshvāku family did not scruple to offer a Brāhmaṇa boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Against the surmises regarding the anti-Brāhmaņical policy of Aśoka we have the positive evidence of some of his inscriptions which proves the Emperor's solicitude for the well-being of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in Rock Edict III he inculcates liberality to Brāhmaṇas. In Edict IV he speaks with disapproval of unseemly behaviour towards

I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr. S. N. Majumdar.

² Vedic Index, II, p. 84. The story of Kutsa and his chaplain, Caland, Pañch. Br., XIV. 6.8; cf. Brihadaranyaka Up., III, 9. 26.

³ P. 229.

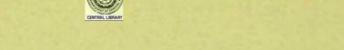
⁴ Adi, 107 and Santi, 23, 36.

the same class. In Edict V he refers to the employment of Dharma-mahāmātras to promote the welfare and happiness of the Brāhmanas.

Pandit Sastrī says further that as soon as the strong hand of Asoka was removed the Brahmanas seemed to have stood against his successors. We have no evidence of any such conflict between the children of Aśoka and the Brāhmanas. On the other hand, if the Brāhmana historian of Kaśmira is to be believed, the relations between Jalauka, one of the sons and successors of Aśoka, and the Brāhmanical Hindus were entirely friendly.1

In conclusion Pandit Sastrī refers to the assassination of the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha by Pushyamitra Sunga and says, "We clearly see the hands of the Brāhmanas in the great revolution." But the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Śungas" do not bear out the theory which represents them as the leaders of a militant Brahmanism. Are inferences deduced from uncorroborated writings of late authors like the compiler of the Divyāvadāna and perhaps Tāranātha, to be preferred to the clear testimony of contemporary monuments? Even admitting that Pushyamitra was a militant Brahmanist we fail to see how the decay and dismemberment of the Maurya empire can be attributed primarily to him or to his Brahmanist followers. The empire was a shrivelled and attenuated carcase long

¹ Note also the employment of Brahmana officers, e.g., Pushyamitra, by the later Mauryas. Kalhana has nothing but praise for Asoka. Another Brahmana writer, Bana, applies the epithet anarya (ignoble) not to the Maurya kings, but to the Brahmana general who overthrew the last of them. Visakhadatta compares Chandragupta with the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu. Certain epic and Puranic writers, it is true, refer to the Mauryas as asuras, and the Gargi-Samhita draws pointed attention to the oppressive rule of some of the later members of the family. But there is little to suggest that the Brāhmaņas were special victims of Maurya tyranny. On the contrary, members of the class were freely admitted to high office as evidenced by the case of Pushyamitra. The epithet asura or sura-dvish was applied not only to the Mauryas but to all persons 'beguiled by the Buddha.' The testimony of the Puranas in this respect is contradicted by that of contemporary epigraphs which refer to Asoka and the only one among his imperial descendants who has left any epigraphic record as devanampiya, that is, the beloved (and not the enemy) of the gods.



before Pushyamitra's coup d'etat of c. 187 B.C. We learn from the Rājataraṅgini that immediately after the death of Aśoka one of his own sons, Jalauka, made himself independent in Kaśmîra and conquered the plains including Kanauj. If Tāranātha is to be believed another prince, Vîrasena, apparently wrested Gandhāra from the hands of the feeble successor of the great Maurya at Pāṭaliputra. The virtual secession of Vidarbha or Berar is vouched for by the Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa. The loss of the northern provinces is confirmed by Greek evidence. We learn from Polybius that about 206 B.C., there ruled over them a king named Sophagasenus, Subhāgasena, probably a successor of Vîrasena. We quote the passage referring to the king below:—

"He (Antiochos the Great) crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had

agreed to hand over to him."

It will be seen that Subhagasena was a king and not a petty chief of the Kabul valley as Dr. Smith would have us believe. He is called "king of the Indians," a title which was applied by the classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrios. There is rothing in the account of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary, the statement that Antiochos "renewed his friendship (or alliance) with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians" proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established between them. The renewal of friendship on the part of the Greek king, and the surrender of elephants on the part of his Indian brother, only remind us of the relations subsisting between Chandragupta and Seleukos. "The Antiochos-Sophagasenus alliance may

also have been directed against the Imperial Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra." Greek intrigue may have played a part in the disintegration of the empire before the Greek raids. Further the expression "renewal of friendship" seems to suggest that Subhāgasena had had previous dealings with Antiochos. Consequently he must have come to the throne sometime before 206 B.C. The existence of an independent kingdom in the north-west before 206 B.C. shows that the Maurya Empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation of Pushyamitra.

We have seen that the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya Empire to a Brāhmaṇical revolution led by Pushyamitra does not bear scrutiny. Was the Maurya disruption due primarily to the Greek invasion? The earliest Greek invasion after Aśoka, that of Antiochos the Great, took place about 206 B.C., and we have seen that the combined testimony of Kalhaṇa and Polybius leaves no room for doubt that the dissolution of the empire began long before the raid of the Hellenistic monarch.

What then were the primary causes of the disintegration of the mighty empire? There are good grounds for believing that the government of the outlying provinces by the imperial officials was oppressive. Already in the time of Bindusāra ministerial oppression had goaded the people of Taxila to open rebellion. The Divyāvadāna says¹

"Atha Rājño Vindusārasya Takshasilā nāma nagaram viruddham. Tatra Rājñā Vindusāren Āśoko visarjitaḥ... yāvat Kumāraśchaturangena balakāyena Takshaśilām gataḥ, śrutvā Takshaśilā nivāsinaḥ paurāḥ... pratyudgamya cha kathayanti 'na vayam Kumārasya viruddhāḥ nāpi Rājño Vindusārasya api tu dushṭāmātyā asmākam paribhavam kurvanti'."

'Now Taxila, a city of king Bindusāra's, revolted. The king Bindusāra despatched Aśoka there. . .while the prince 1P. 371.



was nearing Taxila with the fourfold army, the resident Pauras (citizens of Taxila), on hearing of it...came out to meet him and said:—'We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusāra. But these wicked ministers insult us'."

Taxila again revolted during the reign of Aśoka and the cause was again the tyranny of the ministers. Rājñ-ośokasy-ottarāpathe Takshaśilā nagaram viruddham..." Prince Kunāla was deputed to the government of the city. When the prince went there the people said "na vayam Kumārasya viruddhā na rājño'-śokasy-āpi tu dushṭātmāno'

mātyā āgatyāsmākam apamānam kurvanti."

The Divyāvadāna is no doubt a late work, but the reality of ministerial oppression to which it refers, is affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kalinga Edicts. Addresing the High officers (Mahāmātras) in charge of Tosalī he "All men are my children; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the next, so also I desire the same for all men. You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle of government is well-established. Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or torture and when the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved. . . Ill performance of duty can never gain my regard . . . The restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause. And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth in rotation every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition, and regardful of the sanctity of life . . . From Ujjain, however, the Prince for this purpose will send out a similar body of officials, and will not over-pass three years. In the same way-from Taxila."2

From the concluding words of the Edict it appears that official maladministration was not confined to the

Divyāvadāna, 407f.

^{*} Smith, Ašoka, 3rd Ed., pp. 194-96.

Taxila was similar. It is thus clear that the loyalty of the provincials was being slowly undermined by ministerial oppression long before Pushyamitra's coup d' etat of c. 187 B.C. and the Greek invasion of c. 206 B.C. Asoka no doubt did his best to check the evil, but he was ill served by his officers. It is significant that the provincials of the northwest—the very people who complained of the oppression of the dushţāmātyas as early as the reign of Bindusāra, were among the first to break away from the Maurya empire.

The Magadhan successors of Aśoka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption.² The martial ardour of imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battle-fields of Kalinga. Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of Dhamma-vijaya which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire.³ He had called upon his

¹ The Jaina date 313-108=205 B.C. for Pushyamitra's accession may refer to the assumption of power by Pushyamitra in Avanti, while the date c. 187 B.C. refers to the dynastic revolution in Magadha.

On the contrary, if the Gārgī Samhitā is to be believed, one of his successors, namely śāliśūka, actually quickened the pace by his tyranny—Sarāshṭra mardate ghoram dharmavādi adhārmihaḥ (sic). Some of Aśoka's descendants (e.g., Jalauka) set up independe sovereignties, and were thus directly res-

ponsible for the dismemberment of the empire.

3 Cf. the events narrated on page 353 f. ante, and "Garga's" attack on the policy of so-called Dharmavijaya, "conquest conformable to Dharma" attributed to śāliśūka, which, in the opinion of the present writer, is hard to dissociate from Dhamma-Vijaya as promulgated by Asoka himself and recommended for adoption by his "sons and even great-grandsons." Attention to the passage in the Gargi Samhita was also drawn by Jayaswal (JBORS, IV. 261)-sthapayishyati mohātmā vijayam nāma dhāmikam, "the fool will establish the socalled conquest of Dharma". The expression mohātmā reminds one of the later meaning of 'Devanampiya' (fool, idiot like a brute, beast, Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 510). An eminent writer takes Vijaya to be a proper name, the appellation of the elder brother of śāliśūka, whom the latter established on the throne. But it is not clear why the enthronement of a righteous (dhārmika) man should earn for the person responsible for the action the opprobrious epithet mohātmā. Besides, Vijaya does not occur as a royal name in any of the lists of later Mauryas known to tradition. (For reference to divergent views see Cal. Rev., Feb., 1943, p. 123ff; Feb., 1946 p. 79ff). As



sons and even great-grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and forbearance as far as possible. These latter had heard more of *Dhamma-ghosha* than of *Bheri-ghosha*. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the rois faineants who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and his Chancellor.

The disintegration which set in before 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the Gārgī Samhitā and the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. The final coup de grace was given by Pushyamitra the Baimbika.

pointed out by Dr. Sircar, conjectural emendations of the text of the Gargi Samhita in support of a particular theory do not carry conviction (Cal. Rev.

The royal hunt and jousts of arms in Samājas were abolished. The army seems to have been practically inactive during the last 29 years of Aśoka's reign as the emperor himself declares with a feeling of exultation that 'the sound of the bheri had become the sound of the True Law, Dharma.' The Chinese Hou Hanshu (quoted by S. Konow, CH, Vol. II, p. lxvii) testifies to the fact that people of India "practise the religion of the Buddha; it has become a habit with them not to kill and to fight." The ease with which general Pushyamitra overthrew his king, in the very sight of the army, shows that unlike the earlier kings of the dynasty who took the field in person, the last of the Mauryas lost touch with his fighting forces, and ceased to command their affection. The largesses of gold lavished on he religieux must also have crippled the financial resources of the empire. The system of autonomous Rājūkas instituted by Aśoka must have let loose centrifugal forces that his successors were unable to check.

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GENEALOGY OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY

Mauryas of Pipphalivana Chandragupta Bindusāra Amitraghāta (1) Devī (first wife) (2) Asandhimitrā (first queen) (3) Kāruvākī (second queen) Vigatašoka Sushīma (Sumana) Asoka Piyadasi = (4) Padmāvatī (Tissa) Nigiodha Tishyarakshitä Mahendra? Kunāla (Suyasas?) Jalauka (son of Devī) (son of Padmāvatī) King of Kasmīra Tīvara, Son of Kāruvākī Bandhupālita Samprati Vigatasoka (Dasaratha?) Vīrasena of Gandhāra descendent ? Subhāgasena, "King of the Indians" śāliśūka Somasarman (Devavarman?) šatadhavan (šašadharman?) Prince of Prince of Ujjain Suvarņagiri Brihadrath (killed by his Commander-in-Chief Pushyamitra) Pürnavarman (Magadha) Suketuvarman (Maurya of Konkan) Mauryas of Valabhi Dhavala 738-39 A.D. and (Rājputāna) Khändesh Govindarāja Yadava feudatory, 1069 A.D.

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CHAPTER VI. THE BAIMBIKA-SUNGA EMPIRE AND THE BACTRIAN GREEKS

SECTION I. THE REIGN OF PUSHYAMITRA

Satatam kampayāmāsa Yavanāneka eva yaḥ balapaurushasampannān kritāstrānamitaujasaḥ yathāsurān Kālakeyān devo vajradharastathā.

-Mahāb hārata.

Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit senānīh Kāśyapo dvijah aśvamedham Kaliyuge punah pratyaharishyati.

—Harivamśa¹

The Mauryas had done much for Indian unity by bringing the greater part of the country under "one umbrella", by defending it against the generals of Alexander and Seleukos, by establishing a uniform system of administration, by using Prākrit for official purposes throughout the length and breadth of the empire and attempting to knit together the different sections of its composite population by the strong tie of a common Dharma. With the fall of the dynasty, Indian history for the time being loses its unity. The command of one single political authority is no longer obeyed from the snowy heights of the Hindukush to the verdant plains of Bengal and the Upper Carnatic. Hordes of outlanders pour through the northwestern gates of the country and establish aggressive monarchies in Gandhāra, Western Mālwa and neighbouring regions. The Panjab is seized by foreigners and the Deccan by local dynasts. The political connection of the Madhyadesa with the valleys of the Indus and the Godavarī is temporarily snapped, and the splendour of the Magadhan metropolis is dimmed by the rising glory of Śākala, Vidiśā, Prathishthana and other cities. Brahmanism gains ground in the Ganges valley and the Deccan, while Jainism flour-

¹ II. 4. 23. 2 III. 2. 40.

ishes in Orissa. The sects of the Māheśvaras and the Bhāgavatas become powers to reckon with. The study of Sanskrit receives an impetus at the hands of the grammarians of the Madhyadeśa, while Prākṛit literature enjoys the patronage of the courts of Prathishṭhāna and Kuntala in Southern India.

Brihadratha, the last Maurya Emperor of Magadha, was, according to the *Purāṇas* and the *Harsha-charita*, assassinated by his general, Pushyamitra, who usurped the throne, and founded a new line of kings.

The origin of the usurping family is wrapped up in obscurity. According to the Divyāvadāna Pushyamitra was lineally descended from the Mauryas. The Mālavikāgnimitram, on the other hand, makes Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, a scion of the Baimbika family, while the Purāṇas, and apparently the Harsha-charita represent these kings as Śuṅgas. One writer suggests that the Śuṅgas whose names ended in Mitra were Irāṇians, worshippers of Mithra (the Sun). Others, regard them as Indian Brāhmaṇas. Curiously enough, Pāṇini connects the Śuṅgas with the well-known Brāhmaṇa family of the Bhāradvājas. Śauṅgīputra, "son of a female descendant of Śuṅga", is the name of a teacher in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka

² It is, however, to be noted that the *Harsha-charita* never applies the designation Sunga to Pushyamitra himself, but only to one of the latest kings in the Purāṇic list. The Purāṇas may have combined the Baimbikas and Sungas under the common name of Sunga.

In the Mālavikāgnimitram (Act IV. Verse 14; Tawney's translation, p. 69) Agnimitra claims to belong to the Baimbika-kula. A king named Bimbaki is mentioned in The Ocean of Story, Penzer I, 112, 119. Mr. H. A. Shah suggests (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 379) that the Baimbikas were connected with the family of Bimbisāra. It is more probable that the epithet 'Baimbika' (in the passage dākshiṇyam nāma bimbosthi Baimbikānām kulauratam) is connected with bimbikā, a kind of plant (IC, 1938, Jan., 365) and also perhaps with the river Bimbikā mentioned in the Bharhut Inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, p. 8). Cf. Pādma, Bhūmikhaṇḍa 90, 24; Baimbaki in Pataṇjali, IV, 1. 97. In the Harivamsa (Bhavishya, II. 40) the Brāhmaṇa Senānī who is to restore the Asvamedha in the Kali yuga is represented as an Audbhijja, 'Plant-born', and a Kāśyapa. Jayaswal identifies him with Pushyamitra. Curiously enough the Baudhāyana Srauta Sūtra (ed. Caland, Vol. III, p. 449) represents the Baimbakayah as Kasyapas.

³ JASB, 1912, 287. Cf. 1910. 260.

In Sūtra IV, 1, 117. Also Kramadīšvara, 763.

Upanishad.¹ Śauṅgāyani, "descendant of Śauṅga" is the name of a teacher in the Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa. Macdonell and Keith point out that the Śuṅgas are known as teachers in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.² In view of the conflicting statements in the Mālavikāgnimitram, the Purāṇas, etc., it is difficult to say whether Pushyamitra and his known descendants (down to Vasumitra) were Śuṅgas of the Bhāradvāja Gotra or Baimbikas of Kaśyapa lineage. The historic "Śuṅgas" of the time of Dhanabhūti are assigned by competent scholars to the period B.C. 100-75. This accords with the testimony of the Harsha-charita which, while denying this dynastic epithet to Pushyamitra, applies it to the latest kings of the Purāṇic list, the immediate predecessors of Vasudeva Kāṇva.

It is not known for certain when and why the family of Pushyamitra, like the Kadambas of a later date, exchanged the quill for the sword. There is no reason to think that Aśoka tyrannised over the Brāhmaṇas and that his oppression forced them to engage in non-priestly pursuits. Brāhmaṇa Senāpatis were by no means rare in ancient India.³ The fact that officers of this class found employment under the Later Mauryas proves conclusively that the latter could not have pursued an anti-Brāhmaṇic policy.

The **Dominions of Pushyamitra** extended to the river Narmadā, and included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā, and, if the author of the *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha are to be believed, Jālandhara and Śākala. It appears from the *Divyāvadāna*, that the Emperor himself

¹ VI. 4. 31.
² XII. 13. 5, etc. The Vaihśa Brāhmaņa seems to associate the Śungas with the Madra country. Ved. Index, II, p. 123. For Tāranātha's reference to Pushyamitra, see JBORS, IV, pt. 3, 258. For Bhāradvājas as champions of autocracy and of ministerial usurpation, see Kauţilīya, 31, 316.

a Cf. the cases of Drona, Kripa and Asvatthaman in the Mahabharata in ancient times, of Ravideva in the Indian Antiquary, VIII. 20, of Kholesvara, the commander of Yadava kings, and of Somesvara, the Brahmana general of the Pala kings.

[•] Jaina writers, e.g., Merutunga, include Avanti within the dominions of Pushyamitra. This province was lost to the Sătavāhanas, and Sākala to the Greeks.

⁵ P. 434.

continued to reside in Pāṭaliputra. The Mālavikāgnimitram tells us that Vidiśā (Besnagar in Eastern Mālwa)
was governed by Prince Agnimitra, probably as his
father's viceroy (Goptri). Another viceroy, also a relation
of the emperor, may have governed Kosala. Agnimitra's
queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Vīrasena.
He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the
banks of the Narmadā (Atthi devîe vaṇṇāvaro bhādā
Viraseno nāma, so bhaṭṭiṇā antav (p) āladugge Nammadātire thāvida).

Affairs in the Deccan

It appears from the Mālavikāgnimitram that the foundation of the dynasty of Pushyamitra almost synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, viz., Vidarbha or Berar. Agnimitra's Amātya (Minister) refers to the kingdom as "achirādhishṭhita"

¹ Mālavikāgnimitram, Act V, pp. 370, 391 of G. Vidyānidhi's ed. esp. verse 20. Sampadyate na khalu Goptari nā Agnimitre.

The possible existence of this viceroyalty is disclosed by an inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā, which records the erection of a "hetana" (abode) by a Kosalādhipa who was the sixth (brother or descendant?) of Senāpati Pushyamitra, the performer of two horse-sacrifices (Nāgarī Prachāriņī Patrikā, Vaišākha, Sam. 1981; JBORS, X (1924) 203; XIII (1927) facing 247. Mod. Review, 1924, October, p. 431; IHQ, 1929, 602f.; Ep. Ind. XX. 54ff). It is interesting to note that the title, 'Senāpati' clung to the deva (king) Pushyamitra even after the performance of the Ašvamedha. Cf. the epithet Vāhinīpati applied to king Virāṭa in the Mahābhārata and the title Yavuga applied to Kushān emperors besides other epithets. Cf. also the style Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati in CII., Vol. 3, p. 252, and the title Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara applied to Bijjala and others even after the assumption of the full toyal style (Bomb. Gaz., II. ii. 474ff).

³ Act I. Some manuscripts mention Mandākinī as the name of the river (cf. IHQ, 1925, 214). A stream called Mandākinī lies 5 miles touth of the Tāptī (Ind. Ant., 1902, 254). Another Mandākinī flowed near Chitrakūṭa (Rām., 92. 10-11). Lūders' Inscriptions, Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bharhut (in Baghelkhand) was governed by a šuṅga feudatory. If Push-amitra was a šuṅga Baghelkhand must have formed part of the empire of his family. In the Monuments of Sānchī, I, iv. 271, the author does not agree with Būhler in assigning the ins. to the middle of the second century B.C. A Suṅgarāja (Agarāja?) is known from certain coins found at Kausāmbi (INSI, IV, i, 14). His identity is, however, uncertain. He prefers B.C. 100-75. Palaeographically the epigraphs are classed with the ins. of Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and Vishnumitra.

(established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and, therefore, not firm (navasamropana-sithilastaruh). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation (sister's husband) of the Maurya minister (Sachiva) and a natural enemy (Prakrityamitra) of the family of Pushyamitra. It appears that during the reign of Brihadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the king's Sachiva or minister, the other headed by his Senāpati or general. The minister's partisan Yajñasena got the rulership of Vidarbha, while the general's son Agnimitra obtained the viceroyalty of Vidiśā. When the general organised his coup d'etat, killed the king, and imprisoned the minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the usurping family. This is why he is called achiradhishthitarajya and prakrity-amitra by Agnimitra and his Amātya.

The Mālavikāgnimitram says that when Kumāra Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidiśa, he was captured by an Antapāla (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Agnimitra demanded his surrender. The Vidarbha king promised to give him up on condition that his brother-in-law, the Maurya minister, should be released. This enraged the ruler of Vidiśā who ordered Vīrasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated. Mādhavasena was released and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā (Wardha) forming the boundary between the two states. Both the rulers seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the House of Pushyamitra.

In the opinion of several scholars an enemy more formidable than Yajñasena threatened Pushyamitra's dominions from Kalinga (Orissa). In his Oxford History of India Dr. Smith accepts the view that Kharavela, king

Additions and corrections, and p. 58n. Cf. also S. Konow in Acta Orientalia, I. 29. S. Konow accepts Jayaswal's identification, Bahasatimita = Pushyamitra.

of Kalinga, defeated Pushyamitra who is identified with Bahapatimita or Bahasatimita, a prince supposed to be mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of the Kalinga monarch. Prof. Dubreuil also seems to endorse the view that Khāravela was an antagonist of Pushyamitra, and that the Hāthīgumphā Inscription is dated the 165th year of Rāja-Muriya-kāla (era of king Maurya) which corresponds

to the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, points out that of the six letters of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription which have been read as Bahasati-mitam, the second letter seems to have a clear u sign attached to it, and the third and fourth letters look like pa and sa. Even if the reading Bahasati-mitam, or Bahapati-mitam, be accepted as correct, the identification of Bahasati (Bṛihaspati-mitra) with Pushyamitra merely on the ground that Brihaspati (Jīva) is the regent, nakshatrādhipa, of the nakshatra or zodiacal asterism Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab, cannot be regarded as final in the absence of more convincing evidence.2 In this connection we should note that the Divyāvadāna distinguishes between a king named "Vrihaspati" and king Pushyamitra, and represents Pāţaliputra as the residence of the latter whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāravela is possibly called "Rājagahanapa" and apparently resided in the city of Rājagriha.

The date "165th year of the Muriyakāla" was deduced from a passage of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription which was

* 6f. Lüders' reading, Ep. Ind., X, App. No. 1345. With Jayaswal, S. Konow (Acta Orientalia, I. 26) reads "Rājagaham upapīdāpayati," though he admits that "Rājagahanapa (m) pīdāpayati" is also possible.

¹ Ind. Ant., 1919, p. 189. Cf. Allan CICAI, p. xcviii.

[#] Cf. Chandra in IHQ, 1929, pp. 594ff.

³ Pp. 433-34-

It is not suggested that Vrihaspati of the Divyāvadāna is necessarily to be identified with any king named Brihaspatimitra mentioned in inscriptions, though the possibility is not entirely excluded. What we mean to point out is that the name "Brihaspati" is not to be equated with Pushyamitra, simply because Brihaspati is the "regent" of the asterism Pushya, because in literature 'Vrihaspati,' 'Pushyadharman' and 'Pushyamitra' occur as names of distinct individuals. Regarding the proposed identification of Pushyamitra with Brihaspatimitra, sce also IHQ, 1930, p. 23.



read as follows: "Pānamtariya-sathi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine...". There is another passage in the same inscription which runs thus: -Painchame cha (or che) dānī vase Namda-rāja ti-vasa-sata (m ?)—oghāţitam Tanasuliya-vāţā-panādim nagaram pavesayati.2 If Pānamtariya-sathi-vasa-sate be taken to mean "in the 165th year", ti-vasa-sata should be taken to mean 103 years, and we shall have to conclude that Khāravela flourished some 165 years after a Maurya king, and only 103 years after Nandarāja, which is impossible as the Nandas preceded the Mauryas. If, on the other hand, ti-vasa-sata be taken to mean 300 years, pānamtariya-sathi-vasa-sata should be taken to mean not 165 but 6,500 years. In other words Khäravela will have to be placed 6,500 years after a Maurya which is also impossible. Jayaswal himself subsequently gave up the reading "... Pānamtariya-sathi-vasasate Rāja-Muriya-kāle vochchhine cha chhe-yathi Argasi ti kamtāriyam upādiyati" in line 16, and proposed to read "Patāliko chatare cha veduriyagabhe thambhe patithāpayati pānatariyā sata-sahasehi. Muriya kālam vochhimnam cha choyathi agasatikamtariyam upādāyati." He translated the passage thus: - "on the lower-roofed terrace (i.e., in the verandah) he establishes columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of 75,00,000 (Panas), he (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted and being of an interval of 64 with a century."3 With regard to this new reading and translation Mr. R. P. Chanda observed "the rendering of vochhine as 'counted' is even more far-

¹ Cf. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Actes du sixième congrès international des Orientalistes. Pt. III, Section 2, pp. 133ff.; Jayaswal, JBORS, 1917, p. 459.

^{*} Ibid, p. 455. For the interpretation of the passage, see p. 229 supra. S. Konow translates it differently:—"And now in the fifth year he has the aqueduct which was shut (or opened) in the year 103 (during the reign of) the Nanda king, conducted into the town from Tanasuliya Vāṭa."

³ JBORS, Vol. IV, Part iv. p. 394f. For Dr. Barua's suggestions, see IHQ.

<sup>1938, 269.

4</sup> MASI, No. 1. p. 10. Cf. also S. Konow in Acta Orientalia, I. 14-21. Like Fleet S. Konow finds no date in the passage but regards the reading Rāja Muriya kāla as certain. According to him Khāravela restored some texts missing in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Dr. Barua does not regard the reading Muriya as certain,

fetched than 'expired'. The particle cha after vochhine makes it difficult to read it as vochhinam qualifying the substantive Muriyakālam. Even if we overlook vochhine, the passage appears to be a very unusual way of stating a date. Still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in a praśasti." According to Fleet the use of the term "vochchhina" which is applied to sacred texts which have been 'cut off', 'interrupted'—quite prohibits the existence of a date. It may be added that there is no reliable evidence of the existence of a Rāja-Muriya-kāla in the sense of an era founded by the first Maurya. The use of regnal years by Aśoka points to the same conclusion.¹ Jayaswal himself admits in the Epigra-phia Indica,² that "there is no date in a Maurya era in the 16th line," of the Hāthīgumphā inscription.²

Dr. Jayaswal at one time took ti-vasa-sata to mean 300 years and placed Khāravela and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a śaiśunāga king and that the śaiśunāgas do not appear to have had anything to do with Kalinga. "It

3 His latest reading of the inscriptional passage is as follows:—
"Paṭalako chaturo cha vedūriya-gabhe thambhe patiṭhāpayati, pānātarīya
satasahase(hi); Muriya-kāla-vochhinam cha choyaṭh(i) Amga satika(m) turiyam
upādayati."

"Paţalaka(?)....(he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands;....(he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the sevenfold Amgas of the sixty-four (letters)." Ep,

Ind., XX, pp. 80, 89.

An era of Samprati, grandson of Asoka, is, however, mentioned in an ancient Jain MS. (EHI, 4, p. 202n). If we refer the year 164 to this era, the date of Khāravela must be brought down to (cir. 224—164=) 60 B.C. In "A note on the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela" Barnett suggests the following rendering of the passage which is supposed to contain the words Muriya-kāla: "And when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning.... which consisted of lustres (antara) of five (years) each, had broken down, he found (a new time-reckoning) consisting of lustres of 7 years each (saptikāntariyam) and mounting up to the 64th year (chatuḥ shashṭyagram)." To reform the calendar Khāravela introduced a new cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 Yugas of 7 years each. According to Dr. F. W. Thomas (JRAS, 1922, 84) antara= antargriha=cell. The passage means that cells which had been left unfinished during the time of the Maurya kings were constructed by Khāravela.

² XX. 74.



is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas' or the old reigning families. So we should identify 'Namdarāja' of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons." Professor Barua objects to the identification of "Namdarāja," the conqueror of Kalinga, with a king of the pre-Asokan Nanda line on the ground that in the Asokan inscriptions it is claimed that Kalinga was not conquered (avijita) before Aśoka. But such claims are on a par with the Gupta boast that Samudra Gupta was ajita-rājajetā, conqueror of unconquered kings,* and that the Asvamedha sacrifice had been revived, after a long period of abeyance, by him. We know that as a matter of fact the claims, if taken too literally, had very little substance in them. The suggestion in the Cambridge History of Ancient India that Nandarāja may have been a local ruler of Kalinga is negatived by the internal evidence of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription. A post-Aśokan "neo-Nanda" line of Magadha is also unknown to sober history.

As Mahāpadma Nanda and his sons ruled in the fourth century B.C., Khāravela is to be assigned either to the third century B.C., (taking ti-vasa-sata to mean 103)⁵ or to the first century B.C. (taking ti-vasa-sata to mean

¹ MASI, No. I, p. 12.

² Allan, Gupta Coins, p. ex. Cf. Jahāngir's boast that "not one of the mighty emperors has conquered" Kangra (ASI, AR, 1905-6, p. 11). Avijita may simply refer to the fact that Kalinga was not included within the limits of Aśoka's Vijita (empire) or Rāja-vishya (Royal Dominions).

³ Cf. the passage-"Namdarāja nītam cha Kalimga Jinasamnivesam"

which proves clearly that Nanda was an outsider.

^{*}A late Nanda or Nandodbhova line is known to epigraphy. But it ruled in Orissa. See R. D. Banerji. Orissa, I. 202; Kumar Bidyādhara Singh Deo, Nandapur, I. 46; Ep. Ind. xxi, App. Ins. No. 2043.

^{*}Konow (Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, pp. 22-26) accepts the date 103, but refers it (along with another date, 113, which he, with Fleet, finds in line 21) to a Jaina era. This era he is inclined to identify with that of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. Apparently he is not aware of the existence of another Jaina reckoning, viz., the era of Samprati. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (Ep. Ind., XX. 75) now assigns the date 103 to a Nanda era and says that the date refers to the time when the Tanasuliya Canal, which Khāravela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated.

300). In neither case could he be regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra who ruled from about 187 to 151 B.C.

The Yavana Invasion

The only undoubted historical events of Pushyamitra's time, besides the coup d' etat of c. 187 B.C., and the Vidarbha war, are the Greek invasion from the North-West referred to by Patañjali or a predecessor and Kālidāsa, and the celebration of two horse-sacrifices.

Patañjali is usually regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the passage in the Mahābhāshya-iha Pushyamitram yājayāmah: "here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra"-which is cited as an illustration of the Vārttika teaching the use of the present tense to denote an action which has been begun but not finished.1 The instances given by Patañjali of the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to people, but not witnessed by the speaker, and still possible to have been seen by him, are, "arunad Yavanah Sāketam: arunad Yavano Madhyamikām." This, says Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, shows that a certain Yavana or Greek chief had besieged Sāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā2 when Patañjali wrote this. It is, however, possible that the instances cited by the great grammarian are stock illustrations (mūrdhābhishikta udāharaņa) which are simply quoted by him from earlier authorities. But a war with Greeks in the days of Pushyamitra is vouched for by Kālidāsa. In his Mālavikāgnimitram the poet refers to a conflict between prince Vasumitra, grandson and general of Pushyamitra, and a Yavana on the southern (or right) bank of the Sindhu.3 Unfortunately the name of the

¹ Ind. Ant., 1872, p. 300.

² Nägari near Chitor; cf. Mbh., II. 32.8; Ind. Ant., VII, 267.

³ The Indus or possibly a stream of the same name in Central India (Cf. IHQ, 1925, 215).



leader of the invaders is not given either in the Mahābhāshya or in the Mālavikāgnimitram. There is considerable divergence of opinion with regard to his identity. But all agree that he was a Bactrian Greek.

The Bactrian Greeks were originally subjects of the Seleukidan Empire of Syria (and Western Asia). We learn from Strabo, Trogus and Justin that "about the middle of the third century B.C. when the Seleukid rulers were pre-occupied in the west" Diodotos, "Governor of the thousand cities of Bactria" (Balkh region to the south of the Oxus), revolted and assumed the title of king. He was succeeded, according to Justin, by his son Diodotos II who entered into an alliance with Arsakes who about this time (c. 247 B.C.) tore Parthia in Northern Iran from the Seleukidan Empire.

The successor of Diodotos II was Euthydemos. We learn from Strabo1 that Euthydemos and his party occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana. We are told by Polybius that Antiochos III (223-187 B.C.) of Syria made an attempt to recover the lost provinces but afterwards made peace with Euthydemos. The historian says, "Antiochos the Great received the young prince (Demetrios, son of Euthydemos) and judging from his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal honour he first promised to give him one of his daughters,2 and secondly conceded the royal title to his father. And having on the other points caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath, he marched away, after liberally provisioning his troops, and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemos. He crossed Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenos, the king of the

1 H. & F.'s Tr., Vol. II, p. 251.

² Tarn's scepticism (Greeks in Bactria and India, 82, 201) about the marriage is not warranted by cogent evidence. His arguments are in part of a negative character. He seems to prefer his own interpretation of certain coins of Agathokles to the clear testimony of Polybius.

Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, having once more provisioned his troops set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

Not long after the expedition of Antiochos the Great, the Bactrian Greeks themselves formed the design of extending their kingdom by the conquest of the territories lying to the south of the Hindukush. Strabo says, "the Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodoros of Artemita.1 Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis² to the east and reached the Isamus') conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene (the Indus Delta), but of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār), and Sigerdis (probably Sagaradvîpa)' which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodoros in short says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni."5

Strabo gives the credit for spreading the Greek dominion furthest to the east into India partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios, son of Euthydemos and son-inlaw of Antiochos the Great.

Menander has been identified with the king Milinda who is mentioned in the Milinda-pañho as a contemporary of the Buddhist Thera (Elder) Nāgasena, and also in the

* Le., the Hyphasis or Vipāśā (the Beas).

* Mbh., II. 31. 66, Cutch? Bom, Goz., I. i. 16f.; cf. Tarn, GBI, 2nd

¹ Artemita lay to the east of the Tigris. The books of Apollodoros are assigned to a date between c. 130 B.C. and 87 B.C. (Tarn, Greeks, 44ff).

³ The Trisama? In the Bhagavata Purana (V. 19. 17) a river of this name is mentioned in conjunction with the Kausiki, Mandakini, Yamuna, etc. Sircar prefers the Ikshumati.

⁵ Strabo, Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, pp. 252-53. The Chinese and peoples of the Tarim basin are apparently meant.



Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kshemendra.1 This monarch was born at Kalsigrāma' in the "Island" of Alasanda or Alexandria³ and had his capital at Sāgala or Śākala, modern Śiālkot, in the Pañjāb, and not at Kābul as Dr. Smith seemed to think.5 The extent of his conquests is indicated by the great variety and wide diffusion of his coins which have been found over a very wide extent of country as far west as Begram near Kābul and as far east as Mathurā." The author of the Periplus states that small silver coins, inscribed with Greek characters and bearing the name of Menander' were still current in his time (c. 60-80 A.D.) at the port of Barygaza (Broach). Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death, which took place in camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The statement of Plutarch is important as showing that Menander's dominions included many cities. The recently discovered Bajaur Relic Casket Inscription confirms the numismatic evidence regarding the westward extension of his empire."

Demetrios has been identified by some with king Dattāmitra mentioned in the Mahābhārata, the "great Emetreus, the king of Inde" of Chaucer's Knightes Tale and Timitra of a Besnagar seal. The wide extent of his conquests is proved by the existence of several cities named after him or his father in Afghanistān as well as

¹ Stūpa avadāna (No. 57); Smith, Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum, p. 3; SBE, 36, xvii.

² Trenckner, Milindapāñho, p. 83.

³ Ibid., p. 82 (CHI, 550). The identity of this "Alexandria" is uncertain. Tarn (p. 141) seems to prefer Alexandria in the Kābul Valley. The Milinda, VI. 21, seems to suggest location on the sea unless a different Alexandria is meant.

⁴ Milinda, pp. 3. 14.

⁵ EHI, 1914, p. 225.

⁶ SBE, Vol. XXXV, p. xx. Tarn, 228.

⁷ For Coins of Apollodotos and Menander in Gujrat, see Bomb. Gaz., I. i. pp. 16-17; Num. Chr. JRNS (1950), 207.

⁸ Ep. Ind. XXIV. 7ff. XXVI, 318f, XXVII, ii. 52f. The King's name is given as Mina-edra.

⁹ I. 139, 23. Krimisa, the Yaksha (AIU, p. 107) with whom he is identified by Dr. Bagchi belongs to the domain of folklore.

¹⁰ EHI, 1914, p. 255n.

India. Thus in the work of Isidore of Charax1 we have a reference to a city named Demetriaspolis in Arachosia. The Vyākaraņa (grammar) of Kramadîśvara mentions a city in Sauvîra called Dāttāmitrî.* Ptolemy the Geographer mentions the city of Euthymedia (? Euthydemia³) which was identical with śākala, and was, according to the Milinda-pañho, the capital of an Indo-Greek kingdom in the time of Menander.

It is permissible to conjecture that one of the two conquering kings, viz., Menander and Demetrios, was identical with the Yavana leader who penetrated to Sāketa in Oudh, Madhyamikā near Chitor, and the river Sindhu possibly in Central India, in the time of Pushyamitra. Goldstücker, Smith and many other scholars identified the invader with Menander who crossed the Hypanis (Beas) and penetrated as far as the Isamus (Trisāmā5?). On the other hand, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested, in his Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, the identification of the invader with Demetrios. We learn from Polybius that Demetrios was a young man at the time of Antiochos III's invasion (between 211 and 206 B.C.). Justin says that Demetrios was

¹ JRAS, 1915, p. 830. Parthian Stations, 19.

² Ind. Ant., 1911. Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population; Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 11, 176, Kramadīśvara, p. 796. The reference is probably to a Demetrias in the lower Indus Valley. Johnston differs from the view (JRAS, April, 1939; IHQ, 1939). We should, however, not ignore the evidence of Mbh. I. 139, verses 21-23, which clearly refer to a Yavanādhipa and Dattāmitra in connection with Sauvīra. If Dattāmitra is not Demetrios and Dattāmitrī not a city founded by him, it will be interesting to know with whom Dattamitra and the Yavanādhipa of the epic are proposed to be identified. A Nāsik (Deccan) Inscription (No. 1140 Lüders' List) makes mention of a Yonaka from the north (Otarāha), a native of Dāttāmitrī. Thus epic and epigraphic evidence together with that of Sanskrit grammarians clearly establishes the connection between the Yonas or Yavanas (Greeks), Dattamitri and

³ We are hardly justified in rejecting the reading 'Euthyde' (Tarn, p. 486) simply on the grounds urged by Tarn (p. 247) which do not appear to be convincing, and accept a reading which is "meaningless and wrongly accentuated". See also Keith in D. R. Bhandarhar Volume, 221f.

⁴ Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 349-50.
⁵ As already stated, Trisāmā is a river mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāņa. Note the absence of any reference to the Ganges in Strabo's account of Menander's conquests.



"king of the Indians" when Eukratides was the king of the Bactrians and Mithradates was the king of the Parthians. "Almost at the same time that Mithradates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eukratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men... Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrios, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of 60,000 enemies." Dr. Smith assigns Mithradates to the period from 171 to 136 B.C. (to 138/37 B.C. according to Debevoise). Eukratides and Demetrios must also be assigned to that period, that is the middle of the second century B.C.1

We have seen that Demetrios was a young man and a prince in or about 206 B.C. We now find that he ruled as king of the Indians about the middle of the second century B.C. He was, therefore, the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra who ruled from c. 187 to 151 B.C. Menander, on the other hand, must have ruled over the Indo-Greek kingdom much later, as will be apparent from the facts noted below. Justin tells us that Demetrios was deprived of his Indian possessions by Eukratides." Eukratides was killed by his son with whom he had shared his throne.' The identity of the parricide is uncertain but no one says that he was Menander.

The activity of Mithradates I began after the death of Antiochos IV in 163 B.C. See Tarn, pp. 197ff. According to Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia, p. 20ff. Antiochos IV, Epiphanes, crossed the Euphrates in 165 B.C. Mithradates I died in 138/37 B.C., the first Parthian date fixed by numismatic and cuneiform evidence. Eukratides assumed the title "Great" before 162 B.C. (date of Timarchus) (The Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 64). His coins are copied by Plato (165 B.C.) as well as Timarchus.

² Watson's tr., p. 277.

³ Ibid., p. 277.

According to Cunningham and Smith the parricide was Apollodotos. But Rapson shows good reasons for believing that Appollodotos did not belong to the family of Eukratides, but was, on the other hand, a ruler of Kāpiśa who was ousted by Eukratides (JRAS, 1905, pp. 784-85). Rawlinson points out (Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 73) that Appollodotos uses the epithet Philopator, and the title would be somewhat incon-

Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. We know that Greek rulers who reigned conjointly sometimes issued joint coins. Thus we have joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato, of Strato I and Strato II, and of Hermaios and Kalliope. The only Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a coin or medallion together with those of Eukratides are Heliokles and his wife Laodike. Cunningham and Gardner suggested that Heliokles and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides. But Von Sallet1 proposed an entirely different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that they were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliokles with a Laodike whom Von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Demetrios by the daughter of Antiochos III. If Von Sallet's conjecture be accepted then it is permissible to think that Heliokles was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

It is clear from what has been stated above that Demetrios was succeeded by Eukratides, who, in his turn, was probably followed by Heliokles. Menander could not in that case have reigned earlier than Heliokles. It may, however, be argued that after Demetrios the Indo-Greek kingdom split up into two parts: one part which included the Trans-Jhelum territories was ruled by Eukratides and his son, the other part which included "Euthymedia" (Euthydemia?) or Śākala was ruled by Menander who thus might have been a younger contemporary of Eukratides (c. 171-165 B.C.) and consequently of Pushyamitra (c. 187-151 B.C.).

Now, the disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after

Apollodotos Soter and not Apollodotos Philopator, but we should remember that the titles Soter and Philopator sometimes occur on the same coin (White-head, Catalogue of Coins, p. 48) and therefore it is impossible to justify the separation of Apollodotos Soter and Apollodotos Philopator as two entities.

1 Ind. Ant., 1880, p. 256.



Demetrios may be accepted as an historical fact. The existence of two rival Greek kingdoms in India and their mutual dissensions are proved by literary and numismatic evidence. The Purānas say:

Bhavishyantīha Yavanā dharmatah kāmato'rthatah naiva Mūrdhābhishiktās te bhavishyanti narādihpāh yuga-dosha-durāchārā bhavishyanti nṛpās tu te strīnām bāla-vadhenaiva hatvā chaiva parasparam.

"There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children' and killing one another, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age."2

The Gārgī Samhitā informs us:

Madhyadeše na sthāsyanti Yanvanā yuddha durmadāḥ teshām anyonya sambhāvā (?) bhavishyanti na samsayah ātma-chakrotthitam ghoram yuddham parama-dārunam.

"The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in the Madhyadeśa (Mid-India); there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused between themselves."

Coins bear testimony to struggles between kings of the house of Eukratides and rulers of the family of Euthydemos. But the evidence which we possess clearly indicates that the contemporaries and rivals of Eukratides and Heliokles were Apollodotos, Agathokleia and Strato I, and not Menander. A square copper coin of Eukratides has on the obverse a bust of the king and the legend "Basileus Megalou Eukratidou". On the reverse there is the figure of Zeus and the legend "Kavisiye nagaradevatā." They are often coins (?) of Apollodotos restruck.5 From

1 Kern, Brihat Samhita, p. 38.

CHI, 555, 690; Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 26.

¹ Cf. Cunn. AGI, Revised Ed. 274; Camb. Hist. Ind., I. 376. "The Macedonians gave away to a fury of blood-lust, sparing neither woman

² Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 56, 74.

⁵ Rapson, JRAS, 1905, p. 785. According to some 'overstriking in itself is no evidence of conquest' but simply of commercial relationship (JAOS, 1950, p. 210).

this it is probable that Apollodotos was a rival of Eukratides, and was superseded in the rule of Kāpiśa, which lay in the district identified with Kāfiristān and the valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir, by the latter. Rapson further points out that Heliokles restruck the coins of Agathokleia and Strato I ruling conjointly and also of Strato I reigning alone. Further, the restriking is always by Heliokles, never by Agathokleia and Strato I. From this it is clear that Agathokleia and Strato I ruled over an Indo-Greek principality either before, or in the time of Heliokles, but

probably not after him.

We have seen that according to the evidence of Justin and the Kāpiśa coins Eukratides probably fought against two rivals, namely, Demetrios and Apollodotos; his son Heliokles also fought against two rivals, namely, Agathokleia and Strato I. Seltman (Greek Coins 235) refers to a large gold coin which Eukratides struck to mark his triumph over Demetrios. Some distinguish between a Bactrian and an Indo-Bactrian Heliokles (JRNS, 1950, 211-12). The duplication of the Indian Heliokles requires cogent proof. As Demetrios and Apollodotos were both antagonists of Eukratides and used similar coin-types, the inevitable inference is that they were very near in time as well as in relationship to one another, in fact that one immediately followed the other. Now Demetrios was beyond doubt the son and successor of Euthydemos, consequently Apollodotos must have been his successor.

As Heliokles was in all probability a son of Eukratides, the rival of Apollodotos, he must have been a younger contemporary of Apollodotos. Consequently, Heliokles' antagonists, Agathokleia and Strato I, whose coins he restruck, were very near in time to Apollodotos. Strato I later on ruled conjointly with his grandson Strato II. There is no room for the long and prosperous reign of Menander in the period which elapsed from Demetrios to Strato II. According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the



Milinda-pañho, Milinda or Menander flourished "500 years," i.e., not earlier than the fifth century after the Parinirvana, parinibbanato panchavassa sate atikkante ete upajjissanti.1 This tradition points to a date not earlier than the period 144-44 B.C. according to Ceylonese reckoning, or 86 B.C.-14 A.D. according to Cantonese tradition, for Menander. Thus both according to numismatic evidence and literary tradition Menander could not have been the Indo-Greek contemporary of Pushyamitra. It is Demetrios who should, therefore, be identified with the Yavana invader referred to by Patañjali and Kālidāsa, one of whose armies was defeated by Prince Vasumitra'.

The Asyamedha Sacrifices

After the victorious wars with Vidarbha (Berar) and the Yavanas Pushyamitra completed the performance of two horse-sacrifices. These sacrifices are regarded by some scholars as marking an early stage in the Brāhmanical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudra Gupta and his successors. Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Pushyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of śākyamuni. But the proba-

· Cf. the interpretation of somewhat similar chronological data by Franke and Fleet (JRAS, 1914. pp. 400-1); and Smith EHI, 3rd Edition, p. 328.

3 Cf. 445n infra.

² Trenckner, the Milinda-pañho, p. 3. Tarn is not quite right in saying (134n) that Apollodoros makes Menander contemporary with Demetrios, Trogus with Apollodotos, and some coin indications (CHI, p. 551) with Eukratides. Strabo following Apollodoros and possibly other authorities simply says that extensive Bactrian conquests in the Indian interior were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrios. It is nowhere clearly stated that the two conquerors were contemporaries. The book of Trogus on which another conclusion is based, is lost. Coin indications are not clear enough. E.g., the imitation of certain coins of Demetrios by Maues does not prove chronological proximity.

S. Konow (Acta Orientalia, 1, 35) points out that there is no evidence that Menander transgressed the river Yamuna, and that Demetrios was the ruler who besieged Säketa and Madhyamikā. In IHQ, 1929, p. 403, Mr. R. P. Chanda regards Strabo's attribution of the Indian conquests to Demetrios as doubtful. But the cities in the Pañjāb and the Lower Indus Valley, named after Demetrios and possibly his father, leave no room for doubt that Strabo is right.

tive value of the Divyāvadāna, on which some modern writers place their chief reliance in regard to the matter, is seriously impaired by the representation of the "persecuting" monarch as a Maurya, a descendant of Aśoka himself.' Moreover, the prime motive which is said to have inclined the king to a vicious policy is, according to this Buddhist work, personal glory and not religious fanaticism. Pushyamitra did not dispense with the services of pro-Buddhist ministers, and the court of his son was graced by Pandita-Kauśiki.3 The Mahāvamsa3 admits the presence, in Bihar, Oudh, Mālwa and adjacent provinces, of numerous monasteries with thousands of monks in the age of Dutthagamani of Ceylon (c. 101-77 B.C.) which is partly synchronous with the Baimbika-Sunga period. The Buddhist monuments at Bharhut erected "during the sovereignty of the Śungas" do not also bear out the theory that the Śungas, among whom Pushyamitra is included by the Puranas, were the leaders of a militant Brāhmanism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism, kings of the line of Pushyamitra do not appear to have been as intolerant as some writers represent them to be.

The Mantri-parishad in the days of Pushyamitra

Patañjali refers to the Sabhā of Pushyamitra. But it is uncertain as to whether the term refers to a Royal Durbar, a tribunal of justice, or a Council of Magnates. The existence of Councils or Assemblies of Ministers (Mantri-parishad) is, however, vouched for by Kālidāsa. If the poet is to be believed the Council continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery. He gives us the valuable information that even viceregal princes were assisted by Parishads. The Mālavikāgnimit-

¹ IHQ, Vol. V. p. 397; Divyāvadāna, 433-34.

² Mālavikāgnimitram, Act I. ³ Geiger, trans., p. 193.

^{*} Bühler (Ep. Ind. III. 137) points out that Aśoka's Kumāras were also each assisted by a body of Mahāmātras. These may have corresponded to the Kumārāmātyas of the Gupta period.



ram refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the Viceroy of Vidiśā (in Eastern Mālwa), with his Parishad:

"Deva evam Amātya-parishado vijnāpayāmi"

"Mantri-prishado' pyetad-eva daršanam
dvidhā vibhaktām śriyam-udvahantau
dhuram rathāśvāviva samgrahītuḥ
tau sthāsyatas-te nripater nideše
paraspar-āvagraha-nirvikārau²
Rājā: tena hi Mantri-parishadam brūhi senānye
Vīrasenāya likhyatām evam kriyatām iti."

It seems that the Amātya-parishad or Mantri-parishad was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided upon.

SECTION II. AGNIMITRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Pushyamitra died in or about 151 B.C., probably after a reign of 36 years, and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. The name of a prince named Agnimitra has been found on several copper coins discovered in Rohil-

1 "King! I will announce this decision to the Council of Ministers."

2 "This is also the view of the (Council of Ministers). Those two kings, upbearing the fortune of their superior lord divided between them, as the horses upbear the yoke of the charioteer, will remain firm in their allegiance to thee, not being distracted by mutual attacks." Act V, verse 14.

3 "King: Tell the Council then to send to the General Virasena written

instructions to this effect.". (Tawney, Mālavikāgnimitra, pp. 89-90)

Only thirty years according to a Jaina tradition-"atthasayarh Muriyanarh

tisa chchia Pūsamittassa" (IA, 1914, 118 f. Merutunga).

The commentary on the Amarakośa seems to suggest that Agnimitra is the original of king Śūdraka of tradition (Oka, p. 122; Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst., 1981, 360). On the other hand Keith refers to a tradition recorded in the Vira charita and by the younger Rājašekhara which represents Śūdraka as a minister of a Śātavāhana king. We are further told by another writer that Śūdraka defeated prince Svāti and ruled fo- a long time. A tale alluded to in the Harshacharita represents him as an enemy of Chandraketu, lord of Chakora, apparently in South India (Keith, The Sanskrit Drama, p. 129; Sanskrit Literature, p. 292; Ghosh, History of Central and Western India, pp. 141 f.). The story of Śūdraka is essentially legendary and it is difficult to extract any historical truth out of it. The abeyance of Śātavāhana power in the Upper Deccan for a long period is a fact. But it is due to the irruption of foreign tribes from the north. Disloyal ministers may have helped to bring in the invader.

khand. Cunningham¹ was of opinion that this prince was probably not to be identified with the son of Pushyamitra, but belonged to a local dynasty of North Pañchāla (Rohilkhand). He gave two reasons for this conclusion:

- 1. Agnimitra's is the only coin-name found in the Purāṇic lists. The names of the other "Mitra" kings occurring on coins of the so-called "Pañchāla series," do not agree with those found in the *Purāṇas*.
- 2. The coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Panchala.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac^a and Jayaswal^a have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra can be identified with those found in the Puranic lists of Śunga and Kanva kings; for example, Bhadra-ghosha may be identified with Ghosha, the seventh king of the Purāņic list of Śunga kings. Bhūmimitra may be identified with the Kāṇva king of that name. Jethamitra, who is identified with the successor of Agnimitra, viz., Vasu-Iyeshtha or Su-Iyestha, who is called simply Jyeshtha in the k Vishnu manuscript, no doubt left coins that belong to a different series. But even he is closely connected with an Agnimitra. Several names indeed cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Sungas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kanva and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the so-called Andhras and Sisunandi.5

As to the second point we should remember that "Mitra" coins, even those which undoubtedly belong to the so-called Pañchāla series, have been found in Oudh, the Basti district, and even Pāṭaliputra, as well as in Pañchāla. Names of two "Mitra" kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, of whom the latter undoubtedly belonged to the Pañchāla group, are found engraved on two rail pillars

¹ Coins of Ancient India, p. 79. Cf. Allan, CICAI, p. exx.

² JASB, 1880, 21ff.; 87ff.; Ind. Ant., 1880, 311.

² JBORS, 1917, p. 479. Cf. 1934, pp. 7ff. 4 Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31, n. 12. Pace Allan, CICAI, p. xcvi.

Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.



at Bodh Gayā as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā, Pañchāla and Kumrahar.1 In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the "Mitras" in question were a local dynasty of North Pañchāla. The matter, however, must be regarded as sub judice.

Agnimitra's successor, as we have already seen, was Jyeshtha (of the k Vishnu manuscript), who is very probably identical with Jethamitra of the coins.2

The next king Vasumitra was a son of Agnimitra. During the life-time of his grandfather he had led the imperial army against the Yavanas and defeated them on the Sindhu (possibly in Central India) which probably formed the boundary between the empire of Pushyamitra and the Indo-Greek territories in Malwa.

Vasumitra's successor is called Bhadraka in the Bhagavata Purāṇa, Ārdraka and Odruka in the Vishņu, Āndhraka in the Vāyu, and Antaka in the Matsya Purāņa. Jayaswal identified him with Udāka, a name occurring in a Pabhosā inscription. The epigraph has been translated thus: "By Āsāḍhasena, the son of Gopālî Vaihidarî and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopālî, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosā inscription that Āsāḍhasena belonged to the royal family of Adhichhatra (Ahichhatra), the capital of North Pañ-

2 Coins of Ancient India, p. 74. Allan, CICAI, xcvi. Note the connection of Jethamitra with Agnimitra. The name of a Jyeshthamitra is said to occur also in a Brāhmi inscription on certain stone fragments recently discovered at Kosam (Amrita Bazar Patrika, July 11, 1936, p. 5).

¹ Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, pp. 84, 88; Allan, CICAI, pp. cxix, exx; Marshall, Archaeological Survey Report for 1907-8, p. 40; Bloch, ASR, 1908-9, p. 147; IHQ, 1930, pp. 1ff. The name Im.....tra occurs in a mutilated inscription on a rail pillar at Bodh Gayā with the title Rāño added before it. Marshall, Bloch and Rapson agree in identifying king Imtra with Indramitra of coins. Bloch further identifies him with Kausikiputra Indragnimitra, husband of Arya Kurangi, whose name occurs on certain pieces of coping. The epithet Kausikiputra reminds one of Pandita-Kausiki of the Mālavikāgnimitram (Act 1). The Kuśika family was apparently intimately associated with the rulers of the age. Kausiki mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitram was sister to the minister of a prince of Berar. The sister of the prince herself was one of the queens of Agnimitra. King Brahmamitra is the husband of Nagadevi, another prominent donor mentioned in the epigraphs.

chāla. Jayaswal maintained that Odraka (identified with Udāka) was the paramount Sunga sovereign, while the family of Āsāḍhasena was either gubernatorial or feudatory to the Magadha throne. Marshall,1 on the other hand, identified the fifth "Sunga" with king Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra mentioned in a Garuda Pillar Inscription found in the old city of Vidiśā, now Besnagar. Jayaswal identified Bhāgabhadra with Bhāga Śunga, i.e., Bhāgavata of the Purānas. This theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription (of the twelfth year after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata) which proves that there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata apart from king Kāsîputra Bhāgabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting "Udāka" with Vidiśā it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhagavata. The view of Marshall seems to be more probable.3

It appears that the successors of Agnimitra at Vidiśā cultivated friendly relations with the Greek sovereigns of the Western Pañjāb. The policy of the Bactrian Greeks in this respect resembled that of their Seleukidan predecessors. Seleukos, we know, first tried to conquer the Magadha Empire, but, frustrated in his attempts, thought it prudent to make friends with the Mauryas. The Bactrians, too, after the reverses they sustained at the hands of Pushvamitra's general, and weakened moreover by internal dissensions, apparently gave up, for a time at least, their hostile attitude towards the imperial power in the Ganges valley. We learn from the Besnagar Inscription of the reign of Bhagabhadra that Heliodora (Heliodoros), the son of Diya (Dion), a native of Taxila, came as an ambassador from Mahārāja Amtalikita (Antialkidas) to Rājan Kāsīputra Bhagabhadra the Saviour (Trātāra) who was pros-

A Guide to Sānchī, p. 11 n.

² Sircar suggests Kautsīputra.

³ Dr. Barua points out (IHQ, 1930, 23) that "in the absence of the word rājño preceding Udākasa, it is difficult to say at once whether Udāka is the personal name of a king or the local name of the place where the cave was excavated."



pering in the fourteenth year of his reign. The ambassador, though a Greek, professed the *Bhāgavata* religion and set up a *Garuḍadhvaja* in honour of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa), the god of gods. He was apparently well-versed in the *Mahābhārata*¹ which he might have heard recited in his native city of Taxila.

Nothing in particular is known regarding the three immediate successors of Bhadraka. The ninth king Bhāgavata had a long reign which extended over 32 years. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies him with the Mahārāja Bhāgavata mentioned in one of the Besnagar Inscriptions referred to above. Bhāgavata's successor Devabhūti or Devabhumi was a young and dissolute prince. The Purāṇas state that he was overthrown after a reign of 10 years by his Amātya or minister Vasudeva. Bāņa in his Harshacharita says that the over-libidinous Sunga was bereft of his life by his Amātya Vasudeva with the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman (Dāsi), disguised as his queen. Bāṇa's statement does not necessarily imply that Devabhūti was identical with the murdered Śunga. His statement may be construed to mean that Vasudeva entered into a conspiracy with the emissaries of Devabhūti to bring about the downfall of the reigning Śunga, (Bhāgavata), and to raise Devabhūti to the throne. But in view of the unanimous testimony of the Puranas this interpretation of the statement of Bāṇa cannot be upheld.

The Śuṅga power was not altogether extinguished after the tragic end of Devabhūti. It probably survived in Central India* till the rise of the so-called Andhras, Andhrabhṛityas or Sātavāhanas who "swept away the remains of the Śuṅga power" and probably appointed

¹ The three immortal precepts, lit, steps to immortality, dama, chāga and apramāda, self-control, self-denial and watchfulness, mentioned in the second part of Heliodora's inscription, occur in the Mahābhārata (V. 43. 22; Xl. 7. 23; Damas-tyāgo' pramādascha te trayo Brahmaņo hayāḥ. Cf. also Gītā, XVI, 1.2). See JASB, 1922, No. 19, pp. 269-271; ASI, 1908-1909, p. 126; JRAS, 1909, 1055, 1087f, 1093f; 1910, 815; 1914, 1031f; IHQ, 1932, 610; Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1918-19, p. 59.

^{*} Cf. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

śiśunandi to govern the Vidiśā region. Śiśunandi's younger brother had a grandson (dauhitra) named śiśuka who became the ruler of Purikā.

SECTION III. IMPORTANCE OF THE BAIMBIKA-SUNGA PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY

The rule of the emperors of the "house" of Pushyamitra marks an important epoch in the history of India in general and of Central India in particular. The renewed incursions of the Yavanas, which once threatened to submerge the whole of the Madhyadeśa, received a check, and the Greek dynasts of the borderland reverted to the prudent policy of their Seleukidan precursors. There was an outburst of activity in the domains of religion, literature and art, comparable to that of the glorious epoch of the Guptas. In the history of these activities the names of three Central Indian localities stand pre-eminent: Vidiśā (Besnagar), Gonarda and Bhārhut. As Foucher points out "it was the ivory-workers of Vidiśā who carved, in the immediate vicinity of their town, one of the monumental gates of Sāñchî." Inscriptions at or near Vidiśā (and Ghosuṇḍī) testify to the growing importance and wide prevalence of the Bhāgavata religion. Though no Aśoka arose to champion this faith, the missionary propaganda of its votaries must have been effective even in the realms of Yavana princes, and a Yavana dūta or ambassador was one of its most notable converts. Gonarda was the traditional birth-place of the celebrated Patañjali, the greatest literary genius of the period, Bharhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Śungas (Suganam raja) immortal.

1 Ibid. 49.

³ For the location of Purika see JRAS, 1910, 446; Cf. Ep. Ind., xxvi, 151.

³ See IHQ, 1926, 267. According to the Sutta Nipata Gonarda stood midway between Ujjain and Besnagar (Vidisa)—Carm. Lec., 1918, 4: Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Jan., 1935, pp. 1ff. (Sircar's trans, of S. Lévi's note on Gonarda).

CHAPTER VII. THE FALL OF THE MAGADHAN AND INDO-GREEK POWERS

SECTION I. THE KANVAS, THE LATER SUNGAS AND THE LATER MITRAS

Vasudeva at whose instance the "over-libidinous śuṅga" was "reft of his life" founded about 75 B.C. a new line of kings known as the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty. The Purāṇas give the following account of this family. "He (Vasudeva), the Kāṇvāyana, will be king 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years. These are remembered as the Śuṅga-bhṛitya Kāṇvāyana kings. These four Kāṇva Brāhmaṇas will enjoy the earth. They will be righteous. In succession to them the 'earth' will pass to the Andhras." Bhūmimitra may have been identical with the king of that name known from coins.²

The chronology of the Kāṇva dynasty is a matter of controversy. In his Early History of the Deccan, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes, the founder of the Andhrabhṛityas is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas,

1 Possibly only Eastern Mālwa where stood the later "sunga" capital

Vidišā or Besnagar, and some adjoining tracts.

amed Sarvatāta who is known (from the Ghosuṇḍi Inscription, Ind. Ant., 1932, Nov., 203ff; Ep. Ind., xxii. 198ff) to have been a devotee of Samkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva and a performer of the horse-sacrifice. But the identification of the Gājāyana family, to which the king belonged, with the Gādāyanas or Godāyanas (cf. IHQ, 1933, 797ff) does not seem to be plausible. There seems to be no more reason to identify the Gājāyanas with the Gādāyanas than with the Gāhāyanas or Gāṅgāyanas of the Sunaka or Kaśyapa group (Caland, Baudh. Śrauta sūtra III, 423-454). It is important to remember the fact that the Harivanisa refers to a Kasyapa dvija as the reviver of the Asvamedha in the Kali Age. The Gāṅgāyanas no doubt also recall the Gaṅgas of Mysore who claimed to belong to the Kāṇvāyana gotra (A New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI, p. 248). But the equation Gājāyana — Gāṅgāyana is not proved.

but 'whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas'. And the Kāṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śuṅga-bhṛityas or servants of the Śuṅgas. It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śuṅgas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṅvas.

Now, the Puranic evidence only proves that certain princes belonging to the Sunga stock continued to rule till the so-called "Andhra-bhritya" conquest and were the contemporaries of the Kānvas. But there is nothing to show that these rois faineants of the "Sunga" stock were identical with any of the ten "Sunga" kings mentioned by name in the Puranic lists, who reigned 112 years. On the contrary, the distinct testimony of the Puranas that Devabhūti, the tenth and last "Sunga" of the Purāņic lists, was the person slain by Vasudeva, the first Kānva, probably shows that the rois faineants, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva and his successors, were later than Devabhūti, and were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the ten "Sunga" kings from Pushyamitra to Devabhūti do not include the 45 assigned to the Kānvas. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to accept with slight modifications the views of Dr. Smith regarding the date of the family. According to the system of chronology adopted in these pages, the period of Kānva rule extended from cir. B.C. 75 to cir. B.C. 30.

Very little is known about the history of Magadha proper after the Kāṇvas. To reconstruct the history of the province from the fall of the Kāṇvas to the rise of the Gupta dynasty is a difficult task. The so-called Andhras or Śātavāhanas who are represented as destroying the Kāṇva sovereignty, apparently in Eastern Mālwa, do not



appear to have ruled in Magadha proper.¹ The greatest among them are called 'Sovereigns of the Deccan' (Dakshiṇāpathapati) and an accurate idea of the field of their political and military activities may be obtained from the epithets 'tisamuda-toyapītavāhana', 'whose chargers had drunk the water of the three oceans', and 'trisamudrā-dhipati', 'overlord of the three seas' occurring in epigraphic and literary records. The sway of rulers like the Guptas, on the other hand, is said to have extended as far as the four seas.

The discovery of a clay seal with the legend Mokhalinam2 suggests that at one time the Gaya region was under the sway of Maukhari chiefs. But the precise date of the record is not known. Equally uncertain is the date of Mahārājā Trikamala who ruled in the same region in the year 64 of an unspecified era. Epigraphic evidence of a late date points to some connection between the Lichchhavis and Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra). But it is difficult to say how far the tradition is genuine. The only rulers of note in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, whom we know from epigraphic evidence to have ruled in Magadha and the neighbouring provinces, are the so-called 'Mitras'. The prevalence of 'Mitra' rule is also hinted at by references in Jaina literature to Balamitra and Bhanumitra among the successors of Pushyamitra. From a study of available epigraphs Dr. Barua has compiled a list of 'Mitra kings'.

² Fleet, CII, 14. The legend is written in Mauryan Brāhmi. The Maukharis in question may have exercised sway over some little principality under the suzerainty of the Mauryas or the Sungas. Three inscriptions have recently been discovered at Baḍvā in the Kotah State in Rājputāna recording the erection of sacrificial pillars by Maukhari Mahāsenāpatis (generals or military governors) in the third century A.D. (Ep. Ind., XXIII, 52).

There is no valid reason for connecting the Nürruvar Kannar (Silappadikaram, xxvi, Dikshitar's trans. 299f.) either with the Śātakarņis or with Magadha. The expression "Kannar" sometimes stands alone proving that Nürruvar is only a qualifying adjective, not a part of the name. The Ganges, even if it be the Bhāgirathī, and not Gautamī Gangā or the Godāvarī, with which the family is associated, flows through other territories besides Magadha, showing that there is no necessary connection between that province and the kings in question.

It includes the names of Brihatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Brihaspatimitra, (Dhar)mamitra and Vishnumitra. To these should perhaps be added the names of Varuṇamitra and Gomitra.¹ Of these only Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and possibly Brihaspatimitra are definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories. The rest are connected with Kauśāmbī and Mathurā.

It is not known in what relationship most of these "Mitra" kings stood to one another or to the celebrated families of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas.

In Pāṭaliputra as well as in Mathurā the "Mitras" seem to have been replaced eventually by the Scythian 'Muruṇḍas' and Satraps who, in their turn, were supplanted by the Nāgas and the Guptas. Some scholars place immediately before the Guptas a family called Kota which may have ruled in Pāṭaliputra.

SECTION II. THE SATAVAHANAS AND THE CHETAS

While the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Śātavāhana³ (the so-called Andhra or Andhra-bhritya¹) kingdom of Dakshiṇāpatha and the Cheta or Cheti kingdom of Kalinga.

¹ Allan refers to kings Brahmamitra, Dridhamitra, Suryamitra and Vishnumitra who issued coins identical in type with those of Gomitra. They were followed by rulers whose names ended in—datta,—bhūti and—ghosha.

² For statements in this section see Ep. Ind., VIII, 6off; Harshacharita VIII. (p. 251); Cunn., Mahābodhi, ASI, 1908-9, 141; IHQ, 1926, 441; 1929, 398, 595f; 1930, 1ff. 1933, 419; Kielhorn, N. I. Inscriptions, No. 541; Indian Gulture, I, 695; EHI, 3rd ed. 227n; JRAS, 1912, 122; Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, 185, 190, 194; Allan, CICAI, pp. xcvi-xcviii, cx, 150ff, 169ff, 173ff, 195ff, 202ff.

3 The form S\u00e4tiv\u00e4hana is found in the Bh\u00e4galpur Grant of N\u00e4r\u00e4yanap\u00e4la and the form \u00e5\u00e4liv\u00e4hana in literature. See also Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, EHD.

Section VII.

The designation 'Andhra-jātīya' or 'Andhra' is found in the Purāṇas which represent the founder as a bhṛitya or servant of the last Kāṇva king. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, following apparently the Vishṇu Purāṇa, styles the dynastry founded by Simuka Andhra-bhṛitya, i.e., Andhras who were once servants. But that designation should properly be applied to the seven Abhiras who are mentioned as the successors of the line of Simuka on page 45 of Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age (cf. Vishṇu P., IV. 24, 13).



The founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty was Simuka whose name is misspelt as Śiśuka, Sindhuka and Śipraka in the Puranas. Those works state that the "Andhra" Simuka will assail the Kānvāyanas and Susarman, and destroy the remains of the Śungas' power and will obtain this "earth". If this statement be true then it cannot be denied that Simuka was for some years a contemporary of Susarman (40-30 B.C.) and flourished in the first century B.C. Rapson, Smith and many other scholars, however, reject the unanimous testimony of the Puranas. They attach more importance to a statement about which there is not the same unanimity, that the "Andhras" ruled for four centuries and a half. Accordingly, they place Simuka towards the close of the third century B.C., and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D.

A discussion of Simuka's date involves the consideration of the following questions:—

1. What is the age of the script of the Nānāghāṭ record of Nāyanikā, daughter-in-law of Simuka (or of his brother and successor, Kṛishṇa)?

2. What is the actual date of Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā Inscription which refers to a Śātakarṇi, who was apparently a successor of Simuka?

3. What is the exact number of the so-called Andhra

kings and what is the duration of their rule?

As to the first point we should note that according to Mr. R. P. Chanda the inscription of Nāyanikā is later than the Besnagar Inscription of Bhāgavata, possibly the penultimate king of the "line" of Pushyamitra mentioned in the *Purāṇas.*¹ Consequently Simuka may be placed in

Mr. R. D. Banerji, while disagreeing with the views of Mr. Chanda in regard to certain points, admits, after a detailed examination of certain epigraphs, that "the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions show the use of a very large number of Ksatrapa or early Kusaṇa forms side by side with older ones" (Mem. Asiat

¹ MAST, No. 1. pp. 14-15. In IHQ, 1929 (p. 601) Mr. Chanda points to the agreement of the Nānāghāţ script with the Besnagar Inscription of the time of Antialkidas. But the exact date of Antialkidas is uncertain. He may have belonged to the latter half of the second century B.C. or the first half of the next century.

the Kāṇva period, i.e., in the first century B.C.—a date which accords with Purāṇic evidence.1

As to the second point Mr. R. D. Banerji gives good grounds for believing that the expression Ti-vasasata occurring in the passage "Pamchame che dāni vase Namdarāja ti-vasa-sata......" of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription means not 103 but 300. This was also the view of Mr. Chanda and, at one time, of Dr. Jayaswal. If Ti-vasa-sata means 300, Khāravela and his contemporary Śātakarņi may have flourished 300 years after Nandarāja, i.e., in or about 24 B.C. This agrees with

Soc., Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 145). According to Rapson (Andhra Coins., lxxvii) the form of the akshara-'da' found in the Nānāghāt record resembles that of a coin-legend which is assignable to the first or second century B.C.

It is not suggested that either Banerji or Rapson placed the Nānāghāţ record in the first century B.C. But some of the facts they have placed before us do not preclude the possibility of a date in the first century B.C. The theory that the record belongs to the second century B.C. rests in some measure on the assumption tacitly accepted by the older generation of scholars that Khāravela's thirteenth year corresponds to the year 165 of the time of the

Maurya kings (Bühler, Indian Palaeography, 39; Rapson, xvii).

¹ Bühler also observes (ASWI., Vol. V, 65) that the characters of the Nānāghāţ inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamīputra śātakarņi and his son Pulumāyi. Scholars who place the Nānāghāṭ record in the first half of the second century B.C., and the epigraphs of the time of Gautamīputra śātakarņi in the second century A.D., will have to account for the paucity of śātavāhana records during a period of about three hundred years (if that be the actual length of the interval between the age of the husband of Nāganikā and the reign of the son of Balaśrī). Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*The Monuments of Sānchī*, Vol. I, pt. iv, p. 277) places the Nānāghāṭ record during the period 100-75 B.C.

2 JBORS, 1917, 495-497-

2 JBORS, 1917, 432; cf. 1918, 377, 385. The older view was changed in 1927, 238, 244. According to the usually accepted interpretation of a passage in the Hathigumpha record Kharavela, in his fifth year, extended an aqueduct that had not been used for "ti-vasa-sata" since Nandarāja. If "ti-vasa-sata" is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed 103-5=98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place 9 years before the date, i.e., 98-9=89 years after Nandarāja (i.e., not later than 324 B.C.-89=235 B.C.). Khāravela's father was apparently on the throne at that time, and he seems to have been preceded by his father. But we learn from Aśoka's inscriptions that Kalinga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra under the suzerainty of Aśoka himself. Therefore "ti-vasasata" should be taken to mean 300, and not 103 years. The figure 'three hundred' (a round number) is in substantial agreement with the Puranic tradition about the interval between the Nandas and Sātakarņi I, 137 (period of the Mauryas)+112 (of the Sungas)+45 (of the Kanvas)+23 (of Simuka)+10 (of Krishna) = 327.



the Purāņic evidence according to which Śātakarņi's father (or uncle) Simuka assailed the last Kāņva king Suśarman (c. 40-30 B.C.).

We now come to the third point, viz., the determination of the exact number of śātavāhana kings, and the

duration of their rule.

Regarding each of these matters we have got in the Purāṇas quite a number of different traditions. As to the first the Matsya Purāṇa says—

"Ekona-vimsatir" hyete Andhrā bhokshyanti vai mahīm,"

but it gives thirty names.3

The Vāyu Purāṇa, with the exception of the 'M'

manuscript, says-

"Ityete vai nṛipās trimšad Andhrā bhokshyanti ye mahīm" (these thirty Andhras will enjoy the earth); but most of the Vāyu manuscripts name only seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen kings.

As to the duration of the Andhra rule several Matsya

manuscripts assign to them a period of 460 years.

"Teshām varsha satāni syus chatvāri shastir eva-cha."

Another Matsya manuscript puts it slightly

differently: -

"Dvādašādhikam eteshām rājyam šata-chatushṭayam" i.e., the period of their sovereignty is 412 years; while the reigns of kings mentioned in certain Vāyu Mss. amount, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, to only 272 years and a half.

Obviously according to one tradition there were about seventeen, eighteen or nineteen kings, whose rule lasted some three centuries, while according to another tradition there were thirty kings, the length of whose reigns covered

¹ Simuka may have ascended the throne (in the Deccan) several years before the date 40-30 B.C. when he assailed the Kāṇvāyanas possibly in Central India. The period of his rule after the defeat of the Kāṇvas may have been less than 23 years. Thus the actual interval between the Nandas and šātakarņi may well have been a little less than 327 years.

² Variant ekona-navatim (DKA, 43).

³ Pargiter points out (p. 36) that 3 Matsya Mss. name 30 and the others vary the number from 28 to 21.

a period of more than 400 years. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the so-called Andhra-bhritya dynasty, and that the longer period represents the total duration of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of about three centuries, and the seventeen, eighteen or nineteen names given in the Vāyu Puraņa, and hinted at in the Matsya, refer to the main branch. That there were several families of Śātavāhanas or Śātakārnis, distinct from the main line that had its principal seat in the upper Valley of the Godavari, cannot be denied. The Kavya Mīmāmsā of Rājašekhara and several other works as well as epigraphs in the Kanarese country and elsewhere testify to the existence of Śātavāhanas and Śātakarnis who ruled over Kuntala1 (the Kanarese districts) before the Kadambas. The fullest Matsya list includes a group of kings (Nos. 10-14), including one named "Kuntala" Śātakarni, who are, generally speaking, passed over in silence by the Vāyu. Skandasvāti, No. 11 of the full list, reminds one of Skandanāga-Šātaka, a prince of a Kanarese line of Śātakarņis mentioned in a Kanheri inscription.3 As to Kuntala Śātakarņi (No. 13), the commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra takes the word "Kuntala" in the name Kuntala Śātakarņi Śātavāhana to mean "Kuntala-vishaye jātatvāt tat samākhyah." It is, therefore, fair to conclude that the Matsya MSS, which mention 30 Śātavāhana kings

¹ A Śātavāhana of Kuntala is referred to by the Kāuya-Mīmāmsā (1934. Ch. X, p. 50) as having ordered the exclusive use of Prākrit in his harem. He may have been identical with the famous king Hāla (cf. Kuntala-janavaya-inena Hālena, ibid., Notes, p. 197).

² Even Hāla (No. 17) is omitted in the Vāyu Ms. (DKA, p. 36) and the Brahmāṇḍa P. (Rapson, Andhra Coins, Ixvii).

³ Rapson, Andhra Coins, liii. The fact that he was a prince at the time of the record need not prove that he never came to the throne. The Purāṇic lists themselves often include names of princes (e.g., Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Siddhārtha) who never ruled as kings. Certain Matsya Mss. insert the group to which Skandasvāti belongs after No. 29, i.e., Chaṇḍaśrī (DKA, p. 36).

^{*}He was so named because he was born in the Kuntala country. Cf. names like Uruvela-Nadi-and Gaya Kassapa (Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 194).



include not only the main group of kings but also those who were closely associated with Kuntala.

On the other hand, the Vāyu, Brahmānda and certain Matsya MSS., generally speaking, show a tendency to omit the Śātavāhanas of Kuntala and the rulers of the period of Saka revival under Rudra-daman I, and mention only about 19 kings most of whom belonged to the main line whose rule may have lasted for about three centuries. If the main line of Śātavāhana kings consisted only of about nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule be approximately three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the time of the later Kāṇvas, that is to say, in the first century B.C., and that his dynasty ceased to rule in the Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The sovereignty of the Śātavāhanas and Śātakarņis of Kuntala lasted longer and did not come to an end probably before the fourth century A.D., when it was ended by the Kadambas. Thus the total duration of the rule of all the lines of Śātakarņis is really more than 400 years. The kings of the Kuntala group (Nos. 10-14 of the DKA list) are no doubt usually placed before the great Gautamiputra and his successors. But Pargiter points out that in certain Matsya MSS. Nos. 10-15 are placed after the penultimate king of the line (No. 29). As to Hala (No. 17) if he is really the author of the Gathasaptasatī, he could hardly have flourished before the fourth century A.D. The references to Vikramāditya-charita, Angārakavāra and Rādhikā make it difficult to assign to him a date before the Great Gautamīputra. We have many other

² DKA, p. 36. On pp. 20, 35. Pargiter gives other instances of 'misplace-ment' of kings by the Puranic MSS.

The period '300 years' (Vāyu P.) may refer to the rule of the Śriparvatiya Andhras (DKA, 46). Even then it is important to remember that the cessation of "Andhra" rule in the upper Decean in the third century A.D. is not incompatible with a date for the founder in the first century B.C. For the rule of the Sātakarņis survived in Kuntala till the rise of the Kadambas. Thus the Purāṇas are right in assigning to the entire line of 30 kings a period of about four centuries and a half.

instances of the inversion of the order of kings in the Purāṇas.¹ The fact that the extant Purāṇic texts do misplace kings appears abundantly clear from the important discovery of a coin of Śiva Śrî Āpilaka whom Mr. Dikshit connects with the later Śātavāhanas though the Purāṇas place him early in the list.¹

1 See pp. 104, 115f ante.

² See Advance, March 10, 1935. p. 9. The coin belongs to the Mahākosala society of Raipur (C.P.). It bears the figure of an elephant with Brāhmi legend on the obverse. The reverse is blank. On numismatic grounds the place of this ruler is according to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, more with the later kings of the dynasty than with the earlier ones as indicated in the Purāṇas. For the late date of Hāla of the Kuntala country see R. G. Bhand. Com. Vol., 189. Cf. Reference to Rādhā in the Saptašatakam (Ind. Ant., III. 25n.).

Mr. K. P. Chattopādhyāya deduces from the discrepant lists of the Matsya, and Vayu Puranas and from epigraphic and numismatic evidence, certain theories about (1) the existence of two contemporary satavahana kingdom ruled by son and father respectively, (2) cross-cousin marriages and (3) matrilineal succession, which he discusses in IASB, 1927, 503ff and 1939, 317-339. In his opinion the discrepancies in the Puranic lists cannot be due to any oversight or slip on the part of the editors (1927, p. 504). They are to be explained by the theory of an original version (that contained in the Matsya) which gives the full list of Gautamīputras as well as Vāsishthīputras, and a "revised text" (contained in the Vāyu and Brahmānda) which retains the Gautamiputras but from which certain names were deliberately expunged as the rulers in question were not considered by the revising authorities to possess the privilege of having the names preserved in the Puranas (ibid., p. 505). Kings (e.g., Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi), whose names are "expunged" from the "revised text" of the Vayu and the Brahmanda Puranas, belong to a "set" which is genealogically connected with the other, viz., the Gautamiputra group, whose names are retained in the revised versions, but "the succession did not coincide with the mode of descent". For instance, Gautamiputra śātakarņi, according to the revised list, was succeeded not by his son Pulumavi, but by another Gautamīputra, viz., Yajna śrī (p. 509). It is further added that 'on the coins of the śātavāhanas the royal prefix and the mother's clan-name are associated together and also disappear together except in the case of the third king of the line'. In the inscriptions also the association is anvariable (excluding the doubtful case of sivamakasada), except in the case of the third king, śrī śātakarņi of the Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions. It is, therefore, to be concluded that, except for the third king of the line, the royal title and relationship to the mother went together. In other words, the succession was matrilineal (p. 518); "The son succeeded to the conquered realm, and the sister's son to the inherited kingdom" (p. 527).

This footnote cannot afford space for an exhaustive review of the dissertation of Mr. Chattopādhyāya. Nor is it concerned with theories and speculations about social organisation based on 'mother right or father right', cross-cousin marriage in general, and royal successions, that are not germane to the discussion about the śātavāhana dynasty. We shall try to confine ourselves to the points that are really relevant to an enquiry about that illustrious line itself. A study of the Purāṇic lists analysed by Pargiter (Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 35ff.) would show that the discrepancies in the Purāṇic lists

Regarding the original home of the Śātavāhana family there is also a good deal of controversy. Some scholars

are not capable of as simple a solution as that proposed by Mr. Chattopadhyāya. It cannot be said, for example, that Gautamīputra (No. 23) is mentioned in all Matsya texts and retained in all Vayu MSS., and that his son Pulumāvi (No. 24) of the so-called "Vāsishthīputra group" is always mentioned in the Matsya and omitted only in "later revised versions" of the Vāyu, etc. Gautamīputra is omitted in Matsya MSS., styled e, k and I by Pargiter (p. 36), and also in the e Vayu MSS., while his son Pulumavi is omitted in Matsya e, f and I MSS, but mentioned in the Vishnu and Bhagavata lists, notwithstanding the activities of the so-called revisers. The theory of succession of sisters' sons in the so-called revised list of the Väyu, Brahmānda, etc., is clearly negatived by numerous passages where a successor is distinctly referred to even in these Puranas as the son of a predecessor (cf. the cases not only of the first Sri Sātakarņi but also of Sātakarņi H. Lambodara, and even Yajña śri (DKA, p. 39, fn. 40, 44; p. 42, fn. 12.). The use of the expression tato (DKA, 39) in the Matsya Purana to indicate the relationship between Satakarni I and Pürnotsanga when taken along with the words tasyāpi Pūrņotsangah (Vishņu IV. 24. 12), and Paurnamāsastu tat sūtah (Bhāg. XII. 1. 21) leaves no room for doubt that Purānic evidence represents Pürnotsanga-Paurnamasa, as the son and immediate successor of \$atakarni I and not a 'distant' offspring or a remote offshoot of a 'cross-cousin marriage', who got the throne by the rule of matrilineal succession. There may be no valid reason as asserted by Mr. Chattopadhyaya for identifying him with Vediśrī of the Nānāghāt record. But the reading Vediśrī as pointed out by K. Sāstrī is wrong. The proper reading is Khandasiri-Skandasrī. This prince has been plausibly identified with Pürnotsanga's successor, the fifth king of the Puranic list. It is, therefore, difficult to agree with the view (JASB, 1939, 325) that the prince in question (the so-called Vediśrī) 'never came to the throne'. Purpotsanga may have been some other 'kumāra'. Cf., the nameless prince (kumāra) 'Śātavāhana' of the Nānāghāt record who is mentioned along with 'Hakusiri' (Śaktiśri). It is also to be noted that even the so-called older version of the Matsya speaks of only 19 kings in one passage.

The Gautamiputras and the Väsishthiputras did not rule over distinct regions. Gautamiputra šātakarņi is represented as the Rājā of Mūlaka, i.e., the district round Paithan, along with other territories. Pulumāvi, too, ruled over Paithan as we learn from the Geography of Ptolemy. The epithets "Vijha.......Malaya-Mahida......pavata pati" and "tisamudatoyapīta-vāhana" applied to Gautamīputra suggest that he was as much entitled to the designa-

tion Dakshināpathapati as his son.

The statement that, except for the third king, the royal title and relationship to the mother went together, is not borne out by recorded facts. In the Myākadoni Inscription, for example (EP. Ind., XIV. pp. 153ff.), we have the passage—Raño Sātavāhanānañ s (i) ri-Pulum (ā) visa without any mention of the metronymic Cf. also the passage Raño Sirichada-sātisa (Rapson, Andhra Goins, p. 32). As to cross-cousin marriages, several recorded cases, e.g., those of the wives of \$rī \$ātakarņi I and Vāsishthīputra \$rī-\$ātakarņi of the Kanheri Inscription, do not support the theory propounded by Mr. Chattopādhyāya. The kings in question may, doubtless, have been polygamous. But that the extra queens, if any, included cousins is only a guess. The marriages actually hinted at in the epigraphic records of the \$ātavāhanas (unlike those of the

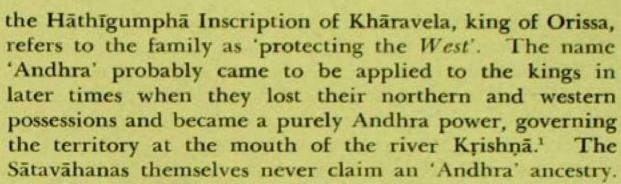
think that the śātavāhanas were not Andhras (Telugus) but merely Andhra-bhrityas, servants of the Andhras, of Kanarese origin. Mr. O. C. Gangoly points out that in some class of literature a distinction is suggested between the Andhras and the Śātavāhanas. Epigraphia Indica. Dr. Sukthankar edited an inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi, "king of the Śātavāhanas," which refers to a place called Sātavahanihāra.3 The place finds mention also in the Hīrahadagalli copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Siva-skandavarman in the slightly altered form of Sātāhani-raṭṭha. Dr. Sukṭhankar suggests that the territorial division Sātavahani-Sātāhani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, and that it was the original home of the Śātavāhana family. Other indications point to the territory immediately south of the Madhyadeśa as the original home of the śātavāhana-śātakarnis. The Vinaya Texts' mention a town called "Setakannika" which lay on the southern frontier of the Majjhima-deśa. It is significant that the earliest records of the Satakarnis are found in the Northern Deccan and Central India; and

Ikshvākus) are not of the 'cross-cousin' type. Indian history knows of cases where a queen or other royal personage takes as much pride in the mother's family as in that of the father (cf. ubhayakulālankārabhūtā Prabhāvatī, JASB, 1924, 58). Does Nāyanikā lay any claim to a Śātavāhana origin? The table of cross-cousin marriage on p. 325 of JASB, 1939, would make Śātakarni (No. 6 of the list) a brother of Nāyanikā and a brother-in-law of Śātakarni (No. 3 of the list) and a son of Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro. This is negatived by the Nānāghāṭ epigraph which refers to the Mahāraṭhi as Amgiya (or Āmbhiya) hulavardhana, whereas both the Śātakarnis belong to the family of Simuka Śātavāhana according to Purāṇic evidence. Gautamī-Balaśrī who is turned into a sister or clan-sister of Śivasvāti (JASB, 1927, 590) refers merely to her position as a badhū, mātā, and pitāmahī, but never for once suggests that she herself sprang from the family restoration of whose glory is referred to in exulting terms.

¹ JAHRS, XI, pp. ¹ and ², pp. ¹⁴⁻¹⁵. The Andhras contributed one melody which is recognised in the musical literature of India as Andhrī, while the Sātavābanas contributed another named after them as Sātavābanī according to the text of the Bṛihat-Desī.

³ Vol. XIV (1917).

³ See also Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1918-19. p. 21, 'On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings.'-V. S. Sukthankar, Cf. JRAS, 1923, 89 f. 4 SBE, XVII, 38.



There is reason to believe that the so-called "Andhra," "Andhra-bhritya" or Śātavāhana kings were Brāhmanas with a little admixture of Nāga blood. The Dvātrimśatputtalikā represents Sālivāhana (Prākrit form of Śātavāhana) as of mixed Brāhmana and Nāga origin The Nāga connection is suggested by names like Nāga-nikā^a and Skanda-nāga-Śātaka, while the claim to the rank of Brāhmaņa is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nāsik prašasti of Gautamîputra Śātakarni the king is called "Eka Bamhana," i.e., the unique Brāhmana. Some scholars, however, are inclined to take Bamhana to mean merely a Brāhmanical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Gautamîputra is also called "Khatiya-dapa-mana-madana," i.e., the destroyer of the pride and conceit of Kshatriyas. The expression "Eka Bamhana" when read along with the passage "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana" leaves no room for doubt that Gautamîputra of the Śātavāhana family not only claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa, but a Brāhmaṇa like

¹ Gf. The transformation of the Eastern Chālukyas into Cholas from the time when Kulottuṅga I mounted the Chola throne. For the origin and meaning of the names Śātavāhana and Śātakarṇi see also Camb. Hist. Ind., Vol. I. p. 599n; JBORS, 1917, December, p. 442n; IHQ, 1929, 388; 1933. 88, 256 and JRAS, 1929, April; also Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, 1938, IX. 2, 327f. Both Barnett and Jayaswal connect them with the Sātiya-putas. Przyluski thinks that the names may have been Sanskritised from Austro-Asiatic terms signifying, "Son of horse". For other interpretations see Aravamuthan, The Kaveri, the Maukharis, p. 51n (karni = ship; Vāhana = Oar or Sail); Dikshitar, Indian Culture, II, 549ff.

[#] Cf. EHD, Sec. VII.

Bühler, ASWI, Vol. V. p. 64 n4.

In Indian Culture, I, pp. 513ff, and Ep. Ind., XXII. 32ff. Miss Bhramar Ghosh and Dr. Bhandarkar seem to reject the interpretation of the expressions "Eka Bamhana" and "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana" proposed by Senart and Bühler. It is suggested that the word bamhana may stand for

Parasurāma who humbled the pride of the Kshatriyas. As a matter of fact in the *prasasti* the king is described as "the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma."

According to the Purāṇas Simuka (c. 60-37 B.C.) gave the final coup de grace to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva power. He was succeeded by his brother Kṛishna (c. 37-27 B.C.). This king has been identified with Kaṇha "Rājā of the Sādavāhana-kula" mentioned in a Nāsik Inscription. The record tells us that a certain cave was caused to be made by a high official (Śramaṇa Mahāmātra) of Nāsik in the time of King Kaṇha.

Brahmanya, that Khatiya may refer to the Xathroi or Khatriaioi tribe mentioned by classical writers, and that the expression Rajarisi-vadhu used in reference to Gautamī Balaśrī is enough to show that the śātavāhana rulers never claimed themselves to be Brahmarshis or Brahmana sages. It is nobody's case that the Satavahanas claimed to be mere "Brahmana sages." But is it not a bit too ingenious to imagine that the well-known terms Brahmana and Kshatriya are not to be taken in their ordinary sense, and that they really stand for non-Brähmanas and non-Kshatriyas? As to the use of the expression Răjarisi-vadhu, would not Brahmarshi be a singularly inappropriate description of a family of kings even though they were Brahmanas? The term Rajarshi is not used exclusively to denote non-Brähmana rulers. In the Padma Purana (Pātāla-khandam, 61, 73), for instance, Dadhīchi is styled a Rājarshi. In the Vayu Purana (57, 121ff.) the epithets "Rajarshayo mahashattvah" are used in reference to Brahma-Kshatramaya nripāh, (Brahma-kshatradayo nripāh, according to the reading of the Matsya text, 143, 37: 40). In the Matsya Purāņa (50. 5.7) the epithet Rājarshi is applied to a king who sprang from the family of the Maudgalyas who are called Kshatropetä dvijātayah and one of whom is styled Brahmishthah. The Annadamangala refers to Krishna Chandra as Rāja-Rājachakravartī Rishi-Rishirāja.

Attention may no doubt be invited to the Purănic statement that the founder of the "Andhra" dynasty was a 'vrishala' (DKA, 38). But the explanation will be found in the Mahābhārata. The great epic (XII. 63. 1ff.) informs us that 'drawing the bowstring, destruction of enemies... are not proper (akārayam paramam) for a Brāhmaṇa. A Brāhmaṇa should avoid royal service (rāja-preshya). A Brāhmaṇa who marries a Vrishalī and takes to royal service (rāja-preshya) and other work not legitimate for him is akarmā, a Brāhmaṇa so-called (Brahma-bandhu). He becomes a śūdra. The sātavāhanas actually drew the bowstring and intermarried with Dravidians and šakas as the Mauryas had intermarried with Yavanas.

1 A pun is here intended as Rāma seems to refer to Bala Deva as well. The use of the name of Rāma instead of Bala (cf. Bala-Keśava in Hariv., Vishņuparva, 52. 20) is significant. Taken in conjunction with ekabamhaṇa it undoubtedly implies comparison with Bhṛigu-Rāma or Paraśu-Rāma as well. The comparison of a militant ruler claiming Brāhmaṇahood and fighting against Kshatriyas, with Paraśu-Rāma is a favourite theme of writers of Praśastis—cf. Bhṛigupatiriva dṛipta kshatrasanhāra-kārin which is applied to Ambāprasad in the Chitor-gaḍh Ins. of 1274 A.D.

Kaņha-Krishņa was succeeded according to the Purāṇas by Sātakarni (c. 27-17 B.C.). This Śātakarni has been identified with—

(1) King Śātakarņi Dakshiņāpatha-pati (lord of the Deccan), son (or nephew) of Simuka Śātavāhana, mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāyanikā¹;

(2) Śātakarņi, lord of the west, who was defied (or

rescued?) by Khāravela, king of Kalinga;

(3) Rājan Śri Śātakarņi of a Sāñchî Inscription;

(4) The elder Saraganus mentioned in the Periplus;

(5) Śātakarņi, lord of Pratishţhāna, father of Śaktikumāra, mentioned in Indian literature; and

(6) Siri-Sāta of coins.2

The first, fifth and sixth identifications are usually accepted by all scholars. The second identification is also probable because the *Purāṇas* place Śātakarṇi, the successor of Kṛishṇa, after the Kāṇvas, i.e., in the first century B.C., while the Hāthīgumphā Inscription seems to place Khāravela 300 years after Nanda-rāja, i.e., possibly in the first century B.C.

Marshall objects to the third identification on the ground that Śrī Sātakarņi who is mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ and Hāthīgumphā Inscriptions reigned in the middle of the second century B.C.; his dominions, therefore, could not, in his opinion, have included Eastern Mālwa (the Sānchî region) which, in the second century B.C., was ruled by the Śuṅgas and not by the "Andhras". But we have seen that the date of the Hāthīgumphā Inscription is possibly the first century B.C. (300 years after Nanda-rāja). The Purāṇas, too, as is well known, place the kings mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ Inscription

¹ The usual view among scholars is that \$\tilde{a}\takarni I is a son of Simuka. If he is a nephew (son of Krishna, brother of Simuka) as the Purāṇas assert, it is difficult to explain why Krishna's name should be omitted from the family group, mentioned in the Nānāghaṭ records, while the name of Simuka as well as that of the father of \$\tilde{a}\takarni's queen should find prominent mention. The final decision must await future discoveries.

² Andhra Coins, Rapson, p. xciii. CHI, 531.

³ A Guide to Sanchi, p. 13.

not earliar than the Kāṇvas, i.e., in the first century B.C. As śuṅga rule had terminated about this time the identification of the successor of Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana family with Śātakarṇi of the Sāñchî Inscription, therefore, does not conflict with what is known of the history of Eastern Mālwa in the second century B.C. Lastly, it would be natural for the first Śātakarṇi to be styled simply Śātakarṇi or the elder Śātakarṇi (Saraganus, from a Prākṛit form like Sāḍaganna), while it would be equally natural for the later Śātakarṇis to be distinguished from him by the addition of a geographical designation like Kuntala, or a metronymic like Gautamîputra or Vāsishṭhîputra.

We learn from the Nānāghāt Inscriptions that Śātakarni, son(?) of Simuka, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the powerful Amgiya or Ambhiya1 family, the scions of which were called Mahārathi, and became sovereign of the whole of Dakshinapatha. He seems also to have controlled Eastern Mālwa and undoubtedly performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The conquest of Eastern Mālwa by his family is possibly implied by coins and the Sāñchî Inscription when read along with the Purāņic statement that in succession to the Śungabhritya Kānvāyana kings, the 'earth'2 will pass to the 'Andhras'. The inscription records the gift of a certain Anamda, the son of Vasithî, the foreman of the artisans of Rajan Siri-Śatakarni.3 Śātakarni seems to have been the first prince to raise the śātavāhanas to the position of paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. Thus arose the first great empire in the Godavarî valley which rivalled in extent and power the Śunga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the Land of the Five Rivers. According to the

1 ASI, 1923-4, p. 88.

3 The conquest of West Malwa is probably suggested by round coins of

ŝrī Sāta (Rapson, Andhra Coins, xcii-xciii).

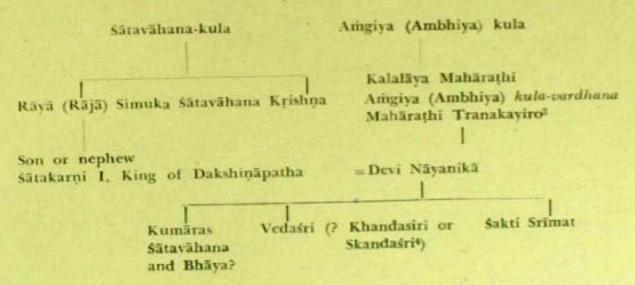
^{*}I.e., the Vidisa, region, etc., in Eastern Malwa. For the connection of the Sungas with Vidisa, see Pargiter, DKA, 49. The Kanvayanas had become King 'among the Sungas' (Sungeshu, DKA, 34), apparently in the Vidisa territory. Cf. also Tewar Coins, IHQ, XXVIII, 1952, 68f.



evidence of Indian as well as classical writers,1 the principal capital of the Śātavāhana Empire was at Pratishthāna, "the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godavari in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad."

After the death of Śātakarni his wife Nāyanikā or Nāganikā, daughter of the Mahārathi Tranakayiro Kalalāya, the scion of the Amgiya (?) family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vedaśri (? Khandasiri or Skandaśrī) and śakti-śri (Sati Sirimat) or Haku-Siri. The last-mentioned prince is probably identical with śakti-kumāra, son of śālivāhana, mentioned in Jaina literature.2

Early Satavahanas



The Śātavāhanas were not the only enemies of the decadent Magadha empire in the first century B.C. We learn from the Hathigumpha Inscription that when Śātakarņi was ruling in the west, Khāravela of Kalinga

¹ Cf. Jinaprabhasuri, Tirthakalpa JBBRAS., X. 123; and Ptolemy. Geography, vii. 1. 82. See also Avašyaka Sūtra, JBORS., 1930, 290; Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, EHD, Sec. VII.

² Vîracharitra Ind. Ant., VIII, 201. ASWI, V. 62n.

³ On page 57 of Rapson's Andhra Coins Kalalaya Maharathi bears the name "Sadakana" (=Sātakarni). His other name or epithet "Tranakayiro" reminds us of "Tanaka" which occurs as a variant of the name of the 18th "Andhra" king of Pargiter's list (DKA, 36, 41).

ASI, AR, 1923-24, p. 88; A. Ghosh, History of Central and Western India, 140. Mr. Ghosh identifies him with the fifth king of the Puranic list.

carried his arms to Northern India and humbled the king of Rājagriha.

Khāravela belonged to the Cheta dynasty. Mr. R. P. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the Vessantara Jātaka. The Milinda-pañho contains a statement which seems to indicate that the Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the Cheta king Sura Parichara agree with what we know about the Chedi king Uparichara.²

Very little is known regarding the history of Kalinga from the death of Aśoka to the rise of the Cheta or Cheti dynasty probably in the first century B.C. (three hundred years after the Nandas). The names of the first two kings of the Cheta line are not clearly indicated in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription. Lüders Ins. No. 1347 mentions a king named Vakradeva (Vakadepasiri or Kūdepasiri?). But we do not know for certain whether he was a predecessor or successor of Khāravela.

During the rule of the second king, who must have reigned for at least 9 years (c. 37-28 B.C.), Khāravela occupied the position of Crown Prince (Yuvarāja). When he had completed his 24th year, he was anointed Mahārāja of Kalinga (c. 28 B.C.). His chief queen was the daughter of a prince named Lalāka, the great-grandson (according to some) of Hathisimha. In the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital, Kalinganagara. In the next year (c. 27 B.C.), without taking heed of Sātakarni, he sent a large army to the west and with its aid, having reached the Krishnavenā, struck terror into the hearts of the people (or city) of Musika (Asika?)-

¹ No. 547-

² Rhys Davids, Milinda, SBE, XXXV, p. 287; Mbh. I, 63, 14. According to Sten Konow (Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, 1923, p. 38) Ceti (not Ceta) is the designation of the dynasty of Khāravela occurring in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription.

³ For Purusha-Yuga (generation) see Hemachandra, Paritishta-parvan, VIII, 326 gāmī purusha-yugāni nava yāvattavānvayah.



nagara. According to another interpretation, "he went to the rescue of śātakarņi and having returned with his purpose accomplished, he with his allies made gay the city." He followed up his success by further operations in the west and, in his fourth year, compelled the Raţhikas and Bhojakas to do him homage. In the fifth year (c. 24 B.C.) he had an aqueduct, that had been opened out goo years back by Nandarāja, conducted into his capital.

Emboldened by his successes in the Deccan the Kalinga king turned his attention to the North. In the eighth year he stormed Gorathagiri (Barābar Hills near Gayā) and harassed (the king of?) Rājagriha. If Dr. Jayaswal is right in identifying this king with Brihaspatimitra, then king Brihaspati must have ruled over Magadha

after the Kānva dynasty.

The attack on Northern India was repeated possibly in the tenth and certainly in the twelfth year. In the tenth year the Kalinga king, in the opinion of some scholars, overran countries in *Bhārat-varsha*, which are surmised to refer to those in Upper India. In the twelfth year he claims to have terrified or harassed the kings of *Uttarāpatha* and watered his elephants in the *Gangā* (Ganges). The north-western expeditions apparently led to no permanent result. But in north-eastern India the Kalinga king was more successful; the repeated blows certainly "struck terror into the Magadhas," and com-

3 Some scholars find here a reference to the Sugaringiya palace (Ep. Ind.

xx. 88).

¹ Cf. Ep. Ind. XX. 79. 87. Barua reads Aśvaka or Rşika (Old Brāhmi Ins., p. 176; Asika IHQ, 1938, 263). Dr. F. W. Thomas, too, finds in the passage no reference to a Musika capital (JRAS, 1922, 83). The alternative interpretation in the next sentence is his. Cf. Bühler, Indian Palaeography, 39.

² Some scholars find in line 8 of the Hāthīgumphā Ins. a reference to the Yavana-raja (Di) ma (ta), i.e., Demetrios who "went off to Mathurā in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble" (Acta Orientalia, I. 27; Cal. Rev., July, 1926, 153). But the reading is doubtful (cf. Barua, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, pp. 17-18; IHQ. 1929, 594). Even if the reading Dimata be correct, the reference may be to Diyumeta or Diomedes (Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, p. 36) and not necessarily to Demetrios.

pelled the Magadha king (Brihaspatimitra?) to bow at his feet.

Having subjugated Magadha, and despoiled Anga, the invader once more turned his attention to Southern India. Already in his eleventh year "he had had Pithuḍa ploughed with a plough drawn by an ass." Levi² identified this city with Pihuṇḍa of the Uttarādhyayana (21), and 'Pitundra metropolis' of Ptolemy in the interior of the country of Masulipatam (Maisoloi). The conqueror seems to have pushed further to the south and made his power felt even in the Tamil country by princes amongst whom the most eminent was the king of the Pāṇḍyas. In the thirteenth year Khāravela erected pillars on the Kumārī Hill (Udayagiri in Orissa) in the vicinity of the dwelling of the Arhats (Khaṇḍagiri?).

SECTION III. THE END OF GREEK RULE IN NORTH-WEST INDIA

While the remnant of the Magadhan monarchy was falling before the onslaughts of the Śātavāhanas and the Chetas, the Greek power in the North-West was also hastening towards dissolution. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eukratides. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, one derived from Demetrios holding for a time Kāpiśa and then Śākala (Śiālkoṭ) with a considerable portion of the Indian interior, the other derived from Eukratides holding Nicaea, Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvatī as well as Kāpiśa (which was conquered from Apollodotos) and Bactria. According to Gardner and Rapson, Apollodotos, Anti-

¹ Barua interprets the passage differently. But cf. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, p. 26.

² Ind. Ant., 1926, 145. Sea-faring merchants are represented as going by boat from Champa to Pihuṇḍa in the days of Mahāvīra, the Jina. Cf. Mbh. 1. 65, 67, 186, VII. 50.

³ It lay on the Jhelum between that river and the Chenāb and was probably conquered by Heliokles in the reign of Strato I (CHI. 553, 699).



machos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Agathokleia,¹ the Stratos, Menander, Dionysios, Zoilos,² Hippostratos and Apollophanes³ probably belonged to the house of Euthydemos and Demetrios. Most of these sovereigns used similar coin-types,⁴ specially the figure of the goddess Athene hurling the thunderbolt, which is characteristic of the Euthydemian line. Pantaleon and Agathokles strike coins with almost identical types.⁴ They both adopt the metal nickel for their coins, and they alone use in their legends the Brāhm² alphabet. They seem, therefore, to have been closely connected probably as brothers. It is not improbable that Agathokleia was their sister.⁴ Agathokles (and possibly Antimachos) issued a series of coins³ in commemoration of Alexander, Antiochos Nikator (Antiochos III

According to some numismatics (CHI, 552) she was probably Menander's queen. But the theory has to explain why the 'evidence' regarding the supposed relationship is so vague (contra Heliokles and Laodike, Hermaios and Kalliope). Cf. Whitehead in Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XX (1940), p. 97, 1950, 216. Whitehead in JAOS, 1950, 216, throws doubt on the conjecture that Agathokles was the mother and not the wife of Strato I. In that case the theory of her marriage with Menander requires more convincing proof than that adduced by Rapson and Tarn.

² "Apollodotos Philopator, Dionysios and Zoilos show a common and peculiar monogram struck probably by the same moneyer in one mint." Hoards of coins of these three princes have been found on the upper Sutlej. Coins of Zoilos have also been found at Pathankot and near śākala (JRAS, 1913, 645nl; JASB, 1897, 8; Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, 316f).

³ Apollophanes shares a monogram with Zoilos and Strato (Tara, Greeks, 317). Polyxenos, too, belongs to this group (p. 318). Whitehead considers him a close relation of Strato I (Indo-Greek Coins, 54n). The later kings of this group are connected with the Eastern Panjäb (EHI, 4th ed., pp. 257-58). Tarn infers from a statement of Plutarch that after the death of Menander the eastern capital was shifted from Sākala to Bukephala (on the east bank of the Jhelum, Tarn, Alexander the Great, Sources and Studies, 236).

For an interesting account of Indo-Greek coin-types see H. K. Deb.

IHQ, 1934, 509 ff.

5 Dancing girl in oriental costume according to Whitehead; Māyā, mother of the Buddha, in the nativity scene according to Foucher (JRAS, 1919, p. 90). Tarn, Greeks, second edition, 527n. Deb finds mural crown; J. Banerji yakshīs.

*Agathokleia is also closely connected with the Stratos, being probably mother or queen of Strato I, and great (?) grandmother of Strato II of the

JRNS, 1950, 216.

According to Tarn (447f) the fictitious Seleukid pedigree is the key to the (pedigree) coin series of Agathokles, the Just. Megas according to Malala), Diodotos Soter, Euthydemos and Demetrios Aniketos (the Invincible).

Apollodotos, the Stratos, Menander and some later kings used the Athene type of coins. Apollodotos and Menander are mentioned together in literature. The author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea says that "to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza (Broach) bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotos and Menander." Again, in the title of the lost forty-first book of Justin's work, Menander and Apollodotos are mentioned as Indian kings.1 It appears from the Milindapañho that the capital of the dynasty to which Menander belonged was śākala or Sāgala." We learn from Ptolemy, the Geographer, that the city had another name Euthymedia or Euthydemia, a designation which was probably derived from the Euthydemian line. An inscription on a steatite casket which comes from Shinkot in Bajaur territory refers to the 5th regnal year of Mahārāja Minadra (Menander). The record proves that in the 5th year of his reign the dominions of Menander probably included a considerable portion of the Trans-Indus territory. The Kāpiśa and Nicaea coins indicate how some of the rulers of the Euthydemian group were gradually pushed to the Indian interior. They had to remove their capital to Śākala.

To the rival family of Eukratides belonged Heliokles and probably Antialkidas who ruled conjointly with Lysias. A common type of Antialkidas is the Pilei of the Dioscuri, which seems to connect him with Eukratides; his portrait according to Gardner resembles that of

1 Rhys Davids, Milinda, SBE, 35. p. xix. Cf. JASB, Aug., 1833.

[&]quot;Iambudīpe Sāgala nagare Milindo nāma Rājā ahosi." "Atthi kho Nāgasena Sāgalam nāma nagaram, tattha Milindo nāma Rājā rajjam kāreti." The form Yonaka from which chronological conclusions have been drawn in recent times, is comparable to Madraka Vrijika (Pārini, IV. 2. 131). The form Yona is also found in the Post-Asokan period (cf. the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros). Doubts were raised by Tarn, Greeks in Bactria and India, 2nd. ed., 538.



Heliokles. It is not improbable that he was an immediate successor of Heliokles.1 A Besnagar Inscription makes him a contemporary of Kāsî (Kośî = Kautsī?) putra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā who ruled some time after Agnimitra probably in or about the latter half of the second century B.C. The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Takshaśilā or Taxila, the place from which his ambassador Heliodoros went to the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra. But his dominions seem also to have included Kāpiśi or Kāpiśa.2 After his death the western Greek kingdom probably split up into three parts, viz., Takshaśilā (ruled by the line represented by Archebios3), Pushkalāvatî (governed by Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenos, Artemidoros, and Peukolaos), and Kāpiśi with the Kābul region held successively by Amyntas and Hermaeus (Hermaios). With Hermaios was associated his queen, Kalliope. Kāpiśa was, according to Chinese evidence, probably occupied by the Sai-wang (śāka lord) some time in the latter part of the second century B.C. But the barbarian chieftain, like the Kushan Yavuga of later times, may have acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Greek Basileas, as Teutonic chieftains in Europe were, during the fifth century A.D., sometimes content with the rank of 'patrician' and 'consul,' under the nominal authority of the titular Roman emperor.

The Greek power must have been greatly weakened by the feuds of the rival lines of Demetrios and Eukratides. The evils of internal dissension were aggravated by foreign inroads. We learn from Strabos that the Parthians deprived Eukratides (and the Scythians) by

Gardner, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, p. xxxiv.

² Camb. Hist., 558.

³ A copper piece of this king is restruck, probably on a coin of Heliokles

⁽Whitehead, p. 39).

^{*} The 'Pallas and thunderbolt' type of his silver coins, probably connects him with the Sākala group, ibid., 64. Among the rulers of the Gandhara region we should perhaps also include Telephos whose coinage resembles that of Maues, ibid., 80. A prince named Nikias apparently ruled in the Jhelum District (EHI, 4th ed., 258), and perhaps other tracts (Num. Chron., 1940. p. 109). But the story of his naval victory over Maues is based on inadequate evidence.

⁵ H. and F.'s Vol. II, pp. 251-253.

force of arms of a part of Bactriana, which embraced the satrapies of Aspionus and Turiva (possibly Aria and Arachosia according to Macdonald). There is reason to believe that the Parthian king Mithradates I penetrated even into India. Orosius, a Roman historian, who flourished about 400 A.D., makes a definite statement to the effect that Mithradates (c. B.C. 171-138) subdued the natives between the Hydaspes¹ and the Indus. His conquest thus appears to have driven a wedge between the kingdom of Eukratides and that of his rival of the house of Euthydemos.

The causes of the final downfall of the Bactrian Greeks are thus stated by Justin: "the Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians (?) they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weaker Parthians."

The Sogdians were the people of the region now known as Samarkand and Bukhārā. They were separated from Bactriana by the Oxus and from the śakas by the Jaxartes or the Syr Daria. By the term Sogdian Justin probably refers not only to the Sogdiani proper but also to the well-known tribes which, according to Strabo, deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, viz., the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, Sacarauli and the Sacae or śakas. The story of the śaka occupation of the Indo-Greek possessions will be told in the next chapter. The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus describes how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the Sarancae (Saraucae) and Asiani, who

¹ In the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 568, however, this river has been identified with a Persian stream, the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil.

² Sten Konow translates the passage from Justin thus: The Bactriaps lost both their empire and their freedom, being harassed by the Sogdians (beyond the Oxus), the Arachoti (of the Argandāb valley of S. Afghanistan), the Drangae (lake-dwellers, near the Hamun Lake) and the Arei (of Herat), and finally oppressed by the Parthians (Corpus, ii. 1, xxi-xxii).

³ Strabo, XI. 8. 8-9.

⁴ H. and F.'s Tr., Vol. II, pp. 245-46. Cf. JRAS, 1906, 193 f.; White-head, Indo-Greek Coins, 171, Bachhofer, JAOS, 61 (1941), 245 (criticism of Tarn).

finally conquered Sogdiana and Bactria. The occupation of Sogdiana probably entitled them to the designation Sogdian used by Justin. Sten Konow suggests the identification of the Tochari of the Classical writers with the Ta-hia of the Chinese historians. He further identifies the Asii, Asioi or Asiani with the Yüe-chi. We are inclined to identify the Tochari with the Tukhāras who formed an important element of the Bactrian population in the time of Ptolemy and are described by that author as a great people.3 They are apparently "the war-like nation of the Bactrians" of the time of the Periplus.

The Drangians, literally 'lake-dwellers', referred to by Justin, inhabited the country about the Hamun lake (Zareh) between Areia (Herat), Gedrosia (Baluchistan) and Arachosia (Kandahār) and the desert of Eastern Persia, close to and perhaps including at times within its political boundaries the neighbouring province now called Sīstān or Seistan (Śakasthāna). Numismatic evidence indicates that a family whose territory lay mainly in southern Afghanisthan, viz., the so-called dynasty of Vonones, supplanted Greek rule in a considerable part of the Helmund valley, Ghazni and Kandahār (Arachosia). Vonones is a Parthian (Imperial) name. Hence many scholars call his dynasty a Parthian family, and some go so far as to assert that this Vonones is the Arsakid king of that name who reigned from A.D. 8 to 14.8 But names are not sure proofs of nationality. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar calls the dynasty śaka. The best name for the family would be

¹ Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 464. Corpus, H. 1, xxii, lvii f.

² Tahia is apparently different from the "Dahae" of the classical writers which, says Macgovern, lay far to the west. According to Trogus the Asiani were the lords of the Tochari (Reges Thocarorum Asiani, JAOS, 61, 246ff; 65. 7111).

¹ Ind. Ant., 1884. pp. 395-96. 1 Schoff, Parthian Stations, 32.

^{*} Corpus, xl; Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 92; MASI, 34- 7. Isidore, places Drangiana (Zarangiana) beyond Phra (Farah), and locates šakasthāna beyond this territory (Schoff, 9). But Herzfeld points out that Sistan is the Achaemenian 'Zrang'

[&]amp; Camb. Short Hist., 69. Isidore of Charax who mentions the revolt of Tiridates against Phraates

Drangian, because the chief centre of their power probably lay in the Helmund valley, Arachosia being ruled by a viceroy. On coins Vonones is associated with two princes, viz.,

(i) Špalahora (Spalyris) who is called Mahārājabhrātā

(the king's brother).

(ii) Śpalaga-dama, son of Śpalahora.

There is one coin which Edward Thomas and Cunningham attributed to Vonones and Azes I. But the coin really belongs to Maues. There is a silver coin of a prince named Spalirises which bears on the obverse the legend Basileus Adelphoy Spalirisoy, and on the reverse "Mahārāja bhrātā dhramiasa Spalirisasa," i.e., of Spalirises the Just, brother of the king. This king has been identified by some with Vonones and by others with Maues. Vonones was succeeded as supreme ruler by Spalirises. The coins of Spalirises present two varieties, viz.,

1. Coins which bear his name alone in both the legends.

2. Coins on which his name occurs on the obverse

(26 B.C.) and is quoted by Pliny (Schoff, Parthian Stations, pp. 5, 13 ff, 17; JRAS, 1904, 706; 1906, 180; 1912, 990) refers (Parthian Stations, 9, para. 18, ZDMG, 1906, pp. 57-58; JRAS, 1915, p. 831; Tarn. The Greeks in Bactria and India, 53) to Sigal in Sacastene (near Kandahar?) as the royal residence of the Sakas (not Parthians) about the beginning of the Christian era. The names of the brother or brothers and nephew of Vonones (or Maues) ruling in southern Afghanistan seem to be Scythian (cf. Rapson quoted in Corpus II. 1. xlii). Thus the local rulers of southern Afghanistan about B.C. 26 or a little later were probably Sakas. It is, however, possible that they acknowledged the supremacy of the great king of Parthia.

1 Corpus, xlii.

² Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Pañjāb Museum (Indo-Greek Coins), p. 93. Num. Chron., JRNS (1950), p. 208n. Smith, Catalogue, 38. Bachhofer (JAOS, 61, 239) and Tarn possibly repeat the mistake (Greeks, 344n 2).

3 Herzfeld identifies the royal brother of Spalirises with Maues (Camb.

Short Hist., 69).

* It should be noted that certain coin-types of Spalirises are found restruck on coins of Vonones (CHI, 574) and on a copper coin of Spalyris and Spalagadama (Corpus, II. 1. xli). This proves that Spalirises was later than Vonones, Spalyris and Spalagadama. The square Omicron on a coin of Spalyris probably points to a date not earlier than Orodes II (55 to 38/7 B.C.). Tarn, Greeks, 326.

in the Greek legend, and those of Azes on the reverse in the Kharoshthi legend.

The second variety proves that Spalirises had a colleague named Azes who governed a territory where the prevailing script was *Kharoshthî*. This Azes has been identified with king Azes of the Pañjāb about whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

As regards the Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks we must refer in the first place to the prince of the house of Pushyamitra who is represented in Kālidāsa's Mālavi-kāgnimitram as defeating the Yavanas on the Sindhu. An Indian named Bhadrayaśas seems to have had some share in the destruction of the Greek kingdom of the Eastern Pañjāb. The Nāsik praśasti of Gautamīputra Śātakarņi represents that king as the destroyer of the Yavanas, apparently of Western India.

The final destruction of Greek rule was, as Justin says, the work of the Parthians. Marshall tells us that the last surviving Greek principality, that of Hermaios in the Kābul valley, was overthrown by the Parthian king Gondophernes. The Chinese historian Fan-ye also refers to the Parthian occupation of Kābul. "Whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien-tchou (India Proper), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa) or Ngansi (Parthia), became powerful, it brought Kābul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kābul Later, Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia."

¹ A Guide to Taxila, p. 14.

² Among the latest Greek rulers of the Kābul Valley we have to include Theodamas whose existence is disclosed by a Bajaur Seal Inscription (Corpus, II, i. xv, 6).

³ In ASI, AR, 1929-30, pp. 36 ff., however, Marshall modifies his earlier views in regard to the conquest of the Greek kingdom of Kābul by the Parthians. He suggests that the Kābul Valley became a bone of contention between Parthians and Kushāns and changed bands more than once before the final eclipse of the Parthian power.

^{*} JRAS. 1912. 676; Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. I. p. 81.

⁵ Cf. Thomas JRAS, 1906, 194. For the results of India's contact with the Hellenic world in the domains of religion, administration, literature, science and art see Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" (Ind. Ant., 1911); Raychaudhuri, "Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, 1st ed."

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The real conquest of Kābul by the Parthians could hardly have taken place till after the time of Isidore (last quarter of the first century B.C.) because the writings of that geographer do not include the Kābul valley in the list of the eastern provinces of the Parthian Empire. By A.D. 43-44, however, Parthian rule had extended to this region as we learn from Philostratos.

p. 106; Foucher, "The Beginnings of Buddhist Art," pp. 9, 111 f; Coomaraswami, "History of Indian and Indonesian Art," pp. 41 f; Sten Konow, "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," Vol. II, Pt. 1. xv; Hopkins, "Religion of India," pp. 544 f; Keith, "The Sanskrit Drama," pp. 57 f; Keith, "A History of Sanskrit Literature," pp. 352 f.; Max Müller, "India—What Can It Teach Us," pp. 321 f; Smith EHI, pp. 251-56; "A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon," Chap. XI; Imp. Gaz., The Indian Empire, Vol. II, pp. 105 f, 137 f, etc.

1 Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, 53; Schoff. The Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax, 17.

CHAPTER VIII. SCYTHIAN RULE IN NORTHERN INDIA

SECTION I. THE SAKAS

In the second and first centuries B.C., Greek rule in parts of Kāfiristān, Gandhāra and possibly the Hazāra country, was supplanted by that of the śakas. In the days of Darius, the Achaemenid king of Persia (B.C. 522-486), the śakas lived beyond Sogdiana (para-Sugdam) in "the vast plains of the Syr Darya, of which the modern capital is the town of Turkestan." But already towards the end of the first century B.C. they were established at Sigal in modern Sīstān.3 The story of their migration from central Asia has been recorded by Chinese historians. The Annals of the First Han Dynasty (Ts'ien Han-Shu) states "formerly when the Hiung-nű conquered the Ta-Yüe-tchi the latter emigrated to the west, and subjugated the Tahia; whereupon the Sai-wang went to the south, and ruled over Kipin." Sten Konow points out that the Sai-wang refer to the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation Saka-murunda, Murunda being a later form of a Saka word which has the same meaning as Chinese "wang," i.e., king, master, lord. In Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word Svāmin,

The name of the saka king who occupied Kipin is

¹ For the Scythian Period, see now a monograph by Johanna Engelberta von Lohuizen de Leeuw.

³ E. Herzfeld, MASI, 34. 3-

² Schoff, Isidore, Stathmoi Parthikoi, 17.

¹ C. 174-160 B.C. according to some scholars.

IRAS, 1903, p. 22; 1932, 958; Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 464. The Saka occupation of Ki-pin must be posterior to the reign of Eukratides and his immediate (Greek) successors.

⁶ Professor Hermann identifies the Sai-wang with the Sakarauloi or Sakaraukoi of Strabo and other classical authors. Corpus. II. 1, xxf. For Murunda see pp. xx.

not known. The earliest ruler of that region mentioned in Chinese records is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted by Yin-mo-fu, the son of the prince of Yung-k'ü,¹ with Chinese help. Yin-mo-fu established himself as king of Kipin during the reign of the Emperor Hsüan-ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B.C., and killed the attendants of an envoy sent in the reign of the Emperor Yüan-ti (B.C. 48-33). In the reign of Chéng-ti (32-7 B.C.) the support of China was sought without success by the king of Kipin, probably the successor of Yin-mo-fu, who was in danger from some powerful adversary, apparently a king of the Yue-chi, who had relations with China about this time as is proved by the communication of certain Buddhist books to a Chinese official in 2 B.C.²

S. Lévi at first identified Kipin with Kaśmîra. But his view has been ably controverted by Sten Konow³ who accepts the identification with Kāpiśa.⁴ Gandhāra was at one time the eastern part of the realm of Kipin. A passage of Hemachandra's Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi seems to suggest that the capital of the Sai-wang (Śaka-Muraṇḍa) was Lampāka or Laghman (Lampākāstu Muraṇḍāḥ syuḥ).⁵ Sten Konow says that according to the Ts'ien Han-shu, or Annals of the First Han Dynasty, the Sai, i.e., the Śakas, passed the Hientu (the hanging passage), i.e., the gorge

¹ The identification of Yung-k'ü with Yonaka (Tarn, 297 and that of Yin-mo-fu with Hermaios (Tarn, 346) are purely conjectural. Mention may be made in this connection of Zonkah in Tibbat (JASB, 1895, 97). But the problem of identification must await future discoveries.

² Cal. Rev., Feb., 1924, pp. 251, 252; Smith, EHI, 3rd cd., p. 258n; JRAS, 1913, 647; Ind. Ant., 1905, Kashgar and the Kharoshthi.

³ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 291.

The country drained by the northern tributaries of the river Kābul, ibid., p. 290; cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, pp. 259-60. The city of Kāpiši probably stood at the junction of the Ghorband and the Panjshir (Foucher, Indian Studies presented to Prof. Rapson, 343). Kipin according to the Tsien Han-shu joins Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia and Persia according to Schoff, Parthian Stations, 41) on the south-west. Corpus, II. 1. xxiv; JRAS, 1912, 684n. Cf. Dr. Hermann (JRAS, 1913, 1058n.) who holds that Ki-pin was Gandhāra. The reference to a gold as well as a silver currency in Ki-pin is worthy of note (Corpus, II. 1, xxiv). Cf. the gold coin of the city of Pushkalāvatī (CHI, 587), and the coin of Athama (442 infra).

* Lampāka (Laghman) is 100 miles to the east of Kapisene (AGI, 49).



west of Skardu on their way to Kipin.¹ Though the śakas wrested parts of Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) from the hands of Greek meridarchs (governors) they could not permanently subjugate Kābul,² where the Basileus (king) maintained a precarious existence. They were more successful in India. Inscriptions at Mathurā and Nāsik prove that the Śakas extended their sway as far as the Jumna in the east and the Godāvari in the south, and destroyed the power of the 'Mitras' of Mathurā and the Śātavāhanas of Paiṭhan.³

No connected or detailed account of the saka potentates of Kipin is possible. Sakas are mentioned along with the Yavanas in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Manusamhitā and the Mahābhāshya. The Harivamsa informs us that they shaved one-half of their heads. The Jaina work Kālakāchārya-kathānaka states that their kings were called sāhi. Some of these 'sāhis' are said to have been induced by a Jaina teacher to proceed to Suraṭṭha (Surāshṭra) Vishaya (country) and Ujjain in Hindukadeśa (India) where they overthrew some local chiefs and ruled for four years till they were themselves ousted by the founder of the era of 58 B.C.

The śakas are also mentioned in the *Praśastis* of Gautamîputra śātakarņi and Samudra Gupta. Their kingdom or empire "Śakasthāna" is probably mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrî* (95), in the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription and in the Chandravalli Stone Inscription of

¹ Ep. Ind., XIV, 291. Corpus, II. 1. xxiii. For possible alternative routes of conquest, see JRAS, 1913, 929, 959, 1008, 1023.

² Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. I, p. 81.

³ Some of the Sakas seem to have penetrated to the far south of India. A Nägärjunikonda Inscription refers to a Saka named Moda and his sister Budhi. Ep. Ind., xx. 37.

⁴ I, 54. 22; IV. 43, 12.

⁵ II, 32, 17.

⁶ X. 44.

⁷ Ind. Ant., 1875. 244.

^{*} Chaps. 14. 16. JRAS, 1906, 204.

⁹ ZDMG, 34. pp. 247ff, 262; Ind. Ant., X, 222.

the Kadamba Mayūraśarman. The passage in the Mathurā inscription containing the word śakasthana runs thus: -Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

Cunningham and Bühler interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit, or in honour, (of the people) of the whole of Sakasthana." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthiawād and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa." He took Sarva to be a proper name and translated the inscriptional passage referred to above as "a gift of Sarva in honour of his home."

Fleet's objection is ineffective. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of śakas in Kipin, i.e., Kāpiśa-Gandhāra.2 As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathura, the site of the inscription, we should note that the Mārkandeya Purāna refers to a Saka settlement in the Madhyadeśa. Dr. Thomas' points out that the epigraphs on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of śaka and Persian nomenclature. The name Mevaki for instance, which occurs in the inscription, is a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes.5 The termination "-ns" in Komūsā and °Śamūśo seems to be Scythic. Dr. Thomas further points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the "whole realm of the Śakas" since we find in the Wardak, Sui Vihār and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, e.g., Sarva

¹ JRAS, 1904, 703f; 1905, 155, 643f; Mr. N. G. Majumdar (JASB, 1924. 17) takes Sakastana, to mean Sakrasthana, i.e., 'the place of Indra.' Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1904, 705.

² Note also the Kāpiśa types of the coins of Maues and Spalirises (CHI, 56on, 562, 591) and the foundation of a Kāpiśa satrapy (Corpus, ii. 1. 150f.).

³ Chapter 58.

⁴ Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 138ff; JRAS, 1906, 207f, 215f.

⁵ Cf. Maues, Moga, and Mavaces, the commander of the Sakas who went to the aid of Darius Codomannus (Chinnock, Arrian, p. 142). Cf. also the coin-name Mevaku (S. Konow, Corpus, xxxiii n.). In the period 106 to 101 B.C. the king of Ferghana bore the saka name of Mu-ku'a (Tarn, Greeks, go8 f.).



sattvanam—'of all living creatures.' As regards Fleet's renderings "svaka" and "sakaṭṭhāna," one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone, honour to somebody's own home. A $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion Capital contains a similar $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ addressed to the chief representatives of the Śaka dominions.

Sakasthāna, doubtless, included the district of Scythia mentioned in the *Periplus*, "from which flows down the river Sinthus (Indus) the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea (Indian Ocean)." The metropolis of "Scythia" in the time of the *Periplus* was Minnagara; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.

Princes bearing śaka names are mentioned in several inscriptions discovered in Taxila, Mathurā and Western India. According to Dr. Thomas "whatever śaka dynasties may have existed in the Pañjāb or India, reached India neither through Āfghānistān nor through Kaśmīra but, as Cunningham contended, by way of Sindh and the valley of the Indus." This theory cannot be accepted in its entirety in view of the inadequate representation of Sind by śaka coins, the Chinese account of the śaka occupation of Kipin and the epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a Scythian Satrapy at Kāpiśi and a śaka principality in the Hazāra country. We cannot also overlook the fact that some of the śaka names hitherto discovered are those of the Northern śakas who lived near the Sogdianoi. The names Maues, Moga and Mevaki, 5

¹ JRAS, 1906, p. 216.

² CHI, 569n. JASB, 1924, p. 14; S. Konow, Corpus, II. i. 13f. The Saka conquest of Ki-pin did not mean the total extinction of the Greek principality in the Kābul region. The History of the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) refers to the existence, side by side, of the kingdoms of Ki-pin and Kābul before the conquest of the latter state by the Parthians. Like the Sātavāhanas, the Greeks of the Kābul territory may have restored their fallen fortunes to a certain extent after the first rush of barbarian invasion had spent its force. It is also possible that Scythian chiefs for a time acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Greek Basileus.

³ Ind. Ant., 1884, pp. 399-400.

[·] Taxila plate.

⁵ Mathurā Lion Capital.

for instance, are variants of the śaka name Mauakes. We learn from Arrian that a chief named Mauakes or Movaces led the "Sacians (śakas), a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwelt in Asia," who lived outside the jurisdiction of the Persian governor of the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, but were in alliance with the Persian king. Chhaharata, Khakharāta or Kshaharāta, the family designation of several satrapal houses of Taxila, Mathurā, Western India and the Deccan, is perhaps equivalent to Karatai the name of a śaka tribe of the North.

The Conquest of the Lower Indus Valley, Cutch and parts of Western India may, however, have been effected by the śakas of Western śakasthana (Sîstan) who are mentioned by Isidore of Charax. The name of the capitals of "Scythia" (which embraced the Lower Indus Valley) and of the kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Sakasthana mentioned by Isidore.2 Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the names of the Western Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line, viz., "Dāman" (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Kārddamaka family from which, according to a Kanheri Inscription, the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kārddama river in the realm of the Persians.3

The earliest śaka kings mentioned in Indian inscrip-

¹ Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 400; cf. Gorpus, II, I. xxxvi: "Kharaosta and Maues would belong to the north-western Sakas of Ki-pin and not to the branch which came to India from Seistän." Cf. xxxiii (case of Liaka).

² JRAS, 1915, p. 830.

³ Shāmasastry's trans. of the Arthasāstra, p. 86, n. 6. cf. Artemis (Ptolemy, 324). Gordomaris, Loeb, Marcellinus (ii, 389). For another view see Ind. Ant., XII. 273 n. The word Kārdamika occurs in the Mahābhāshya (IV. 2. 1. Word Index, p. 275); Kramadīsvara, 747; and Kardamila in Mbh. III. 135. 1. The Kārddama river may be identified with the Zarafshan which flowed through the old Achaemenian Satrapy of Bactria or Balkh. The Uttarakānda of the Rāmāyana (Chs. 100 and 102) connects a line of Kārddama kings with Bāhlī or Bāhlika (IHK, 1933, pp. 37 ff).



tions are, perhaps, Damijada1 and Maues. The latter is usually identified with Moga of the Taxila plate. He is possibly mentioned also in the Maira Inscription.2 Maues Moga was a mighty sovereign (Maharaya). His dominions included Chuksha near Taxila which was ruled by a satrapal, i.e., a viceregal, family. Numismatic evidence points to his sway over Kāpiśi3 and Pushkarāvatī as well as Taxila.4 His satrapas probably put an end to Greek and Indian rule in the country round Mathura. In parts of the Eastern Pañjāb and certain adjacent tracts indigenous tribes like the Audumbaras, Trigartas, Kunindas, Yaudheyas, Ārjunāyanas had begun to assert their independence probably after the collapse of the Euthydemian monarchy. Maues struck coins with the types of Eukratides and Demetrios. But the absence of the Athena Alkis type leads Tarn to surmise that he did not annex Menander's home kingdom (i.e., the district round śākala).5

The dates assigned to Maues by various scholars range from B.C. 135 to A.D. 154. His coins are found ordinarily in the Pañjāb, and chiefly in the western portion of the province of which Taxila was the ancient capital. There can thus be no doubt that Maues was the king of Gandhāra. Now, it is impossible to find for Maues a place in the history of the Pañjāb before the Greek king Antialkidas who was reigning at Taxila when king Bhāgabhadra was on the throne of Vidiśā in Central India for fourteen years. The date of Bhagabhadra is uncertain but he must be placed later than Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, who ruled from cir. B.C. 151 to 143. The fourteenth year of Bhagabhadra, therefore, could not have fallen before c. 129 B.C. Consequently Antial-

¹ Or Namijada, Shahdaur Ins., Corpus, II. i. 14, 16.

² At Maira in the Salt Range, a Kharoshthī Inscription has been found in a well which seems to be dated in the year 58 and possibly contains the word Moasa, 'of Moa or Moga.'

³ Camb. Hist. (Ind.), I. 590 f.

⁴ Ibid., 701.

⁵ Tarn. The Greeks in Bactria and India, 322-330. The conquest of this kingdom may have been effected by Azes I. Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 112; Tarn, GBI, 349; or by Rajuvula, Allan CICAI, 185.

kidas could not have been ruling earlier than the second half of the second century B.C.,1 and his reign could not have ended before 129 B.C. The saka occupation of Gandhāra must, therefore, be later than 129 B.C. All scholars except Fleet identify Maues with Maharaya Moga of the so-called Sirsukh or Taxila plate, dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. The generally accepted view is that the era is of Saka institution. As the era is used only in Northern India and the borderland, it is permissible to conjecture that it came into existence after the Saka occupation of those regions. We have already seen that this occupation could not have taken place before 129 B.C.2 The era used in the Taxila plate could not, therefore, have originated before 129 B.C. The year 78 of the era could not have fallen before B.C. (129-78=) 51. Consequently the rule of Maues-Moga cannot have ended before B.C. 51. He must be placed even later, because we learn from Chinese records that Yin-mo-fu was in possession of Kipin or Kāpiśa-Gandhāra about 48-33 B.C., and he was preceded by Wu-tou-lao and his son. As there is no real ground for identifying Maues-Moga with any of these rulers he will have to be placed after 33 B.C. He cannot perhaps be placed later than the middle of the first century A.D., because we learn from Philostratos and the author of the Periplus that about the time or a little later both Taxila and Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, i.e. the Saka kingdom in the Indus valley, had passed into the hands of the Parthians. It seems, therefore, that Maues-Moga ruled after 33 B.C., but before the latter half of the first century A.D. According to Fleet, Moga flourished in the year 22 A.D.—the year 78 of the era commencing 58 B.C. which afterwards came to be known as the Krita-Mālava-Vikrama era. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled. The Khalatse Inscription of the year 187 (?) of Uvima (? Wema Kadphises) and the Taxila

¹ Cf., now Marshall, Monuments of Sanchi, I, 268n.

² Leeuw suggests that the era of the old saka inscriptions began from the Yue-chi conquest of Bactria c. 129 B.C.



Silver Vase Inscription of the year 191 of Jihonika possibly suggest that the era to which the dates of these inscriptions, and presumably that of the so-called Sirsukh (Taxila) plate of Moga, are to be referred, began much earlier than B.C. 58.

Numismatists say that Maues was succeeded on the throne of Gandhara by Azes who put an end to the remnant of Greek rule in the Eastern Pañjāb by annexing the kingdom of Hippostratos. In the opinion of Marshall he also conquered the Jumna valley where the Vikrama era was in use.1 The coins of Azes are very closely related to the issues of the rulers of the Vonones group, and the assumption has always been made that Azes, the king of the Pañjāb, is identical with Azes, the colleague of Spalirises. Some scholars think that there were two kings of the name of Azes and that the first Azes was the immediate successor, not of Maues, but of Spalirises and that Maues came not only after Azes I, but also after Azes II. But the last part of the theory cannot be accepted in view of the synchronism of Gondophernes and Azes II proved by the fact that Aspavarman served as Strategos, i.e., general or governor, under both the monarchs.2 As Gondophernes ruled in the year 103,3 while Maues-Moga ruled in the year 78,4 and as both these dates are usually referred by scholars to the same era, both Gondophernes and his contemporary Azes II must be later than Maues-Moga. There is no room for Maues-Moga between Azes I and Azes II, because we shall see presently that the succession from Azes I to Azes II is clearly established by numismatic evidence. Maues came either before Azes I or after Azes II; but we have already seen that he could not have reigned after Azes II. He must, therefore, be placed before Azes I. He may have been ruling in the Pañjāb when Vonones was ruling in Sîstān. When Vonones was

¹ JRAS, 1947, 22.

² Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Pañjāb Museum, p. 150.

³ Cf. the Takht-i-Bāhī Inscription. & Cf. the Taxila Plate of Patika.

succeeded by Spalirises, Maues was succeeded by Azes I. We have already seen that Spalirises and Azes I issued joint coins. The relationship between the two monarchs is not known. They may have been related by blood, or they may have been mere allies like Hermaios and Kujūla Kadphises.

King Azes I struck some coins bearing his own name in Greek on the obverse, and that of Azilises in Kharo-shthî on the reverse. Then again we have another type of coins on which the name in Greek is Azilises, and in Kharoshthî is Aya (Azes). Drs. Bhandarkar and Smith postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes similarly was subsequently the subordi-

2 Cf. Whitehead, p. 178; Marshall, Taxila, p. 16.

¹ Rapson on pp. 573-574 of CHI, identifies Azes, the colleague of Spalirises, with Azes II, and makes him the son of Spalirises. On page 572, however, the suggestion is found that Azes II was the son and successor of Azilises. It is difficult to see how the two views can be reconciled. For an inscription of Azes see Corpus, II. i. 17 (Shahdaur Inscription of Sivarakshita). The name of Aja or Aya (Azes) has also been recognised by certain scholars in the Kalawan Inscription of the year 134 and in the Taxila silver scroll record of the year 136. The absence of any honorific title before the name makes it difficult to say whether it refers to a king, and, if it does refer to a king, whether the ruler in question was Azes I or Azes II. Moreover, if Aja or Ava is a royal name, then it would seem, from the analogy of other early Indian epigraphs, that the years 134 and 136 actually belonged to his reign: not years of an era which he founded but of an era which he used. The absence of any honorific title has, however, led some writers to suggest that Aja-Aya was the founder of the reckoning mentioned in the epigraphs, and not the reigning sovereign in the years 134 and 136. The identity of the reckoning with the era of 58 B.C. cannot be regarded as certain, though the theory has many advocates. Another thorny problem is the relation between this reckoning and the reckoning or reckonings used by Moga and Gondophernes. For the Kalawan Inscription see Ep. Ind. XXI. 251 ff.; IHQ, 1932. 825; 1933, 141; India in 1932-33, p. 182.

³ Coins of Azilises are imitated by Mahādeva Dharaghosha Audumbara (CHI, 529). Along with certain caskets discovered in Taxila (ASI, AR. 1934-35, pp. 29, 30) was a silver coin of the dioskouri type of Azilises and a Roman coin issued by Augustus. The deposit was probably made early in the first century A.D. We have here new data for settling the chronology of the Maues-Azes group of kings. It may be remembered that Kadphises I copied the bust of Augustus or one of his immediate successors on his coins. Azilises should not be far removed in date from the Julian Emperors or from the period of Kushān invasion.



nate colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot, therefore, be identical, and they must be distinguished as Azes I and Azes II. Whitehead, however, observes that the silver coins of Azilises are better executed and earlier in style than those of Azes. The best didrachms of Azes compare unfavourably with the fine silver coins of Azilises with Zeus obverse and Dioskouroi reverse, and with other rare silver types of Azilises. If Azilises preceded Azes, then following Dr. Smith we must have Azilises I and Azilises II, instead of Azes I and Azes II. In conclusion Whitehead says that the differences in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign.1 Marshall, however, points out that the stratification of coins at Taxila clearly proves the correctness of Smith's theory, according to which Azes I was succeeded by Azilises, and Azilises by Azes II.2

A notable discovery has unearthed the unique gold coin of a king named Athama. Whitehead has no hesitation in recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises. His date is, however, uncertain.

Unlike most of the Indo-Greek princes,³ the Śaka kings style themselves on their coins Basileus Basileon, corresponding to the Prākrit on the reverse Mahārājasa Rājarājasa. They also appropriate the epithet Mahatasa, corresponding to the Greek Megaloy, which we find on the coins of Greek kings. The title Rājarāja—king of

¹ Inferior workmanship according to some, is a sign of remoteness (from Gandhāra?) rather than of late date (cf. CHI, 569f). G. Hoffmann and Sten Konow not only reject the duplication of Azes, but suggest the identification of Azes with Azilises. According to Marshall Azilises ruled north-westwards as far as Kāpiśi (JRAS, 1947, 25 ff).

² The coins which Smith assigns to Azes II are found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I (JRAS, 1914, 979). For Konow's view, see Ep. Ind., 1926, 274 and Corpus, II. i. xxxix-xl. The name 'Azes' is found in association with several rulers of various dates, while that of Azilises is found only with one (viz., Azes). This possibly points to the plurality of the kings

³ With the exception perhaps of Eukratides one of whose coins bears the legend Maharajasa rajatirajasa Evukratidasa (Corpus, II. i. xxix n), and of a few other rulers including Hermaios (Whitehead, p. 85).

kings—was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the viceroys (satraps) Liaka and Patika of Chuksha (Chach) in the Western Punjab. One of the kings named Azes had under him at least one subordinate ruler, e.g., the Stratagos Aspavarman. The title Satrap or Kshatrapa occurs in the Behistun Inscription of Persia in the form Khshathrapāvan which means 'protector of the kingdom." "Strategos," a Greek word, means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians continued in North-Western India the Perso-Hellenic system of government by Satraps and military governors. Coins and Inscriptions prove the existence of several other Satrapal families besides those mentioned above.

The North Indian Kshatrapas or Satraps may be divided into three main groups, viz.:—

- The Satraps of Kāpiśi, Puspapura and Abhisāraprastha,
 - 2. The Satraps of the Western Pañjāb, and
 - 3. The Satraps of Mathura.

A Māṇikiālā inscription affords the bare mention of a Satrap of Kāpiśi, who was the son of the Satrap Granavhryaka. A Kābul Museum Stone Inscription of the year 83 discloses the name of a Satrap of Puspapura named Tiravharṇa. 'Puspapura', the city of flowers, may have reference to Pushkarāvatī (lotus-city). The name of Śivasena, 'the Kshatrapa in the town of Abhisāraprastha' occurs in the legend of a copper seal ring found in the Pañjāb.' The territory of the three Satraps may have corresponded to Yona, Gandhāra and Kamboja of Ašokan epigraphs.

2 Rapson, Andhra Coins, ci; Ancient India, 141; JASB, 1924, 14. Corpus,

11. 1, 150-1

¹ Cf. Ksha-pāvan of the Rig-veda (Vedic Index, 1. 208). Rāshṭra-pāla of the Arthasāstra and Goptṛi or Desa-goptṛi of the Mālavikāgnimitram and the Gupta inscriptions.

³ Acta Orientalia, xvi, Pars iii, 1937. pp. 234 ff.

⁴ Corpus, II. i. 103.

The Panjab Satraps belonged to three families, viz.—



(a) The Kusulua or Kusuluka Group—It consisted of Liaka and his son Patika, possibly of the Chhaharata or Kshaharāta family, who apparently governed the district of Chuksha. According to Fleet there were two Patikas. But in the opinion of Marshall there was only one viceroy of the name of Patika. The Satrapal line of Kusuluka was intimately connected with the Satraps of Mathurā. The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the

The coins of Liaka Kusuluka show the transition of the district to which they belonged, i.e., a part of Eastern Gandhāra, from the rule of the Greek house of Eukratides to the Śakas. We learn from the Taxila, or the so-called Sirsukh plate, dated in the year 78, that Liaka was a Satrap of the great king Moga and that Patika, his son, was a great

gift-lord (mahādānapati).6

(b) Manigul and his son Zeionises or Jihonika—Numismatists consider them to be Satraps of Pushkalāvatî during the reign of Azes II. But the Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of the year 191 discovered by Marshall in 1927 shows that Jihonika was a Kshatrapa in Cukhsha near Taxila in the year 191 of an era of Śaka (or Parthian?) institution whose exact epoch is not known. The successor of Zeionises was apparently Kuyula Kara.

(c) The House of Indravarman10—It consisted of

¹ Bühler, Ep. Ind., IV, p. 54; Konow, Corpus, II. i. 25-28. Chuksha, according to Stein, is the present Chach in the north of the District of Attock. See also AGP, 63, 126. The Charsadda Inscriptions of the year 303 refers to a grāmasvāmin and satrap (of Chukhsa?) named Avakhajhāda (Konow, Acta Orientalia, XX, p. 108ff).

² IARS, 1907, p. 1035. The existence of at least two Liakas is, however, proved by the Taxila plate and the Zeda inscription (Corpus. II. i. 145). A Lia(ka) appears also to be mentioned in the Mansehra inscription of the year 68. He may have been identical with the father of Patika, Ep. Ind. XXI, 257.

3 JRAS, 1914. pp. 979 ff.

5 Rapson's Ancient India, p. 154.

6 Ep. Ind., XXI, 257; JRAS, 1932, 953n.

8 Ep. Ind., XXI, 255f.

^{*} Cf. Inscription G on the Mathura Lion Capital.

⁷ JRAS, 1928, January, 137 f. Corpus, II. i. 81 f.

⁹ CHI, 582n, 588.

¹⁰ Indravarman has been identified by some scholars with Itravarma, son of Vijayamitra, who is known from certain coins. Vijayamitra is further

Indravarman, his son Aspavarman, and Aspa's nephew Sasa(s) or Sasa(n). Aspavarman acted as governor of both Azes II and Gondophernes, while Sasa(s) served under Gondophernes and Pakores.

The Satraps of Mathurá

The earliest of this line of princes were once believed to be the rulers Hagāna and Hagāmasha. They were supposed to be succeeded by Rājuvula, who may have governed Śākala at an earlier stage. According to Allan' he established himself in Mathurā late in life. The genealogical table of the house of Rājuvula or Rājula as arranged by Sten Konow^a is given below in a foot-note.

Rājuvula or Rājula is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription in Brāhmî characters at Mora near Mathurā calls him a Mahākshatrapa or Great Satrap (viceroy). But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as "king of kings, the Saviour" showing that he probably declared his independence.

Rājuvula was apparently succeeded by his son Śuḍasa, Somdāsa or Śoḍāsa. Inscription B on the Mathurā Lion Capital mentions him as a Kshatrava (Satrap) and as the

regarded as identical with, or a successor of, Viyakamitra, a feudatory of Minedra (Menander). The importance of these identifications, in determining the chronological relation of the Indo-Greeks and the Sakas, is obvious, (Majumder, Ep. Ind., xxiv, 1 ff; Sircar, Select Inscriptions, 102 ff; Ep. Ind. xxvi, 321; Mookerji, CI, XIV, 4, 1948, 205 f. Also Whitehead. Numismatic Chronicle, 1944, pp. 19-104. Apacharaja of the Bajaur inscription is taken by some to mean 'ruler of the West'.

¹ CIC, AI, CXV. ² Corpus II. i. 47.





son of the Mahākshatrava Rajula (Rājuvula). But later inscriptions at Mathurā written in Brāhmi characters call him a Mahākshatrapa. One of these inscriptions gives a date for him in the year 721 of an unspecified era. It is clear that during his father's lifetime he was only a Satrap. But on his father's death some time before the year 72, he became a Great Satrap. Sten Konow adduces grounds for believing that śoḍāsa dated his inscription in the so-called Vikrama era. Consequently the year 72, in his opinion,

possibly corresponds to A.D. 15.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar refers the dates of the Northern Satraps (of Taxila and Mathura) to the Saka era, and places them in the middle of the second century A.D. But Ptolemy, who flourished about that time, places neither Taxila nor Mathurā within Indo-Scythia, i.e., the śaka dominion. This shows that neither Taxila nor Mathura was a saka possession in the second century A.D. The principal Indo-Scythian possessions in Ptolemy's time were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Abhira country in Western India), and Syrastrene (Kāthiāwād).3 This is exactly what we find in the Junagadh inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradāman I, who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. In Ptolemy's time Taxila was included within the Arsa (Sanskrit Uraśā) territory, and Mathurā belonged to the Kaspeiraioi. Dr. Majumdar suggests that Ptolemy probably noticed the Saka empire of Maues and his successors (which included Taxila, Mathurā and Ujjayinî) under the name of 'Kaspeiraioi'.6 But we

The genealogy, as reconstructed by Sten Konow, is not accepted by many scholars. An older view makes Kharaosta the son of a daughter of Rājuvula. For Rājuvula's connection with C. Pañjāb, see Allan, CCAI, 185. Cf. 438 ante.

1 42 according to Rapson. But 72 is preferred by most scholars.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 139-141.

³ Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 354

^{*} Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 348.

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 350.
6 Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. I.
p. 98 n.

should remember that far from including Taxila, Mathurā and Western India within one empire, Ptolemy sharply distinguishes the land of the Kaspeiraioi from Indo-Scythia which was the real Śaka domain in the middle of the second century A.D.¹ Moreover, the territory of the Kaspeiraioi must have included the region below the sources of the Jhelum Chenab and the Ravi, i.e., Kaśmîra and its neighbourhood;² and there is no evidence that the dynasty of Maues ever ruled in Kaśmîra. It was only under the kings of Kanishka's dynasty that Kaśmira and Mathurā formed parts of one and the same empire. As suggested by the Abbé Boyer the Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy evidently referred to the Kushān empire.

We learn from the Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions that when Sudasa, i.e. śodāsa, was ruling as a mere Kshatrapa, Kusuluka Patika was a Mahākshatrapa. As Śodāsa was a Mahākshatrapa in the year 72, he must have been a Kshatrapa before 72. Consequently Kusuluka Patika must have been reigning as a Mahākshatrapa contemporary of the Kshatrapa Sodasa before the year 72. The Taxila plate of the year 78, however, does not style Patika as a Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa. It calls him Mahādānabati (great gift-lord) and gives the satrapal title to his father Liaka.3 Dr. Fleet thinks' that we have to do with two different Patikas. Marshall and Sten Konow on the other hand, hold the view that the Mahādānapati Patika, who issued the Taxila plate, is identical with the Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika of the Mathura Lion Capital, but the era in which the inscription of Sam 72 is dated, is not the same as in the Taxila plate of Sam 78. In other words

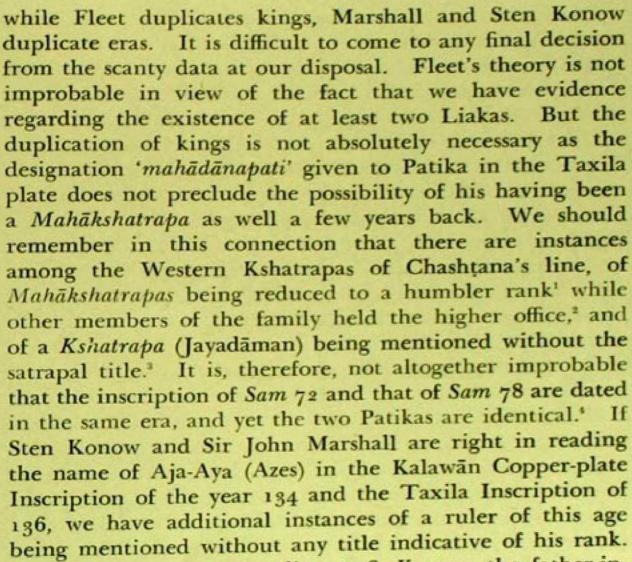
¹ Cf. Ptolemy, Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 354, and the Junagadh Inscription of the Saka ruler Rudradaman.

² Land of Kaśyapa? Rājatarangini, 1, 27. IA. IV, 227. Stein accepts the identification of the territory of the Kaspeiraioi with Kaśmir, but rejects Wilson's assumption that Kaśmir was derived from Kaśyapa Puna (JASB, 1899. Extra 2, pp. 9-13). The evidence of Ptolemy seems to suggest that the city of Kaspeira stood close to Multan. Alberunī (I. 298) in a later age mentions Kaśyapapura as a name of Multan itself.

³ Sten Konow, Corpus, Vol. II, Pt. I, 28, Ep. Ind., XIX, 257.

⁴ JRAS, 1913, 1001n.





Kharaosta was, according to S. Konow, the father-inlaw, and according to Fleet, a grandson (daughter's son), of Rājuvula and consequently a nephew of śodāsa.5 The inscriptions A and E on the Mathura Lion Capital mention him as the Yuvaraya Kharaosta. Sten Know thinks that he was the inheritor to the position as "king of kings"

¹ Cf. Majumdar, The Date of Kanishka, Ind. Ant., 1917.

² Rapson, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc. exxivf.

³ Andhau Inscriptions.

The Rajatarangini furnishes an instance of a son being replaced by his father as king (cf. the case of Partha), and of a king abdicating in favour of his son and again resuming control over the kingdom; cf. the case of Kalasa who continued to be a co-ruler after the resumption of control by his father, and that of Rājā Mānsingh of Jodhpur (1804-43). The cases of Vijayāditya VII (Eastern Chalukya, D. C. Ganguli, p. 104 and of Zafar Khan of Gujarat may also be cited in this connection (Camb. Hist, Ind., III, 295).

⁵ JRAS, 1913, 919, 1009.

a Corpus, 36.

after Moga. His known coins are of two types, presenting legends in Greek characters on the obverse and in Kharoshthi on the reverse. The Kharoshthi legend runs thus: Kshatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa. 'Pra' according to Sten Konow, may be a reflex of Prachakshasa.'

The coins of the family of Rājuvula are imitated from those of the Stratos and also of a line of Hindu princes who ruled at Mathurā. This shows that in the Jumna valley Scythian rule superseded that of both Greek and Hindu princes.

A fragmentary inscription found by Vogel on the site of Ganeshrā near Mathurā revealed the name of Satrap of

the Kshaharāta family called Ghaṭāka.2

The Nationality of the Northern Satraps

Cunningham held that the inscription P on the Mathurā Lion Capital—Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae—gave decisive proof that Rājuvula or Rājula, śoḍāsa and other connected Satraps were of śaka nationality. Dr. Thomas shows, however, that the Satraps of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and śaka domination. This is strongly supported a priori by the fact that Patika of Taxila, who bears himself a Persian name, mentions as his overlord the great king Moga whose name is śaka. The inscriptions on the Lion Capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and śaka nomenclature. Attention may, however, be called here to the fact that in the Harivamśa there is a passage which characterises the Pahlavas or Parthians as "śmaśrudhārinaḥ" (bearded).

¹ Corpus, xxxv. 'prachakshasa' (=epiphanous, " of the gloriously manifest one"), occurs on coins of Strato I and Polyxanos. It is, however, possible that the Sanskrit equivalent of the name of the Satrap is prakhara-ojas, "of burning effulgence."

² JRAS, 1912, p. 121.

³ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 138 ff.; JRAS, 1906, 215f. For Sten Konow's views see Corpus, II. i. xxxvii.

⁴ I. 14. 17.

The passage is also found in the Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. 88, 141.



Judged by this test, kings of the family of Rājuvula and Nahapāna, who are not unofen taken to be Parthians, could not have belonged to that nationality as their portraits found on coins show no traces of beards and whiskers. They were, therefore, almost certainly śakas.

SECTION II. THE PAHLAVAS OR PARTHIANS1

Already in the time of Eukratides, Mithradates I, King of Parthia (c. 171-138/37 B.C.), had probably conquered portions of the Pañjāb or Sind, and in the days of the Śaka Emperors of the family of Maues-Moga, princes of mixed Saka-Pahlava origin ruled as Satraps in Northern India. But it is important to note that Isidore of Charax, possibly a younger contemporary of Augustus, who wrote not earlier than 26 B.C. (reign of Phraates IV and the revolt of Tiridates) and is quoted by Pliny, does not include the Kābul Valley, Sind or the Western Pañjāb within the empire of the Parthians or Pahlavas. The easternmost provinces of the Parthian empire mentioned by that writer are Herat (Aria), Farah (the country of the Anauoi, a segment of Aria (i.e., the Herat Province), the districts between the Lake Hamun and the Helmund (Drangiana and Sakasthāna), and Kandahār (Arachosia or "White India"). Towards the middle of the first century A.D., however, saka sovereignty in parts of Gandhara must have been supplanted by that of the Parthians. In 43-44 A.D., when Apollonios of Tyana is reputed to have visited Taxila, the throne was occupied by Phraotes, evidently a Parthian.2 He was however independent of Vardanes, the great King of Babylon and Parthia (c. 39-

The Parthians (Pārthava, Pahlava) were an Irānian people established on the borders of the district that is today Mazandarān and Khurāsān. About 249/8 B.C. they revolted against the Seleukids under the command of Arshaka (Arsaces), a leader of Seythia (Pope and Ackerman, A Survey of Persian Art. p. 71).

2 Apratihata (Gondophernes) according to Herzfeld and Tarn (Greeks, 341).

47/48 A.D.,1 and himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the "Satrap of the Indus." Christian writers refer to a king of India named Gundaphar or Gudnaphar and his brother Gad who are said to have been converted by the Apostle St. Thomas and who, therefore lived in the first century A.D.2 We have no independent confirmation of the story of the biographer of Apollonios. But the "so-called" Takht-i-Bāhī record of the year 103 (of an unspecified era) shows that there was actually in the Peshāwar district a king named Guduvhara (Gondophernes). The names of Gondophernes and, in the opinion of some scholars, of his brother Gad, are also found on coins.3 According to Rapson the two brothers were associated as sub-kings under the suzerainty of Orthagnes (Verethragna). Sten Konow, however, identifies Orthagnes with Guduvhara himself, while Herzfeld suggests that he was the "unnamed son of Vardanes, mentioned by Tacitus, who claimed the throne against Volagases I about A.D. 55." Dr. Fleet referred the date of the Takht-i-Bahaī (Bāhī) inscription to the Mālava-Vikrama era, and so placed the record in A.D. 47.5 He remarked "there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B.C. 58; instead of having recourse, as in other cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about the same time. This places Gondophernes in A.D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition

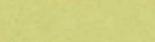
² The original Syriac text of the legend of St. Thomas belongs probably to the third century A.D. (JRAS, 1913, 634). Cf. Ind. Ant., 3. 309.

¹ Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia, 270.

Whitehead, pp. 95, 155. Gondophernes=Vindapharna, "Winner of glory" (Whitehead, p. 146, Rapson and Allan). The king assumed the title of Devavrata. S. Konow, following Fleet, takes the word Gudana on the coins to refer to the tribe of Gondophernes (Corpus, II. i. xlvi).

Gorpus, xlvi; The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 70.

IRAS, 1905. pp. 223-235; 1906, pp. 706-710; 1907, pp. 169-172; 1013-1040; 1913, pp. 999-1003. Cf. the views of Cunningham and Dowson (IA, 4, 307). The discovery of the Khalatse and the Taxila silver vase inscriptions, however, makes the theory of Fleet less plausible unless we believe in the existence of a plurality of Saka-Pahlava eras. Dr. Jayaswal was inclined to place Gondophernes in 20 B.C. But this date is too early to suit the Christian tradition.



which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas, the

Apostle."

The power of Gondophernes did not probably in the beginning extend to the Gandhara region. His rule seems to have been restricted at first to Southern Afghanistan.1 He succeeded, however, in annexing the Peshāwar district before the twenty-sixth year of his reign. There is no epigraphic evidence that he conquered Eastern Gandhara (Taxila) though he certainly wrested some provinces from the Azes family. The story of the supersession of the rule of Azes II by him in one of the Scythian provinces is told by the coins of Aspavarman. The latter at first acknowledged the suzerainty of Azes (II) but later on obeyed Gondophernes as his overlord. Evidence of the ousting of Saka rule by the Parthians in the Lower Indus Valley is furnished by the author of the Periplus in whose time (about 60 to 80 A.D.) Minnagara, the metropolis of Scythia, i.e., the Saka kingdom in the Lower Indus Valley, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out. If Sten Konow and Sir John Marshall are right in reading the name of Aja-Aya or Azes in the Kalawan Inscription of 134 and the Taxila Inscription of 136, then it is possible that saka rule survived in a part of Eastern Gandhara, while Peshawar and the Lower Indus Valley passed into the hands of the Parthians. But the absence of an honorific title before the name of Aja-Aya and the fact that in the record of the year 136 we have reference to the establishment of relics of the Buddha in Takshaśilā "for the bestowal of health on the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Khushaņa," probably suggest that the

¹ JRAS, 1913, 1003, 1010.

² For Fleet's interpretation of "Sa 136 ayasa ashadasa masasa, etc." see JRAS, 1914, 995ff; also Calcutta Review, 1922, December, 493-494. S. Konow thought at one time that ayasa stood for adyasya (=the first). He took the word as qualifying ashadasa. But he changed his views after the discovery of the Kalawan Inscription of 134. He now thinks that the addition ayasa, ajasa does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as 'connected with Parthian rulers' (Ep. Ind., xxi. 255f). He refers the dates 134, 136 to the era of 58 B.C.

years 134 and 136 belong, not to the pravardhamānavijayarājya (the increasing and victorious reign) of Azes, but to a period when his reign was a thing of the past (atītarājya), though the reckoning was still associated with his honoured name. The dating in the Jānībighā inscription (Lakshmaṇa-senasy=ātītarājye sam 83) possibly furnishes us with a parallel.¹

The Greek principality in the Upper Kābul Valley had apparently ceased to exist when Apollonios travelled in India. We learn from Justin that the Parthians gave the coup de grace to the rule of the Bactrian Greeks. Marshall says² that the Kābul valley became a bone of contention between the Parthians and the Kushāns. This is quite in accordance with the evidence of Philostratos who refers to the perpetual quarrel of the "barbarians" with the Parthian king of the Indian borderland in 43-44 A.D.

With Gondophernes were associated as subordinate rulers his nephew Abdagases (in S. Afghanistān), his generals Aspavarman and Sasa(s) or Sasa(n), and his governors Sapedana and Satavastra (probably of Taxila).

After the death of the great Parthian monarch his empire split up into smaller principalities. One of these (probably Sīstan) was ruled by Sanabares, another (probably embracing Kandahār and the Western Pañjāb) by Pakores, and others by princes whose coins Marshall recovered for the first time at Taxila. Among them was Sasa(s) or Sasa(n) who acknowledged the nominal sway of Pakores. The internecine strife among these Parthian princelings is probably reflected in the following passage of the Periplus:—

"Before it (Barbaricum) there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

Epigraphic (and in some cases numismatic) evidence proves that the Pahlava or Parthian rule in Afghanistān,

* ASI, AR, 1929-30, 56ff.

¹ Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 165f.

the Pañjāb and Sind was supplanted by that of the Kushana, Gushana, Khushana or Kushan1 dynasty. We know that Gondophernes was ruling in Peshawar in the year 103 (A.D. 47 according to Fleet, somewhat earlier according to others). But we learn from the Panjtar inscription that in the year 122 the sovereignty of the region had passed to a Gushana or Kushan king.2 In the year 136 the Kushān suzerainty had extended to Taxila. An inscription of that year mentions the interment of some relics of the Buddha in a chapel at Taxila "for bestowal of perfect health upon the Mahārāja, rājātirāja devaputra Khushana." The Sui Vihār and Mahenjo Daro Kharoshthī Inscriptions prove the Kushān conquest of the Lower Indus Valley. The Chinese writer Pan-ku, who died in A.D. 92, refers to the Yueh-chi occupation of Kao-fou or Kābul. This shows that the race to which the Kushāns belonged took possession of Kābul before A.D. 92. It is, no doubt, asserted by a later writer that Kao-fou is a mistake for Tou-mi. But the mistake in Kennedy's opinion would not have been possible, had the Yueh-chi not been in possession of Kao-fou in the time of Pan-ku.3 The important thing to remember is that a Chinese writer of 92 A.D., thought Kao-fou to have been a Yueh-chi possession long before his time. If Sten Konow is to be believed, the Kushans had established some sort of connection with the Indian borderland as early as the time of Gondophernes. In line 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription Sten Know reads "erjhuna Kapasa puyae,"

For a note on the dynastic nomenclature, see R. Schafer, JAOS, 67. 4.

p. 296ff; cf. AOS, 65. 71ff.

³ JRAS, 1912, pp. 676-678. Note also Pan-ku's reference to a man's head on the coins of Ki-pin (JRAS, 1921, p. 685n) which possibly suggests an acquaintance with the coinage of Kuyula Kaphsa (or Kasa?).

² We learn from Philostratos that already in the time of Apollonios (A.D. 43-44) the barbarians (Kushāns?) who lived on the border of the Parthian kingdom of Taxila were perpetually quarrelling with Phraotes and making raids into his territories (The Life of Apollonius, Loeb Classical Library, pp.

⁴ Ep. Ind., XIV. p. 294; XVIII (1926), p. 282. Corpus, II, i. 62. Some regard this "Kapa" as a phantom. It is interesting to recall in this connection a statement of Philostratos (The life of Apollonius of Tyana, Loeb Classical

"in honour of prince Kapa," i.e., Kujūla Kadphises, the Kushān king, who is said to have succeeded Hermaios in the Kābul valley. Kujūla Kadphises has been identified with the Kuei-shuang (Kushān) prince K'iu-tsiu-k'io who took possession of Kao-fou (Kābul) Po-ta and Ki-pin. It appears from numismatic evidence that this Kushān chief was possibly an ally of Hermaios with whom he appears to have issued joint coins. Kadphises seems also to have been at first on friendly terms with the Parthian rulers of Gandhāra. But the destruction of Hermaios' kingdom by the parthians probably supplied him with a casus belli. He made war on the latter and eventually destroyed their power in the north-west borderland of India.

SECTION III. THE GREAT KUSHANS

We are informed by the Chinese historians that the Kushāns (chiefs of the Kuei-shuang or Kouei-chouang principality) were a section of the Yueh-chi⁴ (Yüe-chi) race The modern Chinese pronunciation of the name according to Kingsmill is said to be Yué-ti. M. Lévi and other French scholars write Yue-tchi or Yué-tchi.

We learn from Ssū-ma-ch'ien (the Chinese annalist,

Library, p. 185) that in A.D. 43-44, the Parthian king of Taxila had enlisted the services of certain "barbarians" to patrol his country so that instead of invading his dominions they themselves kept off the "barbarians" that were on the other side of the frontier and were difficult people to deal with. Prince "Kapa" (if the reading and interpretation be correct) may have been at first one of these friendly barbarian chiefs. His date is indicated by his (?) imitation of a Roman emperor's head of a style not later than about A.D. 60 (JRAS, 1913, 918).

1 Or one of his ancestors? Cf. Tarn, The Greeks, pp. 339. 343-

2 Pedigree coins according to Tarn.

Before the Parthian conquest, Kāpiši apparently had to obey, for a time, the rule of Maues and Spalirises (CHI, 590 f.). The Kushāns, the "barbarian" enemies of "Phraotes", may have had a hand in the restoration of Greek rule before its final disappearance in the Kābul valley.

The periods of Yue-chi migration have been discussed by several scholars. The first period of march from Kanshu to the Upper Li, c. 172-161 B.C. Second stage from the Upper Li to the Oxus between 133-129 B.C. The third period began with the conquest of Bactria (c. 129 B.C.) Leeuw, The Scythian Period, pp. 31-33.



who recorded the story of the travels of Chang-k'ien, the famous envoy), that between B.C. 174 and 165 the Yuehchi were dwelling between the Tsenn-hoang (Tun-huang) country and the K'i-lien mountains, or Tien-chan Range, south and east of Lake Issykul in Chinese Turkestan.¹ At that date the Yueh-chi were defeated and expelled from their country by the Hiung-nū who slew their king and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain ruler succeeded to her husband's power. Under her guidance the Yueh-chi in the course of their westward migration attacked the Wu-sun whose king was killed.² After this exploit the Yueh-chi attacked the Śakas on the upper Ili and in the plains of the Jaxartes or the Syr Darya and compelled their king or 'lord' to seek refuge in Kipin (Kāpiśa-Lampāka-Gandhāra).³

Meantime the son of the slain Wu-sun king grew up to manhood and, with the assistance of the Hiung-nu drove the Yueh-chi further west into the Ta-hia territory washed by the Oxus. The Ta-hia, who were devoted to commerce, unskilled in war and wanting in cohesion, were easily reduced to a condition of vassalage by the Yueh-chi who established their capital or royal encampment to the north of the Oxus (Wei), in the territory now belonging to Bukhārā (in ancient Sogdiana). The Yueh-chi capital was still in the same position when visited by Chang-kien in or about B.C. 128-26.

The adventures of Chang-k'ien as related by Ssū-mach'ien in the Sse-ke or Shi-ki (completed before B.C. 91)

¹ Smith says (EHI⁴, p. 263) that they occupied land in the Kansuh Province in North-Western China, See also CHI, 565; Halfen, J. Am. Or. Soc., 65, pp. 71 ff. For the Hiung-nü-Hun Problem, cf. Stein, IA, 1905, 73 f, 84.

² The main section of the Yueh-chi passed on westwards beyond Lake Issykkül, the rest diverged to the South and settled on the frontier of Tibet. The latter came to be known as the "Little Yueh-chi". Eventually they established their capital at Purushapura in Gandhara. Smith, EHI4, 264; S. Konow, Corpus, II, i. lxxvi.

³ A part of the Saka horde apparently seized Ferghana (Ta Yuan) c. 128 B.C. (Tarn, Greeks, 278 n. 4, 279).

^{*} JRAS, 1903, pp. 19-20; 1912, pp. 668 ff.; PAOS, 1917, pp. 89 ff.; White-head, 171; CHI, 459, 566, 701; Tarn, Greeks, 84, 274 n, 277; S. Konow, Corpus II. i. xxii-xxiii, liv, lxii.

were retold in Pan-ku's Ts'ien Han-shu or Annals of the First Han Dynasty that dealt with the period B.C. 206—A.D. 9 or 24, and was completed by Pan-ku's sister after his death in A.D. 92, with three important additions, namely:—

- 1. That the kingdom of the Ta-Yueh-chi had for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Kien-she), to the north of the Oxus, and Kipin lay on its southern frontier.
 - 2. That the Yueh-chi were no longer nomads.
- 3. That the Yueh-chi kingdom had become divided into five principalities, viz., Hi (eo)u-mi (possibly Wakhān² between the Pamirs and the Hindukush), Chouangmi or Shuang-mi (Chitral, south of Wakhān and the Hindukush) Kouei-chouang or Kuei-shuang, the Kushān principality, probably situated between Chitral and the Panjshir country, Hit(h)um (Parwān on the Panjshir) and Kao-fou (Kābul).³

We next obtain a glimpse of the Yueh-chi in Fan-Ye's Hou Han-shu or Annals of the Later Han Dynasty which cover the period between A.D. 25 and 220. Fan-Ye based his account on the report of Pan-young (cir. A.D. 125) and others. He himself died in 445 A.D. The capital of the Yueh-chi was then probably the old Ta-hia (Bactrian) city of Lan-shi, variant Ch'in-shi⁵, to the north of the Oxus.

¹ Cf. Corpus, II i. liv

² A Bakanapati, apparently lord of Wakhān, figures in the inscription of Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kushānaputra Shāhi Vamataksha(ma?) whose identity is uncertain. The title devaputra connects him with the Kanishka Group of Kushān kings, and not the Kadphises Group. ASI, 1911-12, Pt. I. 15; 1930-34, Pt. 2, 288.

³ A later historian regards Kao-fou as a mistake for Tou-mi which, how-ever, was probably not far from Kābul, JRAS, 1912, 669. For the proposed identifications see Corpus, II. i. lvi. Cf. JRAS, 1903, 21; 1912, 669. In Ep. Ind., XXI, 258, S. Konow suggests the identification of Kuei-shuang with Gandhāra or the country immediately to its north.

⁴ Cf. S. Konow, Corpus, liv: "It is accordingly the events of the period A.D. 25-125 which are narrated by Fan-Ye, though there are some additions referring to a somewhat later time in the case of countries which were near enough to remain in contact with China after the reign of emperor Ngan" (107-25). See also Ep. Ind., XXI, 258.

⁵ Alexandria = Zariaspa or Bactria (Tarn, Greeks, 115, 298). JAOS, 61 (1941), 242 n.



Fan-Ye gives the following account of the Yueh-chi

conquest:

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hiung-nū. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five Hsi-h(e)ou or Yabgous, viz., those of Hsiumi, Shuangmi, Kuei-shuang, Hsitun and Tumi. More than hundred years after that, the hsi-hou or Yabgou (Yavuga) of Kuei-shuang (Kushān) named K'iu-tsiu-k'io attacked and annihilated the four other hsi-hou and made himself king or lord (Wang); he invaded Ngan-si (the Arsakid territory, i.e., Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fou (Kābul), overcame Po-ta^a and Ki-pin and became complete master of these kingdoms. K'iu-tsiuk'io died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yenkao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (lit. 'India,' on the banks of a great river, apparently the kingdom of Taxila referred to by Philostratos), and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designated them Kushan after their king, but the Han retained the old name, and called them Ta-Yue-chi."

"K'iu-tsiu-k'io" has been identified with Kujula³ Kadphises (I),⁴ or Kozola Kadaphes, the first Kushān king who struck coins to the south of the Hindukush. Numismatic evidence suggests that he was the colleague or ally,⁵ and afterwards the successor, of Hermaios, the last Greek

1 According to one view the five hsi-hou existed already in Ta-hia when

the Yueh-chi invaded Bactria (JAOS, 65. 72 f.).

3 Cf. Kusuluka. The expression probably means 'strong' or beautiful (S. Konow, Corpus, 1). According to Burrow (The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents, 82, 87) Kujula=Gušura=Vazir. Dr. Thomas (possibly) thinks that

the word Kujula has the sense of 'Saviour'.

4 Pahlavi Kad=chief+pises or pes=form, shape, JRAS, 1913, 632 n.

² Perhaps identical with the country of Po-tai which, in the time of Sung-yun, sent two young lions to the King of Gandhära as present (Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. I, ci). S. Konow (Ep. Ind., XVIII) identified P'u-ta with Ghazni, but later on (Ep. Ind., XXI. 258) suggested its identification with Butkhäk, ten miles east of Käbul.

⁵ Fleet and Thomas, JRAS, 1913, 967, 1034; in the opinion of some scholars Hermaios was dead at the time of the Kushān conquest. Coins bear-

prince of the Kābul valley. The former view that Kadphises conquered Hermaios is, in the opinion of Marshall, wrong. Sten Konow finds his name mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 belonging to the reign of Gondophernes. The inscription probably belongs to a period when the Kushān and Parthian rulers were on friendly terms. But the Parthian attack on the kingdom of Hermaios apparently led to a rupture which ended in war. The result was that the Parthians were ousted by Kadphises I.

Marshall identifies Kadphises I with the Kushan king of the Panjtar record (of the year 122) and the Taxila scroll of the year 136.2 We should, however, remember that in the Taxila inscription of 136 the Kushān king is called Devaputra, a title which was characteristic of the Kanishka group and not of Kadphises I or II unless we identify Kadphises I with Kuyula Kara Kaphsa.3 The monogram on the scroll is by no means characteristic only of coins of the Kadphises group, but it is also found, in Marshall's and S. Konow's opinion, on the coins of Zeionises and Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. If, however, S. Konow and Marshall are right in reading the name of Uvima Kavthisa in the Khalatse inscription of the year 184 or 187, and in identifying him with Vima Kadphises, the king of the Panjtar and Taxila records of 122 and 136 may have been a predecessor of Wema (Vima), and should preferably be identified with Kadphises I. But the reading 'Uvima

ing his name continued, according to this view, to be struck long after he had passed away. Tarn regards the Hermaios-Kadphises coins as "pedigree coins". His view is not accepted by Bachhofer (JAOS, 61, 240 n). Supporters of the 'alliance' theory may point to the gold dollars circulating in Chungking engraved with relief portraits of Marshal Chiang Kaishek and President Roosevelt of the United States (A. B. Patrika, 29-3-1945).

¹ The interpretation of S. Konow is not accepted by Professor Rapson, JRAS, 1930, p. 189.

³ JRAS, 1914. pp. 977-78; Rapson, CHI, 582, identifies the Kushan king of 136 with Vima (i.e., Kadphises II).

³ Mentioned by R. D. Banerji, Prāchīna Mudrā, p. 85. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the reading.

Kavthisa' and his identification with Kadphises II are by no means certain.

Kadphises I probably coined no gold but only copper. His coinage shows unmistakable influence of Rome.1 He copied the issues of Augustus or those of his immediate successors preferably Claudius (A.D. 41-54), and used the titles Yavuga (chief), Mahārāja, Rājātirāja (the great king, the king of kings) and "Sachadhrama thita", "Steadfast in the True Faith" (of the Buddha?).3

"K'iu-tsiu-k'io," or Kadphises I, was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-tchen, the Vima, Wima or Wema Kadphises of the coins, who is usually designated as Kadphises II. We have already seen that he conquered Tien-tchou or the Indian interior, probably Taxila, and set up a chief who governed in the name of the Yueh-chi. According to Sten Konow⁴ and Smith⁵ it was Kadphises II who established the Śaka Era of A.D. 78. If this view be accepted then he was possibly the overlord of Nahapāna, and was the Kushan monarch who was defeated by the Chinese between A.D. 73 and 102 and compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). But there is no direct evidence that Kadphises II established any era. No inscription or coin of this monarch contains any date which is referable to an era of his institution. On the contrary we have evidence that Kanishka did establish an

In one class of his copper coins appears a Roman head which was palpably imitated from that of Augustus (B.C. 27-A.D. 14), Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). or Claudius (A.D. 41-54). JRAS, 1912, 679; 1913, 912; Smith, Catalogue, 66; Camb. Short Hist., 74. Rome and its people, Romakas, first appear in the Mahābhārata (II. 51, 17) and occur not unfrequently in later literature. Diplomatic relations between Rome and India were established as early as the time of Augustus who received an embassy from king 'Pandion' (JRAS, 1860, 309 ff. Camb. Hist. Ind. I. 597) about B.C. 27-20. An Indian embassy was also received by Trajan (A.D. 98-117) shortly after A.D. 99. Strabo, Pliny and the Periplus refer to a brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. See JRAS, 1904, 591; IA, 5, 281; 1923, 50. Pliny deplores the drain of specie (JRAS, 1912, 986; 1913, 644-1031).

² The Cambridge Shorter History, 74. 75-

³ Smith, Catalogue, 67 n.; S. Konow, Corpus, II. i. lxiv f.; Whitehead,

⁴ Ep. Ind., XIV. p. 141.

⁵ The Oxford History of India, p. 128.

era, that is to say, his method of dating was continued by his successors, and we have dates ranging probably from the year 1 to 99.1

The conquests of the Kadphises kings opened up the path of commerce between China and the Roman Empire and India. Roman gold began to pour into this country in payment for silk, spice and gems. Kadphises II began to issue gold coins.² He had a bilingual gold and copper coinage.³ The obverse design gives us a new lifelike representation of the monarch. The reverse is confined to the worship of siva, which was gaining ground since the days of the siva-Bhāgavatas mentioned by Patañjali.⁴ In the Kharoshṭhī inscription Kadphises II is called "the great king, the king of kings, lord of the whole world, the Mahiśvara, the defender."

We learn from Yu-Houan, the author of the Wei-lio⁶ which was composed between A.D. 239-265 and covers the period of the Wei down to the reign of the emperor Ming (227-239),⁷ that the Yueh-chi power was flourishing in Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra), Ta-hia (Oxus valley), Kao-fou (Kābul) and Tien-tchou (India) as late as the second quarter of the third century A.D. But the early Chinese annalists are silent about the names of the successors of Yen-kao-tchen (Kadphises II). Chinese sources, however, refer to a king of the Ta-Yueh-chi named Po-tiao or Puā-d'ieu (possibly Vāsudeva) who sent an embassy to the

² A gold coin of Wima or Vima (NC, 1934, 232), gives him the title Basileus Basileun Soter Megas (Tarn, Greeks, 354 n. 5). This throws welcome light on the problem of the identification of the nameless king Soter Megas.

¹ For criticism of the "Omitted hundreds theory," see JRAS, 1913, 980 f.

A silver piece resembling the ordinary small copper type of Vima Kadphises is also known (Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 174). Other silver coins of the monarch are apparently referred to by Marshall (Guide to Taxila, 1918, 81). A silver coin of Kanishka is also known (ASI, AR, 1925-26, pl. lxf). Smith (EHI¹, p. 270) and others make mention of silver coins of Huvishka.

⁴ V. 2. 76; cf. śaiva, Pāņini, IV. 1. 112.

⁵ As already stated Sten Konow finds the name of Vima (Uvima) Kavthisa (Kadphises?) in the Khalatse (Ladakh) inscription of the year 187(?). Corpus, II. i. 81. The identity of the King in question is, however, uncertain.

⁶ A History of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 220-264).

Corpus, II, i. lv.



Chinese emperor in the year 230.1 Inscriptions discovered in India have preserved the names with dates of the following great Kushān sovereigns besides the Kadphises group, viz., Kanishka I (1-23), Vasishka (24-28), Huvishka (28-60), Kanishka II, son of Vā-jheshka (41), and Vāsudeva (67-98).5 Huvishka, Vā-jheshka and Kanishka II are probably referred to by Kalhana as Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who apparently ruled conjointly. It will be seen that Kanishka II ruled in the year 41, a date which falls within the reign of Huvishka (28-60). Thus the account of Kalhana is confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

In the chronological order generally accepted by numismatists, the Kanishka group succeeded the Kadphises group. But this view is not accepted by many scholars. Moreover, there is little agreement even among scholars who place the Kanishka group after the Kadphises kings. The more important theories of Kanishka's date are given below:

According to Dr. Fleet, Kanishka reigned before the Kadphises group, and was the founder of that reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, which afterwards came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat.6 This view (held at one

¹ Corpus, II, i. lxxvii.

² See JRAS, 1913, 980; 1924, p. 400. "Three Mathura Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushan Dynasty" by Dayaram Sahni; and IHQ, Vol. II (1927), p. 853, "Further Kanishka Notes" by Sten Konow. Ep. Ind., XXIV. 210.

³ If Vāsishka be identical with Vas Kushāņa of a Sāñchī epigraph, his reign (as sub-king) commenced not later than the year 22 as we learn from an inscription of that year on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha (Pro. of the Seventh Session of the I. H. Congress, Madras, p. 135).

See Ep. Ind., XXI, 55 ff.-Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the Year 28. Cf. Ep. Ind., xxiii 35-Hidda Inscription of 28.

⁵ Hyd. Hist. Cong., 164.

For discussions about the origin of the so-called Vikrama era see JRAS, 1913, pp. 637, 994 ff.; Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. xx. (1891), 124 ff.; 397 ff.; Bhand, Com. Vol., pp. 187 ff. CHI, pp. 168, 533, 571; ZDMG, 1922, pp. 250 ff. Ep. Ind. xxiii. 48 ff.; xxvi. 119 ff.; Kielhorn (and now Altekar) adduce evidence which seems to show that the early use of the era, as may be inferred from records with dates that may be recognised to refer to this reckoning, was mainly confined to Southern and Eastern Rajputana, Central India and the Upper Ganges Valley. The name of the era found in the earliest inscriptions recalls designations like that of king KRITA of Penzer, The Ocean of Story, III. 19.

Franke) was accepted by Kennedy, but was ably controverted by Dr. Thomas, and can no longer be upheld after the discoveries of Marshall. Inscriptions, coins as well as the testimony of Hiuen Tsang clearly prove that Kanishka's dominions included Gandhāra, but we have already seen that according to Chinese evidence Yin-mo-fu, and not the Kushāns, ruled Kipin (Kāpiśa-Gandhāra) in the second half of the first century B.C. Allan thinks that "the gold coinage of Kanishka was suggested by the Roman solidus" and that the Kushān monarch can hardly

Kritiya rulers are mentioned by Fleet, JRAS, 1913, 998n. Krita may also have reference to the inauguration of a Golden Age after a period of toil and moil. From the fifth to the ninth century the reckoning was believed to be used especially by the princes and people of Malava. The connection of the name Vikrama with the era grew up gradually and was far from being generally adopted even in the ninth century A.D. The phraseology employed in the poems and inscriptions of the next centuries shows a gradual advance from the simple Samuat to Vikrama Samuat, Sringipa Vikrama Samuat and so on. The change in nomenclature was probably brought about by the princes and people of Gujarāt whose hostility to the Mālavas is well known. The Sātavāhanas could not have founded this or any other era because they always used regnal years, and Indian literature distinguishes between Vikrama and Sālivāhana. As to the claims of Azes, see Calcutta Review, 1922, December, pp. 493-494. Fleet points out (JRAS, 1914, 995 ff.) that even when the name of a real king stands before the statement of the years, so that the translation would be "in the year of such and such a king" he is not necessarily to be regarded as the actual founder of that particular reckoning. The nomenclature of an era, current in a comparatively late period, more than a century after its commencement, is no proof of origins. Therefore, the use of the terms Ayasa or Ajasa in connection with the dates 134 and 136 of the Kalawan and Taxila inscriptions, does not prove that Azes was the founder of the particular reckoning used. His name may have been connected with the reckoning by later generations in the same way as the name of the Valabhi family came to be associated with the Gupta era, that of śātayāhana with the śaka era, and that of Vikrama with the "Krita"-Mālava reckoning itself which commenced in 58 B.C. Regarding the claims of Vikrama see Bhand. Com. Vol. and Ind. Ant., cited above. The Purāṇas while mentioning Gardabhilla are silent about Vikramāditya. Jaina tradition places Vikramāditya after 'Nahavāhana', or 'Nahapāna'. Regarding the contention of Fleet that the Vikrama era is a northern reckoning attention may be invited to the observations of Kielhorn and to a note on Chola-Pāṇḍya Institutions contributed by Professor C. S. Srinivasachari to The Young Men of India, July, 1926. The Professor points out that the era was used in Madura in the 5th century A.D. Kielhorn proves conclusively that the area where the era of 58 B.C. was used in the earliest times did not include the extreme north-west of India.

¹ Thomas, JRAS, 1913; Marshall, JRAS, 1914.



be placed before Titus (79-81 A.D.) and Trajan (98-117 A.D.).1

2. According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kanishka's rule began about 125 or 144 A.D.,2 and ended in the second half of the second century A.D.3 Now, we learn from the Sui Vihār inscription that Kanishka's dominions included a portion at least of the Lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman that the Mahakshatrapa's conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvīra (which included Multān according to the Purāṇas and Alberuni) and even to the land of the Yaudheyas in the direction of the Sutlej. Rudradāman certainly flourished from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as Mahākshatrapa to anybody else (svayam adhigata Mahākshatrapa nāma).4 If Kanishka reigned in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the Sui Vihār region in the Lower Indus Valley with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradaman?5 Again Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 28-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 67-98, suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era ever current in, or

¹ Camb. Short History, p. 77-

² Recently Ghirshman suggested the period A.D. 144-72 for Kanishka (Begram, Recherches Archaeologique et Historiques sur les Kouchans). The argument that India was still in A.D. 125 governed by a Viceroy (and therefore, not by Kanishka or Huvishka) is effectively disposed of by Thomas in JRAS. 1913. 1024. He points out that the historian of the Later Han is obviously referring to the conditions at the time of the invasion of Wima Kadphises, and not to the state of things in A.D. 125.

Dr. Sten Konow's views are difficult to ascertain. In the Indian Studies in honour of C. R. Lanman (Harvard University Press), p. 65, he mentions A.D. 134 as the initial point of the Kanishka reckoning which he and Dr. Van Wijk "have tried to establish" (cf. Acta Orientalia, III, 54 ff.). But in IHQ. III (1927), p. 851, he, along with Dr. Van Wijk, shows a predilection for A.D. 128-29 (cf. Corpus, Ixxvii; Acta Orientalia, V. 168 ff.). Professor Rapson (in JRAS, 1930, 186 ff.) points out the conjectural and inconclusive character of the two Doctors' calculations. "The year 79", says he "seems to be out of the running and a dark horse, the year 128-9, is the favourite."

^{*} Ep. Ind., VIII. 44-

⁵ See IHQ, March, 1930, 149.

known to, North-West India, which commenced in the second century A.D.

3. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thought that the era founded by Kanishka was the Traikutaka-Kalachuri-Chedi era of 248 A.D.1 Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil points out that this is not possible.2 "In fact, the reign of Vasudeva, the last of the Kushāns, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudeva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudeva, was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nagas were Mathura. Kāntipura and Padmāvatī." The Kushān (?) realm in the Indian borderland was, in A.D. 360, ruled by Grumbates3. The theory of Dr. Majumdar cannot, moreover, be reconciled with the Tibetan tradition which makes Kanishka a contemporary of king Vijayakīrti of Khotan, and the Indian tradition which makes Huvishka a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, and hence of a king of the Imperial Śātavāhana line, who can hardly be placed later than the second century A.D., as he is described as 'lord of the three seas' and sovereign of (South) Kośala (in the Upper Deccan).5 Lastly, the catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka state that An-Shih-Kão (148-170 A.D.) translated the Mārgabhūmi Sūtra of Sangharaksha who was the chaplain of Kanishka.5 This shows conclusively that Kanishka flourished before 170

2 Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31.

Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 64n. Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue,

App. II, 4.

¹ For this era see JRAS, 1905, pp. 566-68.

³ EHI⁴, p. 290. The Chionital identified by Cunningham with Kushāns. ⁴ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 142.

⁵ Rajatarangini, I. 173; Harsha-charita (Cowell), p. 252; Watters, Yuan-Chwang, II. p. 200. The epithet trisamudrādhipati which the Harsha-charita (Book VIII) applies to the śātavāhana friend of Nāgārjuna cannot fail to remind one of Gautamīputra Śātakarņi 'whose chargers drank the water of the three oceans' (tisamudatoyapitavāhana), or one of his immediate successors.



- A.D.1 The arguments against the theory of Dr. Majumdar are equally applicable to the surmise of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who placed Kanishka's accession in A.D. 278.
- 4. According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson, J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, Bachhofer^a and many other scholars Kanishka was the founder of that reckoning commencing A.D. 78, which came to be known as the Saka era.3 This view is not accepted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil on the following grounds: -
- (a) If we admit that Kujūla-Kadphises and Hermaios reigned about 50 A.D. and that Kanishka founded the Saka era in 78 A.D. we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reign of Kadphises I and the whole of the reign of Kadphises II.

(But the date, A.D. 50, for Kadphises I is uncertain.

According to the theory of Dr. Majumdar, Vasudeva I ruled from (249+74) 323 to (249+98) 347 A.D. But Chinese evidence places a Po-t'iao (Vāsudeva?) in 230 A.D. The Khalatse Ins. also presents difficulties.

² Bachbofer JAOS, 61, 242.

For the origin of the Saka era see Fleet, CII, preface 56; JRAS, 1913. pp. 635, 650, 987 ff.; Dubreuil, AHD, 26; Rapson Andhra Coins, p. cv; S. Konow, Corpus, II. i. xvi f. Nahapāna, who was not even a Mahākshatrapa in the years 42-45, and who never became a paramount sovereign, could not possibly have been the founder of the era. The theory which represents Nahapāna as the founder of the era used in his inscriptions (dated 42-46) is also contradicted by a Jaina tradition (relied on by Sten Konow, Corpus, II. i. xxxviii) which assigns to him (Nahavāhana) a period of only 40 years. Chashtana has no better claims and the evidence of the Periplus shows that he could not have ruled at Ujjain in 78 A.D. As to the theory that Kadphises II founded the reckoning in question, it may be pointed out that no inscription or coin of this monarch contains any date which is referable to an era of his institution. The only Scythian king who did establish an era in the sense that he used a regnal reckoning that was continued by his successors, is Kanishka. And the only reckoning that is attributed by Indian writers, since the days of the early Chalukyas, to a Scythian king is the Saka era of 78 A.D.

Regarding the objection that the saka era was foreign to the north it may be pointed out that the era of 58 B.C., was equally foreign to the extreme north-west of India. The assertion that the saka era was never used in the north-west simply begs the question. It assumes what it has got to prove, viz., that the reckoning used by the house of Kanishka does not refer to the Saka era. The very name saka points to its foreign, and possibly north-western, origin, as the imperial sakas resided in that region, and it is only the viceroys who dwelt in Malwa Kathiawar and the Deccan. On the analogy of every famous Indian regnal reckoning it may be confidently asserted that the saka era, too, originated with a sovereign and not with a mere viceroy.

Even if we accept it as correct, the period of 28 years is not too short in view of the fact that Kadphises II succeeded an octogenerian. When Kadphises I died "at the age of more than eighty" his son must have been an old man. It is, therefore, improbable that "his reign was protracted.")

(b) Marshall, says Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, has discovered at Taxila in the Chir Stūpa a document dated 136 which, in the Vikrama era, corresponds to 79 A.D., and the king mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka.

(Now, the epithet Devaputra applied to the Kushān king of the Taxila scroll of 136, is characteristic of the Kanishka group, and not of the Kadphises kings.¹ So the discovery need not shake the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A.D. The omission of the personal name of the Kushān monarch does not necessarily imply that the first Kushān is meant. In several inscriptions of the time of Kumāra Gupta and Budha Gupta, the king is referred to simply as Gupta nripa.)

(c) Professor Dubreuil says: "Sten Konow has shown that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to prove that Kanishka reigned in the second century."

(This Kanishka may have been Kanishka of the Ārā Inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the śaka era, would give a date in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao of Sten Konow,² the king of the Yueh-chi who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230, may have been one of the successors of Vāsudeva I. "Coins bearing the name of

² Vāsudeva? Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 141. Corpus, II, i. lxxvii; cf. Acta, II, 133.

I am glad to note that a somewhat similar suggestion is now made by Dr. Thomas in Dr. B. C. Law Volume, II. 312. It is, however, by no means clear why it is said that the possibility of the identification of Devaputra with Kanishka 'bas been ignored'. The Kadphises kings meant here are Kujūla (Kadphises I), and Vima (Wema) and not Kuyula Kara Kaphsa whose identification with Kadphises I is a mere surmise. Kara or Kala probably means a Mahārājaputra, a prince (Burrow, The Language of the Kharoshthī Documents, 82). Even if Kuyula Kara be identical with Kujūla (cf. Corpus, II, i. lxv) and the Kushān king of the Taxila inscription of 136, it may be pointed out that it is by no means certain that the date 136 refers to the Vikrama era.



Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away." Dr. Smith, Mr. R. D. Banerji and Dr. S. Konow himself clearly recognise the existence of more than one Vāsudeva.)2

(d) Sten Konow has also shown that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Saka era are not dated in the same fashion. (But the same scholar also shows that all the inscriptions of the Kanishka era are also not dated in the same fashion. In the Kharoshthi inscriptions. Kanishka and his successors recorded the dates in the same way as their Saka-Pahlava predecessors, giving the name of the month and the day within the month. On the other hand, in their Brāhmi records Kanishka and his successors usually adopted the Ancient Indian way of dating.3 Are we to conclude from this that the Kharoshthi dates of Kanishka's inscriptions are not to be referred to the same era to which the dates of the Brāhmi records are to be ascribed? If Kanishka adopted two different ways of dating, we fail to understand why he could not have adopted a third method to suit the local conditions in Western India. Sten Konow himself points out that in the Saka dates we have the name of the month as in the Kharoshthi records with addition of the Paksha. "The Saka era which (the Western Kshatrapas) used was a direct imitation of the reckoning used by their cousins in the north-west, the additional mentioning of the 'paksha' being perhaps a concession to the custom in the part of the country where they ruled." It is not improbable that just as Kanishka in the borderland used the old Saka-Pahlava method, and in Hindusthan Proper used the ancient Indian way of dating prevalent there, so in Western India his officer added the 'paksha' to suit the custom in that part of the country.)4-

¹ EHI, 3rd ed., p. 272.

² Ibid., pp. 272-78. Corpus, ii. I. lxxvii.

^{*} Ep. Ind., XIV. p. 141. For an exception see ibid., XXI, 60.

* As to the statement of Fleet endorsed by S. Konow. Corpus, lxxxvii.

According to Sten Konow Kanishka came from Khotan¹ and belonged to the Little Yüeh-chi. The theory presents many difficulties.² It is certain that his successors in 230 were still known as the Ta (Great?) Yüeh-chi. The family name according to Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitīkā was Kiu-sha.²

Kanishka completed the Kushān conquest of Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kāpiśa, Gandhāra and Kaśmīra to Benares. Traditions of his conflict with the rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra in Eastern India are preserved by Tibetan and Chinese writers. Epigraphic records give us contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Peshāwar and possibly from Zeda (near Uṇḍ) in the Yuzufzai country, but also from Māṇikiāla near Rāwalpindi, from Sui Vihār about 16 miles south-west of Bahāwalpur (north of Sind), from Mathurā and Śrāvastî, and from Sārnāth near Benares. His coins are found

that the use of the saka era was foreign to Northern India attention may be invited to Kielhorn's List of Ins. of Northern India, Nos. 351, 352, 362, 364-365, 368, 379, etc. So far as North-West India is concerned there is as little positive proof of the early use of the Vikrama era as of the era of 78 A.D. The paucity of early records dated in the saka era in the valley of the Upper Ganges and its tributaries is possibly due to the fact that the era of 58 B.C. already held the field. Later eras of undoubtedly northern origin, like those of the Guptas and Harsha, have practically been forgotten, but the era of 58 B.C. is still in use. In Southern India the case is different. The use of regnal years in the records of the Mauryas (many of which are located in the south) and those of the śātavāhanas, Chetas, and other early dynasties, proves beyond doubt that there was no early reckoning in use that could compete with the new era that was introduced by the saka satraps. The story of the foundation of the Chalukya Vikrama era suggests that the saka reckoning was at times deliberately sought to be discontinued because of its foreign association. This might have happened in the north as well as in the south.

¹ Corpus, II, i. lxxvi; cf. lxi; JRAS, 1903, 334.

² Ibid. p. lxxvii.

³ Cf. Kuśa of Kanika lekha and Kuśadvipa of the Purāņas. See now Shafer, Linguistics in History, JAOS, 67, No. 4, pp. 296 ff.

^{*} Cf. The story of the Chinese hostage mentioned by H. Tsang.

^{*} Ep. Ind., xiv, p. 142; Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 382; Corpus, II, i. pp. 1xxii and 1xxv. The reference may be to Kanishka II.

⁶ In recent years Mr. K. G. Goswami has drawn attention to a Brāhmī Inscription of Kanishka, dated in the year 2 (?), which he found in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad (Calcutta Review, July, 1934, p. 83).



in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipur and Gorakhpur.1 The eastern portion of his empire was apparently governed by the Mahā-Kshatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kshatrapa Vanashpara. In the northern portion we find the general Lala and the Satraps Vespasi and Liaka. He fixed his own residence at Peshawar (Purushapura) and possibly established Kanishkapura² in Kaśmīra. It is, however, more probable that Kanishkapura was established by his namesake of the Ara inscription. After making himself master of the south (i.e., India) Kanishka turned to the west and defeated the king of the Parthians.3 In his old age he led an army against the north and died in an attempt to cross the Tsung-ling mountains (Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīr) between the Pāmīr Plateau and Khotan. The Northern expedition is apparently referred to by Hiuen-Tsang who speaks of his rule in the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains, and of a Chinese Prince detained as a hostage at his court.

It is not improbable that Kanishka was the Kushān king repulsed by general Pan-ch'ao during the reign of the Emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). It has no doubt been argued that Kanishka "must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorius contact with him, their historians would have mentioned it." But if we identify Pan-ch'ao's Kushān contemporary with Kadphises II, the silence of the Chinese becomes still more mysterious and inexplicable because he was certainly well-known to the annalists. On the other hand, Kanishka was not known to them and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-ch'ao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of

¹ A gold coin from Mahāsthāna (Bogra) represents the standing bearded figure of Kanishka—possibly an imitation of the coinage of the great Kushān king.

² Cunningham (AGI², 114) located it near śrīnagar. Stein and Smith identify it with Kānispor, "situated between the Vitastā river and the high road leading from Varāhamūla to śrīnagar" (EHI⁴, p. 275).

³ Ind. Ant., 1903. p. 382.

his predecessor. Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Pan-ch'ao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said with regard to Wema, the events of whose reign, as recorded by Chinese annalists, do not include a first class war with China. The legend of Kanishka's death published by S. Lévi contains a significant passage which runs thus:—"I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission." Have we not here a covert allusion to his failure in the encounter with his mighty northern neighbour?

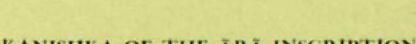
Kanishka's fame rests not so much on his conquests, as on his patronage of the religion of śākyamuni. Numismatic evidence and the testimony of the Peshāwar Casket inscriptions show that he actually became a convert to Buddhism possibly at the commencement of his reign, if not earlier. He showed his zeal for his faith by building the celebrated relic tower and Saṅghārāma at Purushapura or Peshāwar which excited the wonder of Chinese and Muslim travellers. He convoked the last great Buddhist council which was held in Kaśmîra or Jālandhar. But though a Buddhist, the Kushān monarch continued to honour the Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Mithraic, Zoroastrian and Hindu gods worshipped in the various provinces of his far-flung empire. The court

² The fame of the Kanishka Mahāvihāra remained undiminished till the days of the Pāla Kings of Bengal as is apparent from the Ghoshrāvan Inscription of the time of Devapāla. Kanishka's Chaitya is referred to by Alberuni.

¹ EHI4, p. 285; JRAS, 1912, 674.

³ One account possibly mentions Gandhāra as the place where the Assembly met. The earliest authorities seem to locate it in Kashmīr, Kundalavana vihāra appears to be the name of the monastery where the theologians assembled probably under the presidency of Vasumitra. The chief business of the Synod seems to be the collection of canonical texts, and the preparation of commentaries on them (Smith, EHI⁴, pp. 283 ff; Law, Buddhistic Studies, 71).

⁴ See JRAS. 1912. pp. 1003. 1004. The Elamite (Sumerian? Hastings. 5. 827) goddess Nana possibly gave her name to the famous Nāṇaka coins (cf. Bhand., Carm. Lec., 1921. p. 161). For the influence of the Mithra (Mihr.,



of Kanishka was adorned by Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, Charaka, Nāgārjuna, Samgharaksha, Māṭhara, Agesilaos the Greek and other worthies who played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign. Excavations at Māt near Mathurā have disclosed a life-size statue of the great king.

After Kanishka came Vāsishka, Huvishka and Kanishka of the Ārā inscription. We have got inscriptions of Vāsishka dated 24 and 28 which possibly prove his control over Mathurā and Eastern Mālwa. He may have been identical with Vājheshka, the father of Kanishka of the Ārā inscription, and Jushka of the Rājataraṅginī, the founder of the town of Jushkapur, modern Zukur to the north of Śrînagar.

Huvishka's dates range from 28 to 60. A Mathurā Inscription' represents him as the grandson of a king who has the appellation "Sacha dhramathita," i.e., steadfast or abiding in the true Law, which occurs on the coins of Kuyula Kaphsa'. Kalhana's narrative leaves the impression that Huvishka ruled simultaneously with Jushka and Kanishka, i.e., Vā-jheshka and Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41. The Wardak vase

Mihira, Miiro) cult on Kushān India, see Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaishņavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 154. According to Professor Rapson (Andhra Coins, xii) the diversity of coin-types does not show religious eclecticism, but reflects the different forms of religion which prevailed in the various districts of the vast empire of the Great Kushāns. Cf., Asāvari and Bednur types of coins of the time of Iltutmish and of Hyder Ali.

1 For the legend about Kanishka and Aśvaghosha see a recent article by H. W. Bailey (JRAS, 1942, pt. I)—trans. with notes of a fragment of a Khotan Ms. The king's name is spelt Cadrra (Chandra) Kanishka.

² It is possible that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary, not of Kanishka I, but of Kanishka II and Huvishka.

EHI4, p. 272., Cf. Coin-portrait, JRAS, 1912, 670.

*As the Sānchī images may have been brought from Mathura, the findspots need not be regarded as forming necessarily a part of the empire of the king mentioned on the pedestals.

5 EHI4. p. 275.

6 JRAS, 1924, P. 402.

⁷ The epithet is also applied to Amgoka in the Ksharoshthī documents (Burrow, p. 128).

inscription possibly proves the inclusion of Kābul within his dominions. But there is no evidence that he retained his hold on the Lower Indus Valley which was probably wrested from the successors of Kanishka I by Rudradāman I. In Kaśmīra Huvishka built a town named Hushkapura. Like Kanishka I, he was a patron of Buddhism and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā. He also resembled Kanishka in his taste for a diversity of coin-types. Besides a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian deities we have, on one of his coins, the remarkable figure of Roma. A Mathurā inscription refers to the restoration during his reign of a delapidated *Devakula* of his grandfather.

Smith does not admit that the Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 was different from the great Kanishka. Lüders, Fleet, Kennedy and Sten Konow, on the other hand, distinguish between the two Kanishkas. According to Lüders, Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was a son of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of Kanishka I. Kanishka II had the titles Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra and possibly Kaisara (Caesar). It is probable that he, and not Kanishka I, was the founder of the town of Kanishkapura in Kaśmîra.

The last notable king of Kanishka's line was Vāsudeva I. His dates range from the year 67° to 98, i.e., A.D. 145 to 176 according to the system of chronology adopted

2 Cf. Lüders, List No. 62.

³ Camb. Short Hist., 79. Numismatic evidence possibly suggests that the 'lion-standard' was to some of the Great Kushāns what the Garuda-dhvaja was

to their Gupta successors. Cf. Whitehead, 196.

⁵ Mr. M. Nagor makes mention of an inscription incised on the base of a stone image of the Buddha acquired from Pālikherā (Mathura Museum, No. 2907; which records the installation of the image in the year 67 during the reign of Vāsudeva.

¹ It is identified with Ushkūr inside the Bārāmūla Pass (EHI⁴, p. 287).

^{*} Cf. Corpus, II, i. lxxx; 163. Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 143. JRAS, 1913, 98. The mention of a distinguishing patronymic in the record of the year 41, and the fact that no inscriptions of Kanishka are known that are referable to the period 24 to 40 of the era used by the family (when the Kushān throne was occupied by Vāsishka and, possibly Huvishka as a junior partner), suggest that Kanishka of the year 41 is not to be identified with Kanishka of the years 1-23.



in these pages. He does not appear to have been a Buddhist. His coins exhibit the figure of siva attended by Nandi. There can be no doubt that he reverted to saivism, the religion professed by his great predecessor Kadphises II. A king named Vāsudeva is mentioned in the Kāvya Mimāmsā as a patron of poets and a Sabhāpati, apparently 'President of a Society' (of learned men). That the Kushān Age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of śaivism and the allied cult of Kārttikeya, of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the cults of Mihira and of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kāśyapa Mātaṅga (c. 61-68 A.D.).

"The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian

civilization to Central and Eastern Asia."

The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found only in the Mathurā region. From this it is not unreasonable to surmise that he gradually lost his hold over the northwestern portion of the Kushān dominions.

About the middle of the third century A.D., we hear of the existence of no less than four kingdoms all 'dependent on the Yueh-chi,' and ruled probably by princes of the Yue-chi stock.'

1 Cf. Kennedy, JRAS, 1913, 1060 f. Among the successors of Vasudeva I may be mentioned Kanishka (III); Vasu (Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, pp. 211-12; cf. RDB, JASB, Vol. IV (1908), 81 ff; Altekar, NHIP, VI. 14 n) or Vāsudeva II, who is apparently to be identified with Po-tiao A.D. 230 (Corpus, II. i. lxxvii); and Grumbates(?), A.D. 360 (Smith, EHI4, p. 290). Kings claiming to belong to the family of Kanishka continued to rule in Ki-pin and Gandhara long after he had passed away (Itinerary of Oukong. Cal. Rev., 1922, Aug.-Sept., pp. 193, 489). The last king of Kanishka's race was, according to tradition, Lagatūrmān who was overthrown by his Brāhmana minister Kallar (Alberuni, II, 13). For an alleged invasion of India in the later Kushan period by Ardeshir Babagan (A.D. 226-41), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, see Ferishta (Elliot and Dowson, VI, p. 557). Varhran II (A.D. 276-93) conquered the whole of śakasthana and made his son Varhran III Governor of the conquered territory. Sakasthana continued to form a part of the Sassanian empire down to the time of Shapur II. A Pahlavi Inscription of Persepolis, which Herzfeld deciphered in 1923, dated probably in A.D. 310-11, when Shapur II (309-79) was on the throne, refers to the Sassanian

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These were Ta-hia (the Oxus region, i.e., Bactria), Ki-pin (Kāpiśa), Kao-fou (Kābul) and 'Tien-tchou' (lit. India, meaning probably the country on either side of the Indus with a vague suzerainty over a wider area). In 230 the Ta Yueh-chi, i.e., the Great (?) Yueh-chi king Po-tiao sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor. The Yueh-chi kingdom of 'Tientchou' began to fall to pieces some time after this date and probably disappeared as an important power in the fourth century A.D. having already lost some of the remotest provinces to the Nāgas. Those nearer the Indus emerged as petty states. Śakasthāna and parts of North-West India were conquered by the Sassanians in the days of Varhran II (A.D. 276-93). During the early part of the reign of Shāpūr II (A.D. 309-79) the Sassanian suzerainty was still acknowledged in those regions.

SECTION IV. THE NAGAS AND THE LATER KUSHANS

The successors of the Great Kushāns in Mathurā and certain neighbouring tracts were the Nāgas. The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of northern and central India in the third and fourth centuries A.D., is amply attested by epigraphic evidence. A Lahore copper seal inscription of the fourth century A.D. refers to a king named Maheśvara Nāga, the son of

ruler of ŝakasthāna as "šakānsāh, minister of ministers (dabīrān dabīr) of Hind, Sakasthāna and Tukhārishthān" (MASI, 38, 36). The Paikuli Inscription mentions the ŝaka chiefs of North-Western India among the retainers of Varhrān III, Governor of ŝakasthāna in the last quarter of the third century A.D. (JRAS, 1933, 219). The Ābhiras of Western India seem also to have acknowledged the sway of the Sassanians (Rapson, Andhra Coins, exxxiv). J. Charpentier points out (Aiyangar Com., Vol. 16) that at the time of Kosmas Indiko-pleustes (c. 500 A.D.) the right side of the Indus Delta belonged to Persia. Persians figure also in early Chalukya epigraphs and the Raghuvarisša of Kalidāsa.

A Yūpa Inscription from Barnāla (in the Jaipur State) discloses the existence of a line of kings, one of whom bore a name that ended in—Varddhana. They belonged to the Sohartta or Sohartri gotra. But the dynastic designation is not known (Ep. Ind., xxvi. 120). The record is dated in Kṛita 284 corresponding to A.D. 227-28.



Nagbhatta.' The Allahabad Pillar inscription refers to King Ganapati Nāga, while several Vākātaka records mention Bhava Nāga sovereign of the Bhāraśivas whose grandson's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, and who accordingly must have flourished before the rise of the Gupta Empire. Some idea of the great power of the rulers of Bhava Nāga's line and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that the dynasty performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and "were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgīrathi (Ganges) that had been obtained by their valour."2 The valiant deeds of the family culminating in the performance of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices indicate that they were not a feudatory line owing allegiance to the Kushāns. We learn from the Puranas that the Nagas established themselves at Vidiśā (Besnagar near Bhilsa), Padmāvatî (Padam Pawāyā, "in the apex on the confluence of the Sindhu and Pāra).3 Kāntipuri (not satisfactorily identified),4 and even Mathura which was the southern5 capital of Kanishka and his successors. The greatest of the Nāga Kings was perhaps Chandrāmśa, 'the second Nakhavant,' whose name reminds us of the great king Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription. It is by no means clear that the two are identical. But if Chandra preceded the

Fleet, CH, p. 283.

² CII, p. 241; AHD, p. 72.

³ Coins of a Mahārāja or Adhirāja named Bhavanāga have been found at this place. His identity with Bhavanāga of Vākāṭaka epigraphs proposed by Dr. Altekar (J. Num. S. I, V. pt. II) must await future discoveries.

Mention is made of a Kantipuri in the Skanda Purāna (Nāgarakhanda, ch. 47, 4ff). In the story narrated in the text a petty prince of Kantipuri 'marries a princess of Dasarna, the valley of the Dhasan, in Eastern Malwa which, in the time of the Meghadūta, included Vidišā. Kāntipurī probably lav not far from the last-mentioned city.

⁵ JRAS, 1905, P. 233-

Nrpan Vidišakāms c=āpi bhavişyāmstu nibodhata Sesasya Naga-rājasya putrah para puranjayah. Bhogi bhavisyate (?) rājā nṛpo Nāga-kul odvahah Sadācandras tu Chandrāmso dvitīyo Nakhavāms tathā," -Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

⁷ Devotion to Vishnu may suggest identification with Chandra-Gupta I, or

rise of the Gupta empire, it is natural to seek a reference to him in the Purāṇic texts which were not compiled till the Gupta-Vākātaka age.

The hand of a Nāga princess was sought by Chandra Gupta II in the fourth century, and a 'Nāga' officer governed the Gangetic Doab as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.' The Kushāns, however, continued to rule in the Kābul valley and parts of the Indian borderland. One of them gave his daughter in marriage to Hormisdas (or Hormuzd) II, the Sassanian King of Persia (A.D. 301-09). As already stated Varhran II (A.D. 276-93) and his successors up to the time of Shāpūr II seem to have exercised suzerainty over their Scythic neighbours. "When Shāpūr II besieged Amida in A.D. 350, Indian elephants served under his command."2 Shortly afterwards the Sassanian supremacy was replaced by that of the Guptas, and the "Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi," i.e., the Kushan monarch or monarchs of the North-West sent valuable presents to Samudra Gupta.3 In the fifth century the Kidara Kushans established their rule over Gandhāra and Kaśmīra.* In the sixth century the Kushans had to fight hard against the Huns and in the following centuries, against the Muslims. In the

preferably, Chandra II. But then we have to explain the significant omission of the termination-gupta in this memorable prasasti and the epithet Dhāva, especially as Chandra-Gupta II is known as Devagupta or Devarāja and not Dhāva. One should note also the claim to have acquired adhirājya and victory over a Trans-Indus people by his own prowess and not as a sequel to the power and prestige won by a line of distinguished ancestors. The Vishnuite association of this great King precludes the possibility of identification with Chandra Kanishka. Identification with the first Maurya is fantastic an view of the date of the epigraph and recorded achievements of the hero which do not include the overthrow of the Nandas and clash with the Yavanas.

¹ For later traces of N\u00e4ga rule, see Bom. Gaz., 1, 2, pp. 281, 292, 313, 574;
Ep. Ind., N, 25.

² JRAS, 1913. p. 1062. Smith (EHI⁴, p. 290) and Herzfeld (MASI, 38, 36) give the date A. D. 360.

³ Cf. also JASB, 1908, 93

⁴ Or probably earlier (about the middle of the fourth century according to Altekar, NHIP, VI. 21).

⁵ JRAS, 1913, p. 1064. Smith, Catalogue 64, 89. R. D. Banerji, JASB, 1908, 91.



ninth century A.D. a powerful Muslim dynasty, that of the Saffārids, was established in Sīstān (Seistan) and the sway of the family soon extended to Ghazni, Zābulistān, Herat, Balkh and Bamiyan.¹ The later kings of the race of Kanishka seem to have had one residence in Gandhāra at the city of Uṇḍ, Ohind, Waihand or Udabhāṇḍa, on the Indus. Another capital was situated in the Kābul valley. The family was finally extinguished by the Brāhmaṇa Kallār or Lalliya who founded the Hindu Shāhiyya dynasty towards the close of the ninth century A.D. A part of the kingdom of Kābul fell into the hands of Alptigin in tenth century.²

¹ Nazim, The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud. 186.

² Nazim op. cit., p. 26.

CHAPTER IX. SCYTHIAN RULE IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

SECTION 1. THE KSHAHARĀTAS

We have seen that in the second and first centuries B.C., the Scythians possessed Ki-pin (Kāpiśā-Gandhāra) and śakasthāna (Seistan) and soon extended their sway over a large part of Northern India. The principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the north. But a Satrapal family the Kshaharātas, extended their power to Western India and the Deccan, and wrested parts of Mahārāshtra from the Śātavāhanas. The Śātavāhana king apparently retired to the southern part of his dominions, probable to the Janapada of the Bellary District which came to be known as śātavāhanihāra. and was at one time under the direct administration of a military governor (mahāsenāpati) named Skanda-nāga.1 The waning power of the indigenous rulers of the Deccan and the waxing strength of the invaders seem to be hinted at in the following lines of the Periplus:

"The city of Calliena (Kalyāna) in the time of the elder Saraganus (probable Śātakarni I) became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandanes (possible Sunandana Śātakarni)² the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza (Broach) under guard."

The name of the Scythian conquerors of the Broach region and of Mahārashṭra, Kshaharāta, seems to be identical with "Karatai," the designation of a famous

¹ Ep. Ind. XIV, 155.

² Wilson in JASB, 1904. 272; Smith ZDMG, Sept., 1903; IHQ, 1932, 234; JBORS, 1932, 7f. The adjective 'elder' becomes pointless unless the passage mentions a younger Saraganus, and this person can only refer to Sandanes from whom the elder king is distinguished.



Saka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy.

The known members of the Kshaharāta, Khakharāta, or Chaharata family are Liaka, Patika, Ghaṭāka, Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. Of these Liaka, Patika, and Ghaṭāka belonged to the Taxila and Mathurā regions respectively. Bhūmaka was a Kshatrapa of Kāṭhiāwār. Rapson says that he preceded Nahapāna. His coin-types are "arrow, discus and thunderbolt." These types have been compared with the reverse type "discus, bow and arrow" of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes (I).

Nahapāna was the greatest of the Kshaharāta Satraps. Eight Cave Inscriptions discovered at Pandulena, near Nāsik, Junnar and Karle (in the Poona district) prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Mahārāshtra within his dominions. Seven of these inscriptions describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta) the śaka, while the eighth inscription specifies the charitable works of Ayama, the Amatya (minister or district officer). Ushavadāta's inscriptions indicate that Nahapāna's political influence probably extended from Poona (in Mahārāshtra) and Sūrpāraka (in North Konkan) to Prabhāsa in Kāthiāwār, Mandasor (Daśapura) and Ujjain in Mālwa and the district of Ajmer including Pushkara, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushavadāta resorted for consecration after his victory over the Mālayas or Mālavas.

The Nāsik records give the dates 41, 42, and 45, of an unspecified era, and call Nahapāna a Kshatrapa, while the Junnar epigraph of Ayama specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapāna as Mahākshatrapa. The generally accepted view is that these dates are to be referred to the śaka era of 78 A.D. The name Nahapāna is no doubt Persian, but the Kshaharāta tribe

¹¹nd. Ant., 1884, p. 400. Mr. Y. R. Gupte points out (Ind. Ant., 1926, 178), that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname Kharāte which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharāta (Kshaharāta).

to which Nahapāna belonged was probably of Śaka extraction and Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, distinctly calls himself a Śaka. It is, therefore, probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of Śaka era from the Śaka princes of the House of Nahapāna. Rapson accepts the view that Nahapāna's dates are recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and, therefore, assigns Nahapāna to the period A.D. 119 to 124.¹ Several scholars² identify Nahapāna with Mambarus (emended into Nambanus)² of the Periplus whose capital was Minnagara in Ariake. According to one theory Minnagara is modern Mandasor,⁴ and Ariake is Aparāntika.³

R. D. Banerji and G. Jouveau-Dubreuil are of opinion that Nahapāna's dates are not referable to the śaka era. They say that if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated in the śaka era, there will be only an interval of five years between the inscription of this king, dated 46 and the inscriptions of Rudradāman, dated 52. Within these years must have taken place:

- (1) The end of Nahapāna's reign;
- (2) The destruction of the Kshaharātas;
- (3) The accession of Chashtana as Kshatrapa, his

Allan thinks that the coins of Nahapāna cannot be assigned to so late a date in the second century A.D. He points among other things to the similarity of the bust on the obverse of Nahapāna's silver coins and that on the coins of Rājuvūla. But he admits that this may be due to derivations from a common prototype such as the coins of Strato I. Camb. Short Hist., 80 f.

² E.G., M. Boyer in *Journal Asiatique*, 1897; JASB, 1904, 272. In JRAS, 1918, 108, Kennedy points out that the name certainly ends in—bares—baros, and not in banos.

³ JRAS, 1912. p. 785.

^{*}This is the view of D. R. Bhandarkar who apparently follows Bomb. Gaz., I. 1. 15 n.; Cf., however, Ind. Ant., 1926, p. 143, Capital of Nahapāna (=Junnar). Fleet identifies Minnagara with Dohad in the Panch Mahāls (JRAS, 1912, p. 788; 1913, 993n). In a paper read at the sixth conference of Orientalists at Patna Dr. Jayaswal referred to a Jaina work which mentions Broach as the capital of Nahapāna (see now Āvašyaka sūtra, JBORS, 1930, Sept. Dec., 290). For a different tradition see IHQ, 1929, 356. Vasudhara(?) nagarī.

⁵ Cf. also IA, 7, 259, 263: Ariake may also be Āryaka of Varāhamihira's Brihat Samhitā,



reign as Kshatrapa, his accession as a Mahākshatrapa, and his reign as Mahākshatrapa;

(4) The accession of Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, and perhaps also his reign as Mahākshatrapa;

(5) The accession of Rudradāman and the beginning

of his reign.

There is no necessity, however, of crowding the events mentioned above within five years (between the year 46, the last known date of Nahapāna, and the year 52, the first known date of Rudradaman). There is nothing to show that Chashtana's family came to power after the destruction of the Kshaharātas. The line of Chashtana may have been ruling in Cutch and perhaps some adjacent territories, as the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 suggest, while the Kshaharatas were ruling in parts of Mālwa and Mahārāshtra. Moreover, there is no good ground for believing that a long interval elapsed from the accession of Chashtana to that of Rudradaman. Drs. Bhandarkar and R. C. Majumdar have pointed out that the Andhau inscriptions clearly prove that Chashtana and Rudradaman ruled conjointly in the year 52. Professor J. Dubreuil rejects their view on the ground that there is no "cha" after Rudradaman in the text of the inscription: Rājña Chastanasa Ysāmotika-putrasa rājña Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varshe dvipachāse, 50, 2. Professor Dubreuil translates the passage thus:

"In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, grandson of Chashṭana and great-grandson of Yšāmotika."

The Professor who objects to a 'cha' himself makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and "great-grandson" no trace of which can be found in the original record. Had his translation been what the writer of the Andhau inscriptions intended, we should have expected to find the name of Ysāmotika first, and then the name of Chashṭana followed by those of Jayadāman and Rudradāman—Ysāmotika prapautrasa

Chashtana pautrasa Jayadāma-putrasa Rudradāmasa. Moreover, it is significant that in the text of the inscription there is no royal title prefixed to the name of Jayadaman who ruled between Chashtana and Rudradaman according to Dubreuil. On the other hand, both Chashtana and Rudradāman are called Rājā. The two are mentioned in exactly the same way-with the honorific rājā and the patronymic. The literal translation of the inscriptional passage is "in the year 52 of king Chashtana son of Ysāmotika, of King Rudradāman son of Jayadāman," and this certainly indicates that the year 52 belonged to the reign both of Chashtana and Rudradaman. The conjoint rule of two kings was known to ancient Hindu writers on polity." The theory of the conjoint rule of Chashtana and his grandson is supported by the fact that Jayadaman did not live to be a Mahakshatrapa and must have predeceased his father, Chashtana, as unlike Chashtana and Rudradaman, he is called simply a Kshatrapa (not Mahākshatrapa and Bhadramukha) even in the inscriptions of his descendants.' We have already noticed the fact that the title Rājā, which is given to Chashtana and Rudradaman in the Andhau inscriptions, is not given to Jayadāman.

Mr. R. D. Banerji says that the inscriptions of Nahapāna cannot be referred to the same era as used on the coins and inscriptions of Chashṭana's dynasty because if we assume that Nahapāna was dethroned in 46 \$. E., Gautamīputra must have held Nāsik up to 52 \$. E. (from

¹ Cf. the Junăgadh, Guṇḍa and Jasdhan inscriptions.

² Cf. the coin legends "Heramayasa Kaliyapaya," "Gudupharasa Sasasa," "Khatapāna Hagānasa Hagāmashasa", etc., where, too, we have no cha after the second name. Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 86, 147; CHI, 538.

² Cf. Dvirāja in the Atharva Veda (V. 20, 9): Dvairājya in the Kauţiliya Arthašāstra, p. 325; Dorajja of the Āyāraṅga Sutta; the classical account of Patalene, p. 259 ante; the case of Dhritarāshtra and Duryodhana in the Great Epic; of Eukratides and his son in Justin's work; of Strato I and Strato II; of Azes and Azilises, etc., etc. The Mahāvastu (III. 432) refers to the conjoint rule of three brothers:—"Kalingeshu Simhapuram nāma nagaram tatra trayobhrātaro ekamātrikā rajyam kārayamti," See also IA, 6, 29. Cf. Nilkanta Sastri. Pandyan Kingdom, 120, 122, 180.

^{*} Cf. the Gunda and Jasdhan inscriptions.



of Mahārāshṭra),¹ and Mūlaka (the district around Paiṭhan), but also over Suratha (South Kāthiāwār), Kukura (in Western or Central India, possibly near the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhyas),2 Aparanta (North Konkan), Anupa (district around Māhiśmatî on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Greater Berar), and Ākara-Avanti (east3 and west Mālwa). He is further styled lord of all the mountains from the Vindhyas to the Malaya or Travancore hills, and from the Eastern (Mahendra) to the Western (Sahya) Ghāts. The possession of Vejayanti in the Kanarese country is possibly hinted at in the Nāsik inscription of the year 18. The names of the Andhra country (Andhrapatha) and South Kosala are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Inscriptions, coins and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang prove that both these territories were at one time or other included within the śātavāhana empire. The earliest Śātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Pulumāyi, son of Gautamiputra. It is, however, possible that some vague claim of suzerainty over the areas in question is implied in the boast that Gautamiputra was lord of the Vindhyas and the Eastern Ghāts (Mahendra) and that his chargers "drank the water of the three oceans" (tisamudatoyapita-vāhana). Moreover "Asika" seems to have included a considerable portion of the valley of the Krishna.

In the Nāsik prašasti Gautamīputra figures not only as a conqueror, but also as a social reformer. "He crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, furthered the interest of the twice-born, apparently the Brāhmaṇas, as well as the lowest orders (Dvijāvarakuṭubavivadhana)

¹ Shamasāstry's translation of the Arthasāstra, p. 143, n. 2. Its capital Potana probably corresponds to Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions.

² Brihat Samhitä, XIV, 4.
³ Eastern Malwa was possibly under Väsishka, the successor of Kanishka, I in the year 28 of the Kushān Era which corresponds to A.D. 106 according to the system of chronology adopted in these pages. Akara has been identified with Agar, 35 miles north-east of Ujjain, Bomb, Gaz., Gujarat, 540; Ep. Ind., xxiii, 102.

^{*} Kutumba means 'a household', 'a family' and avara-kutuba may be taken to mean 'households or families of the lowly'. The use of the word

and stopped the contamination of the four varnas

(castes)."

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Gautamiputra reigned conjointly with his son Pulumāyi. They give the following reasons in support of their theory:—

(1) In Gautami's inscription (dated in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumāyi) she is called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both

at one and the same time.

(2) If it were a fact that Gautamîputra was dead when the queen-mother's inscription was written, and Pulumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription. But there is not a word in praise of him. A king dead for 19 years is extolled, and the reigning king passed over in silence.

(3) The inscription dated in the year 24, engraved on the east wall of the Veranda of the Nāsik Cave No. 3, which records a grant made by Gautamîputra and the "king's mother whose son is living", in favour of certain Buddhist monks "dwelling in the cave which was a pious gift of theirs," presupposes the gift of the Nāsik Cave No. 3 in the 19th year of Pulumāyi. Consequently Gautamîputra was alive after the 19th year of his son.

As regards point (1), it may be said that usually a queen sees only her husband and sometimes a son on the throne. Queen Gautamî Balaśrī, on the other hand, was one of the fortunate (or unfortunate) few who saw grandchildren on the throne. Therefore, she claimed to be the mother of a great king and the grandmother of a great king.

As to point (2), is the silence satisfactorily explained by the theory of conjoint rule? Those who prefer the opposite view may point out that although it is not custom-



ary for an ordinary subject to extol a dead king and pass over a reigning monarch in silence, still it is perfectly natural for a queen-mother in her old age to recount the glories of a son who was associated with her in a previous gift.

As to point (3), it is not clear that the gift referred to in the postscript of the year 24 was identical with the grant of the year 19 of Pulumāyi. The donors in the postscript were king Gautamîputra and the rājamātā, the king's mother, apparently Balaśrī, while the donor in the year 19 of Pulumāyi was the queen-mother alone. In the inscription of the year 24, the queen-mother is called Mahādevi Jīvasutā Rājamātā, the great queen, the king's mother, whose son is alive. In Pulumāyi's inscription the epithets Mahādevi and Rājamātā are retained but the epithet "Jīvasutā," "whose son is alive," is significantly omitted. The donees in the former grant were the Tekirasi or Trirasmi ascetics in general, the donees in the latter grant were the monks of the Bhadavāniya school. The object of grant in the former case may have been merely the Veranda of Cave No. 3, which contains the postscript of the year 24, and whose existence before the 19th year of Pulumāyi is attested by an edict of Gautamîputra of the year 18. On the other hand, the cave given away to the Bhadavāniya monks was the whole of Cave

If Gautamiputra and his son reigned simultaneously, and if the latter ruled as his father's colleague in Mahārāshṭra, then it is difficult to explain why Gautamiputra was styled "Govadhanasa Benākaṭakasvāmi," "lord of Benākaṭaka in Govardhana" (Nāsik), and why he addressed the officer at Govardhana directly, ignoring his son who is represented as ruling over Mahārāshṭra, while in

The use of the expression "Govadhanasa" suggests that there were other tocalities named Benākaṭaka from which this particular place is distinguished. A Bennākaṭa in the eastern part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom is mentioned in the Tiroḍi plates of Pravarasena II (? III) (IHQ, 1935, 293; Ep. Ind. XXII 167 ff). Beṇā or Bennā is apparently the name of a small stream in each case.

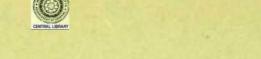
the record of the year 19, Pulumāyi was considered as so important that the date was recorded in the years of his reign, and not in that of his father who was the senior ruler.1

The generally accepted view is that Pulumāyi came after Gautamīputra.

The date of Gautamīputra Sātakarņi is a matter regarding which there is a wide divergence of opinion. There are scholars who believe that the epithets varavāranavikrama, chāru-vikrama, "whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant," and Saka-nishūdana, destroyer of Sakas, suggest that he was the original of Rājā Vikramāditya of legend who founded the era of 58 B.C. But, as already pointed out, the use of regnal years by Gautamīputra and his descendants indicates that no era originated with the dynasty. Further, Indian literature clearly distinguishes between Vikramāditya of Ujjain and śālivāhana or the śātavāhanas of Pratishthāna. The view accepted in these pages is that Gautamīputra was the conqueror of Nahapāna and that his 18th year fell after the year 46 of the saka era, the last recorded date of his vanquished opponent. In other words the conquest of Nāsik by Gautamīputra took place some time after A.D. 78 + 46 = 124, and his accession after A.D. 124 - 18 = 106. As he ruled for at least 24 years, his reign must have terminated after A.D. 130.

In the Purāņic lists compiled by Pargiter the immediate successors of Gautamīputra are Pulomā, his son, and Sātakarņi. Pulomā is doubtless identical with Siro P(t)olemaios of Baithana mentioned by Ptolemi and Vāsishṭhīputra Svāmi Šrī Pulumāvi of inscriptions and coins. Śātakarņi is perhaps to be identified with Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī Śātakarņi of a Kanheri Cave Inscription, or with Vāsishṭhīputra Chatarapana Śātakarņi of a Nānāghaṭ record. His exact position in the genealogical list cannot

¹ Cf. R. D. Bancrji, JRAS, 1917, pp. 281 et seq. Note also the epithet (Dahshinā) pathešvara 'lord of the Deccan,' applied to Pulumāyi in the prašastī of the year 19.



be determined with precision. The Kanheri epigraph represents Vāsishṭhīputra Śri Śātakarṇi as the husband of a daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Ru(dra). Rapson identifies this Rudra with Rudradāman I. There can hardly be any doubt that the Śātavāhana king mentioned in the Kanheri record, or one of his close relations who bore a similar name, was identical with Śātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, whom Rudradāman "twice in fair fight completely defeated, but did not destroy on account of the nearness of their connection." Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of Vāsishṭhīputra Śri Śātakarṇi of Kanheri with Vāsisṭhīputra Śiva Śri Śātakarṇi of coins and Śiva Śri of the Matsya Purāṇa cannot be regarded as more than a conjecture. The ruler mentioned in the Kanheri Inscription may have been a brother of Pulumāyi.

We have seen that the capital of Pulumāvi was Baithan, i.e., Paithan or Pratishthana on the Godavarī identified by Bhandarkar with Navanara or Navanagara, i.e., the new city. Inscriptions and coins prove that the dominions of this king included the Krishnā-Godāvarī reign as well as Mahārāshtra. It has already been pointed out that the Andhra country is not clearly mentioned in the list of territories over which Gautamīputra held his sway. It is not altogether improbable that Vāsishthīputra Pulumāyi was the first to establish the Śātavāhana power firmly in that region. Sukthankar identifies him with Siri Pulumāyi, king of the Śātavāhanas, mentioned in an inscription discovered in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary district. But the absence of the distinguishing metronymic makes the identification uncertain and probably indicates that the king referred to in the inscription is Pulumāyi I of the Purāņas or some other prince of the dynasty who bore the same name. D. C. Sircar identifies him with the last king of Pargiter's list. Numismatic evidence suggests that the political influence of a Pulumāyi extended to the Coromandel coast, and possibly to the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. But in the absence of epigraphic corroboration the matter cannot be regarded as definitely

proved. Moreover, the absence of the metronymic Vāsishthīputra makes it uncertain in some cases as to whether the

son of the great Gautamīputra is meant.

Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāyi must have come to the throne some time after A.D. 130. He is known from a Karle epigraph to have ruled for at least 24 years, so that his reign terminated after A.D. 154.

The successors of Pulomā according to the Purāṇic lists compiled by Pargiter are śiva, śrī¹ Pulomā and

Śivaskanda (or śivaskandha)2 śātakarņi.

Yajñaśri Śātakarņi3

The immediate successor of Sivaskanda according to the collated text of Pargiter was Yajña Śrī. If the Purāṇas are to be believed his accession took place more than 35 years after the close of the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, i.e., after A.D. 165 and ended after A.D. 194. Yajña Śrī's inscriptions, which prove that he reigned for at least 27 years, are found at the following places, viz., Nāsik in Mahārāshṭra, Kanheri in Aparānta, and China in the Kṛishṇā district. His coins are found in Gujrāṭ,

i Mirashi in the Journal of the Num. Soc. 11 (1940), p. 88, attributes to him the coins of "Sivaśrī Pulumāyi III" of the Tarhāla hoard. He draws a distinction between this king (who was a pulumāyi) and Vāsithiputa Sivašrī Sātakamņi who is known to Rapson's Catalogue. The Vishņu Purāņa, however, represents Sivašrī as a Sātakarņi (and not a Pulumāyi). The matter must, therefore, be regarded as sub judice.

Mirashi (ibid. 89) identifies him with King Sirikhada or Skanda Śātakarņi of the Tarhāla hoard (Akola district) and other coins whose name was wrongly read as Chada Śātakarņi by Smith and Rudra Śātakarņi by Rapson. This

"Rudra" was represented as a ruler of the Andhra-deśa.

In JRAS, July, 1934, 56off, Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the name of this king was \$rī Yajūa Śātakarņi as stated in inscriptions, and not Yajūa Śrī (as stated in the Purāṇas). It should, however, be remembered that \$rī is here an honorific and it is frequently used as a suffix in the names of members of the Śātavāhana royal house (cf. Veda or Skanda-Siri, Haku-Siri, Bala-Śrī, Śīva-Śrī, etc.; Rapson, Andhra Coins, pp. xllvi, 1, lii). The mere fact that in certain documents Śrī precedes the name of a king does not prove conclusively that it was never used as a suffix. In the famous inscription of Khāravela the king is called both Siri Khāravela and Khāravela-Siri. In the Mudrārākshasa Śrīmat Chandragupta is also styled Chanda-Sīri. Cf. Ašoka Śri in Parišishta-parvan, IX. 14.



Kāṭhiāwār, Aparānta, the Chanda district in the Central Provinces, and the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras State. There can be no doubt that he ruled over both Mahārāshṭra and the Andhra country and recovered Aparānta (N. Koṅkaṇ) from the successors of Rudradāman I. Smith says that his silver coins imitating the coinage of the Śaka rulers of Ujjain probably point to victories over the latter, and that the coins bearing the figure of a ship suggest the inference that the king's power extended over the sea. He thus anticipated the naval ventures of the Kadambas of Goa, of Sivājī and of the Angrias.¹

Yajñaśrī was the last great king of his dynasty. After his death the śātavāhanas probably lost North-Western Mahārāshṭra to the **Ābhira** king Iśvarasena. The later śātavāhana princes—Vijaya, Chaṇḍa śrī (variant Chandra śrī) and Pulomāvi of the Purāṇas—seem to have ruled in Berar, the Eastern Deccan and the Kanarese country.

¹ Rapson, however, says (Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. 22) in reference to certain lead coins (of the Coromandel coast): "obv. Ship with two masts. Inscr. not completely read, but apparently Siri-Pu (lumā) visa."

The earliest reference to the Abhīras to which an approximate date can be assigned is that contained in the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. The Mahābhāshya as well as the Mahābhārata connects them with the Sūdras-the Sodrai of Alexander's historians. Their country-Abiria-finds mention in the Periplus and the geography of Ptolemy. In the third quarter of the second century A.D., Abhīra chieftains figured as generals of the saka rulers of Western India. Shortly afterwards a chief named Isvaradatta, probably an Abhīra, became Mahākshatrapa. His relation to the Abhīra king Māḍharīputra Isvara Sena, son of Siva Datta, remains doubtful. But some scholars are inclined to identify the two chiefs. It is also suggested that this dynasty of Isvara Sena is identical with the Traikūţaka line of Aparanta, and that the establishment of the Traikūţaka era in A.D. 248 marks the date at which the Abhīras succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the Government of Northern Mahārāshtra and the adjoining region. The last known of the Traikūṭaka line were Indradatta, his son Dahrasena (455-56 A.D.), and his son Vyaghrasena (489-90), after whom the kingdom seems to have been conquered by the Vākātaka king Harishena.

The Berar (Akola) group includes certain princes, not included in the Purāņic lists, e.g., śrī Kumbha śātakarņi, śrī Karņa Sātakarņi (unless he is identified with the so-called śvātikarņa, the fourteenth king of Pargiter's list) and śrī śaka śātakarņi (Mirashī, J. Num. Soc., II, 1940). Mirashi thinks that the real name of the so-called Krishņa (II) of the Chanda hoard was Karņa. Among kings of uncertain identity mention may be made of śrī sivamaka Sāta of the Amarāvatī inscription and Māthariputra śrī Sāta of Kanheri.

The existence of Vijaya seems now to be confirmed by numismatic evidence.¹ Chaṇḍa śrī may have been identical with Vāsisṭhi-putra "Sāmi-siri Chaṇḍa Sāta" of the Kodavali rock-cut well Inscription discovered near Piṭhā-puram in the Godāvarī region, while Pulomāvi is, in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar, to be identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Myakadoni inscription of the Bellary district. Coins disclose the existence of a few other Kings of the line who must be assigned to the latest śātavāhana period. śātavāhana rule in the Kṛishṇā, Guṇṭūr and Bellary districts was eventually supplanted by the Ikshvākus² and the Pallavas.²

¹ Mirashi, Journal of the Nums, Soc. of India, II (1940) p. 90. The only clear letters are ya-Sātakaņi. The ascription to Vijaya must be regarded as tentative.

² The Ikshvākus are known from inscriptions discovered on the ruins of the Jagayyapeta stūpa in the Kṛishṇā District and also at Nāgārijunikoṇḍa and Gurzala in the Guṇtūr district (Ep. Ind., 1929, 1f; 1941, 123f). They were matrimonially connected with the Kekayas, probably a ruling family of Ancient Mysore (Dubreuil, AHD, pp. 88, 101). The most well-known rulers of the Ikshvāku family of the Eastern Deccan are Chārntamūla, Śrī-Vīra-Purusha-datta, Ehuvala Chārntamūla II and possibly 'Rulupurisadāta' (Ep. Ind., xxvi. 125). The Ikshvākus were succeeded by the "Ānanda" kings of Guṇṭūr, the Bṛihat-phalāyanas of Kudurāhāra (near Masulipatam), the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī (cf. IA. 5, 175 and the Salakenoi of Ptolemy), and the Vishṇukuṇḍins of Leṇḍu-lura (near Veṅgī)

3 The Pallavas-a people of unknown origin, claiming descent from Asvatthāman and Nāga princesses, are the most important of all the dynastics that succeeded the satavahanas in the Far South. The claim of descent from Brāhmanas of the Bharadvāja gotra, the performance of the Aśvamedha and patronage of Sanskrit learning, connect the dynasty with the Sungas, while the Brāhmana-Nāga connection, (cf. Samkīrņa-jati, Brahma-kshatra, SII Vol. xii. Nos. 7, 48) the performance of Vedic sacrifices including the horse-sacrifice, early association with the Satavabana Janapada in the Bellary district and the use of Prākrita in their early records, connect the family with the Śātavāhanas. There is no question of any Parthian affinity as the genealogical lists of the family are singularly devoid of Parthian nomenclature. The elephant's scalp used as a crown is no test of race. The well-known hostility of the family to the Cholas and the decidedly northern character of their culture preclude the possibility of a pure Tamil extraction. The first great Pallava king, śiva-Skanda-varman. is known from the inscriptions found at Mayidavolu (in Guntur) and Hirahadagalli (in Bellary) to have ruled over an extensive empire including Kāńchi. Andhrapatha and satabani rattha, and performed the Asvamedha sacrifice. About the middle of the fourth century A.D. the emperor Samudra Gupta invaded Southern India, defeated the reigning Pallava king, Vishnugopa, and gave a severe blow to the power and prestige of the empire of Kāńchī which, in the long run, probably led to its disruption. The evidence of the Penukenda



Provincial Government under the Satavahanas

A word may be said here regarding the internal

Plates, the Tälagunda inscription and the Hebbata grant (IHQ, 1927, 434) seems to suggest that the Pallava supremacy continued for some time to be acknowledged by the early Gangas of Anantapura and East Mysore and the early Kadambas of Vaijayantī (Banavāsi) and Mahisha-Vishaya (Mysore). The history of the Pallavas during the fifth and sixth centuries is obscure. Certain inscriptions disclose the names of the following kings, but little is known about them: -

> Kings of Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts.

> > Kumāravisliņu

Viravarman*

Skandavarman I

(i) Vijaya Skandavarman II (Tambrapa²).

nugopa (Palakkada).

King of Känchi

Vishnugopa I Skandamula Känagopa Virakūrcha II* Skandavarman I (Skandaśishva) Kumāravishnu I. FCcovered Känchi. Buddhavarman, defeated Cholas. Skanda II Kumaravishnu II Buddhavarman Skandavarman III Vishnugopa II Vishnudāsa Skandavarman IV Simhavarman I Viravarman* Skandavarman V (2) Yuva-mahārāja Vish-Simhavarman II A.D. 436 Skandavarman VI (3) Simbavarman (Daša-Nandivarman I Simhavarman III, IV, (two kings of this name) Vishnugopa III Simhavarman V Simhavishnu Mahendravarman I Narasimhavarman I Contemporary of Pula-

Vavalur, Velūrpalaiyam, Darsi and Chendalür grants.

Omgodu I and H Uruvupalli, Māngalūr, Pikira. Vilavatti and Chura grants.

napura, Menmatura and Vengorāshtra). (4) Vijaya-Vishnugopa Varman (Vijay-Palotkața)

Udayendiram grant. Lokavibhāga A.D. 458 and Penukonda plates?

kesin II * Kings marked with asterisks may have been identical. But this is by no means certain. The settlement of early Pallava genealogy and chronology must still await future discoveries.

A Sihavarman is mentioned in the Palnad inscription. But his identity

and date are uncertain.

2 Tämbrāpa is identified with Chembrolu-

organisation of the śātavāhana empire. The sovereign himself seems to have resided in Pratishthana or in "camps of victory" in Govardhana (Nāsik district), Vaijayantī (in North Kanara) and other places.1 The imperial dominions were divided into administrative units called āhāra or janapada and placed under rulers who fell into two classes, viz., (a) amātyas who were ordinary civil functionaries and (b) military governors and feudatories styled mahāsenāpati, mahārathi, mahābhoja, and even Rājan. Amātyas are mentioned in connection with Aparanta (North Konkan), Govardhana (Nāsik), Māmād(l)a (Poona), Banavāsī (North Kanara) and Khaddavali (Godāvarī region). Mahārathis are found associated with Chitaldrug, Nānāhat, Karle and Kanheri (in the North Konkan). They intermarried with the imperial family (and at times adopted its nomenclature) and also with the Chutu, Kausika and Vāsishtha clans. The Mahābhojas had close relations with Chutu rulers of Banavāsī. Mahāsenāpatis are found in Nāsik in the days of Yajña Śrī and in Bellary in the time of a Pulumāyi. The rule of these military governors, some of whom belonged to the Kuśika3 family or were matrimonially connected with it, was very much in evidence in the last days of the Śātavāhana empire. Potentates with the title of rājā ruled in the Kolhapur region. The most notable among these were: Vāsishṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, Mātḥarīputra Šivalakura and Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura (II). The Vilivāyakura group cannot fail to remind one of Balcokouros of Hippokoura mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.).

It is from the ranks of military governors and feudatories that the princes who carved out independent

¹ E.g., Navanara—perhaps really identical with the port of Calliena (Kalyāṇa, an ancient name of which, according to the Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 114, is Navānagara).

² Vasishthas figure as rulers of Kalinga in later times,

A Kausikīputra sātakarņi is known from a coin (Bibliography of Indian Coins, Part I, 1950, p. 36).



principalities on the dissolution of the Śātavāhana empire, evidently sprang. The Śālańkāyanas (Salakenoi), for example, who appear to have been a feudatory family in the Andhra country, afterwards set up an independent sovereignty. The Pallavas were doubtless connected with the military governors of the Bellary district.

The Satakarnis of Kuntala

In the days of the great Gautamīputra, son of Bala Śrī, Banavāsi or Vaijayantī (Kanara) seems to have been the capital of an imperial province under an amatya named Sivagupta. By an obscure transition the sovereignty of the territory passed into the hands of a family, possibly styled Chutu in inscriptions,1 whose connection with the Śātavāhana-Śātakarnis is not known. The evidence of the Myakadoni inscription and notices in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, the Gāthāsaptašatī and the Kāvya Mīmāmsā, probably suggest that a group of Śātavāhanas receded the so-called Chutu kula in Kuntala or the Kanarese country. Some of them were great patrons of Prākrit learning. The most famous amongst them was Hāla. Another king of the group was Kuntala Śātakarņi, mentioned in the Kāmasūtra whom the Purāņas regard as a predecessor of Hala. The Chutu line is represented by Hāritīputra Vishņukada-Chuţu kulānanda Śātakarņi, Rājā of Vaijayantīpura, and his daughter's son Śiva-Skandanāga Śrī who is identified by Rapson with Skandanāga Sātaka of a Kanheri Inscription, and also with Hāritīputra Śiva-[Skanda]-varman, lord of Vaijayantī, mentioned in a Malavalli record (in the Shimoga district of Mysore). The last identification seems to be doubtful as the mother and daughter of Vishnukada could hardly have belonged to the same gotra. Hāritīputra śivavarman was apparently succeeded by the Kadambas.2

¹ Some scholars do not accept the theory that Chuţu is a dynastic designation. They regard it as a personal name. Prog. Rep. of the ASI, W. Circle, 1911-12, p. 5. ² The Kadamba line was founded by Mayūraśarman, a Brāhmaṇa, who

SECTION III. THE SAKAS OF UJJAIN AND KATHIAWAR

The greatest rivals of the restored śātavāhana Empire were at first the śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain. The progenitor of the śaka princes of Ujjain was Ysamotika who was the father of Chashtana, the first Mahākshatrapa of the family. The name of Ysamotika is Scythic. His descendant, who was killed by Chandra Gupta II, is called a śaka king by Bāṇa in his Harsha-charita. It is, therefore, assumed by scholars that the Kshatrapa family of Ujjain was of śaka nationality.

The proper name of the dynasty is not known. Rapson says that it may have been Kārddamaka. The daughter of Rudradāman boasts that she is descended from the family of Kārddamaka kings; but she may have been indebted to her mother for this distinction. The Kārddamaka kings apparently derive their name

from the Kārdama, a river in Persia.2

According to Dubreuil, Chashtana ascended the throne in A.D. 78, and was the founder of the Śaka era. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the capital of Chashtana (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene of Ptolemy), whereas we learn from the Periplus that Ozene was not a capital in the seventies of the first century A.D.³ rose against the Pallavas and helped by "Vrihad Bāṇa" and other kings, compelled the lord of Kañchī to confer on him the Patṭabandha of military governorship. He soon pushed his conquests to the western ocean. His great-grandson Kākustha varman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. Kṛishṇa varman I performed the Aśvamedha. Mṛigeśa varman defeated the Gaṇgas and Pallavas and had his capital at Vaijayantī. Junior branches of the family ruled at Palāśikā, Uchchaśṇingī and Triparvata. The Kadambas were finally overthrown by the Chalukyas. See Moraes, Kadamba-

Kula; Sircar, JIH, 1936, 301 ff.

1 JRAS, 1906, p. 211. Lévi and Konow (Corpus, II. i. lxx) identify
Ysamotika with Bhūmaka on the ground that the Saka word "Ysama" means
earth. But identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of

persons. Cf. the cases of Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

² Pārasika. Shamasastry's translation of the Kautiliya, p. 86. See also IHK, 1933. 37 ff. Cf. the Artamis of Ptolemy, VI. 11. 2, a tributary of the Oxus.

The Periplus mentions Malichos (Maliku), the king of the Nabataeans, who died in A.D. 75, and Zoscales (Za Hakale), king of the Auxumites, who reigned from A.D. 76 to 80 (JRAS, 1917, 827-830).



his 18th to his 24th year), then Pulumāyi held the city up to the 22nd year of his reign, i.e., up to at least 74 \$. E. But Rudradāman is known to have defeated Pulumāyi and taken Nāsik before that time. Banerji's error lies in the tacit assumption that Rudradāman twice occupied Nāsik before the year 73 of the \$aka era. There is no clear evidence to suggest that the \$ātavāhanas lost Poona and Nāsik to that great satrap though they may have lost Mālwa and the Konkan. Another untenable assumption of Mr. Banerji is that Rudradāman finished his conquests before the year 52 or A.D. 130, whereas the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch and perhaps some adjoining tracts by the House of Chashṭana.

The theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Professor Rapson, and Dr. Bhandarkar after him, that a Nāsik inscription of Nahapāna refers to a gold currency, doubtless of the Kushāns who could not have ruled in India before the first century A.D.¹

The power of Nahapāna and his allies, the Uttamabhadras, was threatened by the Mālayas (Mālayas) from the north, and the Śātavāhanas from the south. The incursion of the Mālayas was repelled by Ushavadāta. But the Śātavāhana attack proved fatal to Śaka rule in Mahārāshtra.

We know very little about Chakora and Śivasvāti mentioned in the Purāṇas as the immediate successors of Sunandana during whose reign Śātavāhana prestige had sunk very low and marauders from Barygaza had been harrying the ports that had once enjoyed the

¹ Rapson, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., pp. Iviii, clxxxv; Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., 1918-1919, 'Deccan of the Satawahana Period'.

² The Uttamabhadras may have been a section of the Bhadra tribe mentioned in a list of ganas along with the Rohitakas (cf. Rohtak in south-east Punjab), the Agreyas (of Agra?) and the Mālavas (Mbh. III. 253.20). In Mbh. VI. 50. 47 the Pra-bhadras are associated with the ganas or corporations of the Dāserakas, apparently of the desert region of Rājputāna (Monier Williams, Dic. 405).

protection of the elder śātakarņi, probably śātakarņi I. But the king whose name occurs next in the list, viz., Gautamîputra, regained the lost power of the house and dealt a severe blow at the power of the intruders from the north. The Nāsik praśasti calls him the "uprooter of the Kshaharāta race," and the "restorer, of the glory of the śātavāhana family". That Nahapāna himself was overthrown by Gautamîputra is proved by the testimony of the Jogalthembi hoard (in the Nāsik district) which consisted of Nahapāna's own silver coins and coins restruck by Gautamîputra. In the restruck coins there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna as would certainly have been the case if any ruler had intervened between Nahapāna and Gautamîputra.

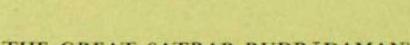
SECTION II. THE RESTORATION OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE

Gautamiputra's victory over the Kshaharātas led to the restoration of the Śātavāhana power in Mahārāshṭra and some adjoining provinces. The recovery of Mahārāshṭra is proved by a Nāsik inscription, dated in the year 18,¹ and a Karle epigraph addressed to the Amātya or the king's officer in charge of Māmāla (the territory round Karle, modern Māval in the Poona district). But this was not the only achievement of Gautamîputra. We learn from the Nāsik record of queen Gautamî Balaśrî that her son destroyed the Śakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians), and that his dominions extended not only over Asika,¹ Asaka (Aśmaka on the Godāvarî, a part

On the Krishnavena, i.e., the river Krishna (Kharavela's ins., IHQ, 1938,

275); cf. Ārshika, Patanjali, IV, 2.2.

¹ The Näsik Edict was issued from the camp of victory of the Vejayanti army (Ep. Ind., VIII. 72) and was addressed to the Amātya or the king's officer in charge of Govardhana (Nāsik). According to Sircar 'Vejayanti' is not a city but an epithet of Senā (army).



The Periplus speaks of Ozene as a former capital, implying that it was not a capital in its own time. The earliest known date of Chashtana is §. E. 52, i.e., A.D. 130. We learn from the Andhau inscriptions that in the year A.D. 130 Chashtana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Professor Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar point out that his foreign title Kshatrapa, and the use of the Kharoshthī alphabet on his coins, clearly show that he was a viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kushāns. Jayadāman, son of Chashtana, seems to have acted merely as a Kshatrapa and to have predeceased his father, and the latter was succeeded at Mahākshatrapa by Rudradāman.

Rudradāman¹ became an independent Mahākshatrapa some time between the years 52 and 72 (A.D. 130 and 150). We learn from the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the year 72 that men of all castes chose him as protector and that he won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa. This probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamīputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess.

The place names in the inscription seem to show that the rule of Rudradāman extended over Purv-āpar-Ākar-Āvanti (East and West Mālwa), Anupa-nivṛit or the Māhishmatī region (Māndhātā in Nimāḍ, or Maheśvara), Ānartta³ (territory around Dwārakā), Surāshṭra (district around Junāgaḍh), Svabhra (the country on the banks of

* IA, 4. 346.

branch occupied a portion of Kathiawar.

¹ For reference to Rudradaman in literature, see Chatterjee, Buddhistic Studies (ed. Law), pp. 384 f.

Vadanagara (Bom. Gaz. 1. i. 6). In that case Kukura may be placed in the Dwaraka region. The Bhagavata Purana refers to Dwaraka as "Kukur Andhaka-Vrishnibhih gupta" (1. 11. 10). The Vayu Purana (ch. 96. 134) represents Ugrasena, the Yadava raja as Kukurodbhava, of Kukura extraction. In Mbh. III. 183. 32, too, Kukuras are closely associated with Dasarhas and Andhakas who are known to have been Yadava clans. In II. 52. 15 they are associated with the Ambashthas and the Pahlavas. A branch of the people may have lived in the lower valley of the Chenab and the Indus, while another

the Sābarmatī), Maru (Mārwār), Kachchha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvīra (the Lower Indus Valley),1 Kukura (probably between Sind and the Pāriyātra Mt.),2 Aparānta (N. Konkan),3 Nishāda (in the region of the Sarasvatī and the Western Vindhyas), etc. Of these places Surāshtra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa and Ākarāvanti formed part of Gautamīputra's dominions, and must have been conquered either from that king or one of his immediate successors. The Junagadh inscription gives the information that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarni, lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near relationship. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar this Śātakarņi was Gautamīputra himself, whose son Vāsishthīputra Śātakarņi was Rudradāman's son-in-law. According to Rapson the lord of the Deccan defeated by the Saka ruler was Pulumāyi. It is more probable that the defeated ruler was Vāsishthîputra Śātakarņi himself, who may have been a brother and a predecessor of Pulumāyi.

The Great Satrap also conquered the Yaudheyas, possibly of Johiya-bār along the Sutlej, who are known, from a stone inscription, to have occupied also the Bijayagaḍh region in the Bharatpur state. If the Kushān

¹ Sindhu is the inland portion lying to the west of the Indus (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II. 252, 253, read with 256; Vātsyāyana, Kāmasūtra, Benares Ed. 295). Sauvīra includes the littoral (Milinda Pañho, S.B.E., XXXVI, 269) as well as the inland portion lying to the east of the Indus as far as Multān (Alberuni, I, 302; IA, 7, 259). The Jaina Pravachanasāroddhāra names Vitabhaya as the capital.

² Brihat Samhitā, V. 71; XIV, 4.

³ Aparānta in its extended sense (cf. Aśoka, RE, V) no doubt embraces not only sūrpāraka but Nāsik, Bharukachchha, the Mahī valley, Cutch, Surāshţra, Ānartta, Abu. etc. (Vāyu, 45. 129 f., Matsya, 114. 50-51; Mārk. 57. 49 f.—the Purāṇic text is corrupt and surpārakāḥ Kachchīyāḥ and Ānarttāḥ should be substituted for sūryārakāḥ, Kāśmīrāḥ and Āvantyāḥ). But as the Junāgaḍh record distinguishes Aparānta from Surāshţra, Ānartta, etc., it is clearly used here in its restricted sense.

^{*} Cf. Nishāda-rāshṭra, Mbh., III. 130. 4 (the place of the disappearance—Vinasana—of the river Sarasvatī is described as the duāra of Nishādarāshṭra); note also Pāriyātracharaḥ, Mbh. XII. 135. 3-5. In Mbh. ii. 31. 4-7 a Nishādabhūmi is placed between the Matsyas (of Jaipur) and the Chambal. The Vedic commentator Mahīdhara explains the word Nishāda as meaning a Bhil (Vedic Index, I. 454). According to Bühler (IA. 7, 263) Nishāda probably corresponded with Hissar and Bhatnīr.

chronology accepted by us be correct, then he must have wrested Sindhu-Sauvīra from one of the successors of Kanishka I.

Rudradāman apparently held his court at Ujjain, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of his grandfather Chashţana, placing the provinces of Ānarta and Surāshţra under his Pahlava (Parthian) Amātya' Suviśākha. The Amātya constructed a new dam on the famous Sudarśana Lake which owed its origin to the "care bestowed by the Maurya government upon question of irrigation, even in the most remote provinces."

The Great Kshatrapa is said to have gained fame by studying grammar (śabda), polity (artha), music (gandharva), logic (nyāya), etc. As a test of the civilised character of his rule it may be noted that he took and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. The Sudarśana embankment was rebuilt and the lake reconstructed by "expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes (Kara), forced labour (Vishţi) benevolences (Praṇaya), and the like. The king was helped in the work of government by an able staff of officials, who were "fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers" (amātya-guṇa samudyuktaih) and were divided into two classes, viz., Matisachiva (Counsellors) and Karma-sachiva (Executive Officers).

Rudradāman had at least two sons and one daughter. The princess was given in marriage to Vāsishthîputra Śrī Śātakarņi of the Śātavāhana family of the Deccan. A Nāgārjunikonda inscription refers to a princess from

With this bureaucratic designation is to be contrasted the title Rājā applied to Tushāspha, the local ruler of Surāshtra in the days of Aśoka, who "was more than a mere official" (IA. 7, 257 n). While some of the Śaka provinces or districts were placed under amātyas or officers whose functions were mainly of a civil character, others seem to have been governed by generals (Mahādandanāyaka). The name of such a military governor is disclosed by a Sāńchi inscription (JASB, 1923, 343).

² Bomb, Gaz. I. 1. 39. ³ Ep. Ind., XX. 1. ff.

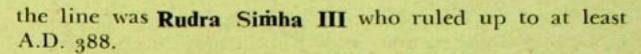
Ujjain named Rudradhara Bhaṭṭārikā who was the queen (Mahādevī) of an Ikshvāku ruler of the Guṇṭūr district and some adjoining regions in the lower Kṛishṇā valley. It has been surmised by Vogel that she probably belonged to the house of Chashṭana. Her father is styled a Mahārāja, a title which seems to have been formally assumed by one of the latest successors of Rudradāman I, viz., Svāmī-Rudrasena III, who ruled from c. A.D. 348 to 378, and was, apparently, a contemporary of Samudra-Gupta. It is, however, difficult to say if the Ikshvāku queen was a daughter of Rudrasena III or of some earlier prince.

Rudradāman I was succeeded by his eldest son Dāmaghsada I. After Dāmaghsada there were, according to Rapson, two claimants for the succession: his son Jīvadāman and his brother Rudra Simha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter. To Rudra Simha's reign belongs the Guṇḍa inscription of the year 103 (= A.D. 181) which records the digging of a tank by an Ābhira general named Rudradhūti, son of the general Bāpaka or Bāhaka. The Ābhiras afterwards possibly usurped the position of Mahākshatrapa. According to Dr. Bhandarkar an Ābhira named Iśvaradatta was the Mahākshatrapa of the period 188-90 A.D. But Rapson places Iśvaradatta after A.D. 236.

Rudra Simha I was followed by his sons RudrasenaI, Sanghadāman and Dāmasena. Three of Dāmasena's sons became Mahākshatrapa, viz., Yaśodāman, Vijaysena and Dāmajada Śrî. This last prince was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II who was followed by his sons Viśvasimha and Bhartridāman. Under Bhartridāman his son Viśvasena served as Kshatrapa.

The connection of Bhartridaman and Visvasena with the next Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman II and his successors cannot be ascertained. The last known member of

¹ To Rudrasena's reign belong the Mulwasar tank inscription, and the Jasdhan Pillar Inscription of A.D. 205. In the latter epigraph we have the title Bhadramukha applied to all the ancestors of Rudrasena, excepting Jayadāma.



Rapson points out that from A.D. 295 to c. 340 there was no Mahākshatrapa. The elder branch of the family came to an end after 305 and passed by an obscure transition to a new line of Satraps and Great Satraps. The rulers from A.D. 295 to 332 held only the subordinate title of Satrap, and the higher title was not revived till a few years before A.D. 348, when Rudrasena III styled himself Rājā Mahākshatrapa and Mahārāja Kshatrapa. Now, it is precisely during the period when the old line passed away in obscurity, and the office of Mahākshatrapa remained in abeyance, that we find Sakasthana and portions of Hind annexed to the Sassanian empire and dominated by Sassanian viceroys. The Sassanian conquest began before the end of the reign of Varhran (Bahram) II (A.D. 293) and the Sassanian suzerainty was maintained till the early part of the reign of Shāpūr II (A.D. 309-79). The hold of the Persians on the distant Indian provinces became weak in the middle of the fourth century A.D. when Rudrasena III assumed the title of Mahārāja, and Samudra Gupta, the prototype of the Raghu of Kālidāsa, forced the foreign potentates of the north-west borderland to do him homage.

The revived power of the Sakas of Western India did not last long, being finally destroyed by the Guptas. Already in the time of Samudra Gupta the Sakas appear among the peoples who hastened to buy peace by the offer of maidens and other acts of respectful submission. The Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II testify to that monarch's conquest of Eastern Mālwa. One of the Inscriptions commemorates the construction of a cave by a minister of Chandra Gupta who "came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." The subjugation of western Mālwa is probably hinted at by the epithet "Simha-vikrānta-gāmini," resorting to (as a vassal of) Simha Vikrama, i.e.,

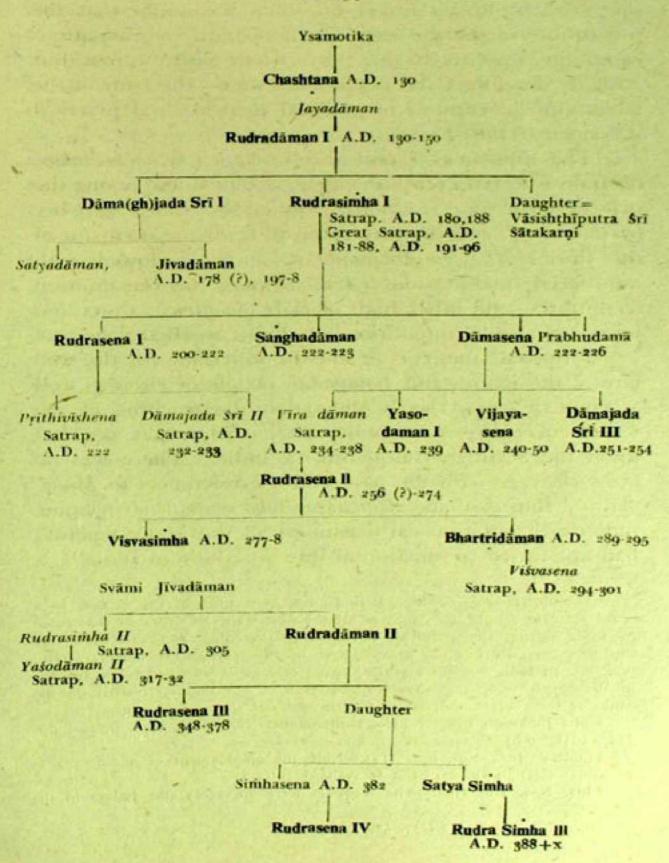
Chandra Gupta II, applied to Naravarman of Mandasor. Evidence of the conquest of Surāshṭra is to be seen in Chandra Gupta's silver coins which are imitated from those of śaka Satraps. Lastly, Bāṇa in his Harsha-charita refers to the slaying of the śaka king by Chandra Gupta: Ar(l?) ipure cha para-kalatra kāmukam kāmini-veśa-guptaścha Chandra Guptaḥ śaka-patim aśātayaditi.

1 Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 162. The small copper coins of Chandra Gupta II bearing a vase as type were probably struck by him in the Malava territory which may have been under saka domination in the second century A.D. (Allan, CICAI, cvi).

^{*}According to the commentator \$ankara the Parakalatra and Kāminī referred to above was Dhruva-devī, and the ruler of the \$akas was secretly killed by Chandragupta disguised as Dhruva-devī while the former was making advances of love. The \$ringāraprakāša by Bhoja throws additional light on the point quoting passages from the Devichandraguptam (see Aiyangar Com. Vol., 359 ff; also Lévi, JA, 1923, 201 ff; Devichandraguptam by A. Rangaswami Sarasvatī, Ind. Ant., 1923, p. 181 ff.). The last mentioned work is a play by Višākhadatta, the author of the Mudrārākshasa. Quotations from the Devichandraguptam are also found in the Nātya darpaņa of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SAKAS OF UJJAIN



SECTION IV. ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY OF THE SCYTHIAN PERIOD.

The little that we know about the administration of the Scythian Epoch leaves no room for doubt that the institutions of the age were not haphazard improvisations of military upstarts, having no relations with the past, but a highly developed and organised system—the fruit of the labours of generations of political theorists and practical statesmen (Vaktri-Prayoktri).

The influence of political thinkers (Arthachintakas) on Indo-Scythian Polity is evident. The ablest among the princes of the time assiduously studied the science of polity (Arthavidyā)2; and the care taken to train the occupant of the throne, the employment of officers endowed with ministerial qualifications (Amātyaguņa), the classification of ministers and other high officials (Sachivas), abstention from oppressive imposition of Pranaya (Benevolences), Vishţi (forced labour) etc., and the solicitude for the welfare of the Pauras and Jānapadas, people of cities as well as country parts, clearly show that the teaching of the writers of treatises on polity (Arthaśāstra) was not lost upon the Scythian conquerors of India. There was no great cleavage with the past, and the references to Mahāmātras, Rajjukas and Samcharamtaka or Sanchārin spies, indicate that the official machinery of the Maurya period had not ceased to function at least in Southern India.

The expression "Scythian Period" has been used in this section in a broad sense to denote the epoch of all the Post-Mauryan dynasties that ruled in India during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. During the greater part of this period the most powerful potentate in India was the Scythian "King of Kings" who had his metropolis in the North-West, but whose commands were not unoften obeyed on the banks of the Ganges and the Godavari. See Cal. Rev., Sept., 1925.

² The Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman (Ind. Ant., 1878, p. 261; Ep. Ind., VIII, 36 f.).

³ Lüders' Ins., Nos. 937. 1144. Note the employment of a Sramana as

Mahāmātra (High Officer) by a ŝātavāhana ruler.

* Ins. Nos. 416, 1195. The Rajjukas were Surveyors and Judges in the country parts.

Ins., No. 1200; cf. IA, 5, 52, 155.



But we must not suppose that the entire administrative structure of the period was a replica of the Maurya constitution. The foreign conquerors of North-Western India brought with them several institutions which had been prevalent for ages in the countries through which they passed. Thus the Persian system of government by Satraps was introduced in several provinces of Northern, Western and Southern India, and officials with the Greek titles of Meridarch¹ (probably District Officer) and Strategos (general or governor) ruled contemporaneously with functionaries having the Indian designation of Amātya (minister or civil officer in charge of a district) and Mahāsenāpati (great general or military governor).

The tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away the **tribal republics** which continued to flourish as in the days of Buddha and Alexander. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such communities,² and like the *Lichchhavis* and *Śākyas* of old, the most powerful among them were found very often ranged against their aggressive royal neighbours who were now mostly Scythian. Unfortunately, the contemporary records do not throw much light on their internal organisation, and it serves no useful purpose to ascribe to them institutions which really

belong to their predecessors or successors.

Though the Scythians could not annihilate the republican clans, they did destroy many monarchies of Northern and Western India, and introduce a more exalted type of kingship. The exaltation of monarchy is apparent from two facts, namely, the assumption of high-sounding semi-divine honorifics by reigning monarchs, and the apotheosis of deceased rulers. The deification of rulers, and the use of big titles are not unknown to ancient Indian

² E.g., the Mālavas (Mālayas), Yaudheyas, Ārjunāyanas and possibly the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kunindas (see Camb. Hist., 528, 529), and Uttama-

bhadras. Cf. Smith. Catalogue of Coins. Sec. VII.

A Meridarkha Theudora is mentioned in a Swat Kharoshthi epigraph. Another Meridarkha is mentioned in a Taxila Kharoshthi Inscription. The two meridarchs are mentioned as establishing Buddhist relics and sanctuaries (Corpus, II. i. xv).

literature, but it is worthy of note that a supreme ruler like Aśoka, whose dominions embraced the greater part of India and possibly Afghanistān, was content with the titles of "Rājā" and "Devānampiya Piyadasi." The great rulers of the Scythian age, on the other hand, were no longer satisfied with those modest epithets, but assumed more dignified titles like Chakravartin (emperor of a circle of states), Adhirāja (super-king), Rājātirāja (supreme king of kings), and Devaputra (the son and not merely the beloved of the gods).

In Southern India we come across titles of a semireligious character like Kshemarāja, Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja and Dharma-Yuvamahārāja, assumed by pious defenders of Indian faiths, engaged in upholding dharma as practised by the ancient teachers and law-givers, and purging it of the evils of the Kali Age, probably to distinguish themselves from the unbelieving foreigners and barbarian outcastes of the North-West.

The assumption of big titles by kings and emperors was paralleled by the use of equally exalted epithets in reference to their chief consorts. Aśoka's queens appear to have been styled merely Devī. The mother of Tīvara, for instance, is called "Dutīā Devī" (the second queen) and the implication is that the elder queen was Prathamā

2 Lüders' Ins., No. 1345. 'The beneficent or propitious king', 'prince of peace'.

became feudatory titles in the next. Thus the title Rājā used by Aśoka became a feudatory title in the Scythian and Gupta periods, when designations like Rājarājā, Rājādhirāja, Mahārājādhirāja, Parama-Bhaṭṭāraha and Parama-Rājādhirāja (Allan, 63), came into general use. But even Mahārājādhirāja became a feudatory designation in the age of the Pratihāras when the loftier style of Paramabhaṭṭāraha, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara was assumed by sovereign rulers.

^{1 &#}x27; Of Gracious Mien, Beloved of the Gods.'

^{3 &}quot;The Righteous King of Kings", "the Righteous Crown Prince". Lüders' Ins., Nos. 1196, 1200. For the significance of the title, cf. IA, 5, 51. "Kaliyuga-doshāvasanna-dharmoddharaṇa-nitya sannaddha," Cf. also the epithets "Manvādi-pranīta-vidhi-vidhānadharmā Dharmarāja iva," "prakshā-lita-kalikalankaḥ" applied to the Maitraka Kings of Valabhī (Bhavnagar Inscriptions, 31). Sometimes even saka rulers and generals posed as Dharma vijayī (JASB, 1923, 343).



Devī. But in the Scythian epoch we come across the titles of Agra-Mahishī and Mahādevī which distinguished the chief queen from her rivals. Among such chief consorts may be mentioned Ayasi-Kamuia, Nāganikā, and Balaśrī.

The apotheosis of deceased rulers is strikingly illustrated by the practice of erecting *Devakulas* or "Royal galleries of portrait statues." The most famous of these structures was the *Devakula* of the *Pitāmaha* (grandfather) of Huvishka referred to in a Mathurā inscription. The existence of royal *Devakulas* as well as ordinary temples, and the presence of the living *Devaputra* probably earned for Mathurā its secondary name of "The city (?) of the gods."

The exaltation of royalty in the epoch under review had the sanction of certain writers on kingly duty (Rājadharma) who represented the king as a "mahati devatā," a great divinity, in human shape. But it was probably due in the first instance to the Scythians who acted as carriers of Persian, Chinese and Roman ideas of kingship. The title Rājātirāja, supreme king overpassing

¹ JRAS, 1924, p. 402. For images of later kings, cf. Beginnings of South Indian History. 144, 153; Raverty, Tabaqāt, I, 622 (effigy of Bikramajit); C. S. Srinivasachari, The Evolution of Political Institutions of South India. Section IV ("The Young Men of India." June and July, 1924), p. 5. Images of Sundara Chola and one of his queens were set up in the Tanjore temple and deified. C. V. Vaidya (Mediaeval Hindu India, I, 98) refers to the prevalence of the custom of raising some temples at the place of burning the dead body of the kings. But it is not clear if the temples contained images of the dead king and his queens. The deification and worship of the dead kings may be compared to devapitripūjā referred to in the Kautiliya (II. 6).

²For a different suggestion see Tam, The Greeks in Bactria and India, ²⁵². Tam prefers to translate Ptolemy's phrase as 'daughter of the gods'. But see Lévi, JA, 1915, p. 91.

The titles 'Theos' and 'Theotropos' were used by certain Indo-Greek rulers, but their example does not seem to have been widely followed. Gondophernes, it is true, calls himself *Devourata*, but not yet *Deva* or *Devaputra*. As to the theory that the Kushāns had been invested competitively with the title "son of the gods" in opposition to the Hiungnu rather than to the Chinese, it has to be admitted that there is no definite evidence that the title in question originated with the Hiungnu, and was not borrowed in ancient times from the Chinese. Pace, B. C. Law Volume, II. 305 ff. The Kushāns had direct contact with the Chinese in the time of Panchao.

other kings, as Rapson points out, is "distinctively Persian." "It has a long history from the Xshāyathiyānām Xshāyathiya¹ of the inscriptions of Darius down to the Shāhān Shāh of the present day." The Kushān epithet "Devaputra" is apparently of Chinese origin, being the literal translation of the Chinese emperors' title "Son of Heaven" (Tien-tze; tien tzu).¹ If Lüders is to be believed, one at least of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns (Kanishka of the Ārā Inscription) assumed the Roman title of "Kaisar," and the dedication of temples in honour of emperors on the banks of the Tiber may have had something to do with the practice of erecting Devakulas on the banks of the Jumna.

A remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of Dvairajya or Diarchy in Northern and Western India and Yauvarājya (rūle of a crown-prince) in N. W. India and the Far South. Under both these forms of government the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. In a Dvairājya or Diarchy the rulers appear to have been of equal status, but in a Yauvarājya (rule of a crown-prince) the reigning prince was apparently a vicegerent. As instances of Dvairājya may be mentioned the cases of Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathokleia and Strato I. Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagana and Hagamasha, Gondophernes and Gad, Gondophernes and Abdagases, Chashtana and Rudradaman, Kanishka II and Huvishka etc., etc. Among ruling Yauvarājas may be mentioned

¹Cf. the use of the term 'Kshapayitvā' in connection with the subversion of the Sunga sovereignty by Simuka. The expressions Kshatrasya Kshatra (Brihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, I. 4. 14), Adhirāja, Chakravartin, etc., are, no doubt, known to our ancient literature. But there is no proof of the use of the last two as formal styles of sovereigns till the Post-Mauryan period, while the first is never so used.

^{*}JRAS, 1897. 903: 1912, 671, 682, Allan, Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, xxvii. Artabanus (1 or II) called himself 'son of a God' (Tarn, The Greeks, p. 92). This may suggest Greek influence too. Some writers fail to distinguish between occurrence of similar royal epithets in literature and their formal use in contemporary epigraphic records in the time of the Kings themselves (B. C. Law Volume, II, pp. 305 ff).



Kharaosta and the Pallava Yuva-Mahārājas Śiva-Śkandavarman, Vijaya-Buddha-varman' and Vishņugopa of Palakkada.

The king or viceroy, resided in cities called Adhishthāna. The number of such Adhishthānas and various other kinds of cities (Nagara, Nagari), was fairly numerous. But regarding their administration our information is very meagre. We hear of "nigama-sabhās" or town councils and of a city official called Nagarākshadarśa' whose functions are nowhere distinctly stated in the inscriptions but seem to have been similar to those of the Nagara-vyāvahārikas, or city judges, of the Maurya Age.

Regarding general administration, and the government of provinces, districts and villages, we have more detailed information. The designations of some of the highest officers of state did not differ from those in vogue during the Maurya period. Mahāmātras, and Rajjukas play an important part in the days of the Śātavāhanas and Scythians as in the time of Aśoka. But side by side with these functionaries we hear of others who do not figure in inscriptions of the Maurya Epoch although some of them appear in the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauṭilya.

The officers most intimately associated with the sovereign were the privy councillors,—the Matisachivas of the Junagadh epigraph and the Rahasyādhikṛta of the Pallava grants. Among other prominent court officials must be mentioned the Rāja Vaidya, Royal Physician and the Rāja Lipikara, Royal Scribe.

No less important than the privy councillors were

¹ IHQ, 1933, 211.

²EHI⁴, 226; Lüders' Ins., No. 1351 (Udayagiri Cave Inscription), Cf. Akshadarša, Patanjali, Index of Words. Oka, Amarakoša, 123; Agni Purāna, 366. 3; Vin. iii. 47. According to the last mentioned text the 'akkhadassas constituted a class of Mahāmattas, like their prototypes in the time of Ašoka. In later ages the Akshadarša might have had revenue functions. Cf. Kshīra's comment on the passage from the Amarakoša referred to above. The duties of the Akshapaṭalikas of the Gupta period may be mentioned in this connection.

Ins., 1190-93.
 Ins., 271; Kaut., II, 10.

the high military officials—the Mahāsenāpati, the Daṇḍanāyaka and the Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka² who probably correspond to the Senāpati and Nāyaka² of the Kauţiliya Arthaśāstra. These important functionaries had probably under them subordinates like Senāgopas (captains), Gaulmikas¹ (commanders of platoons), Ārakshādhikritas² (guards) Aśvavārakas² (troopers), Bhaṭamanushyas² (mercenaries), etc.

We have already referred to one class of civil officers (Amātyas or Sachivas), viz., the Mati sachivas (counsellors). There was another class of Amātyas who served as executive officers (Karma sachivas). From them were chosen governors, treasurers superintendents, and secretaries as in the days of Megasthenes.

Among treasury officials mention is made of the Gamjavara, the Kashthāgārika and the Bhāṇḍāgārika who was one of the principal ministers of state (Rājāmātya). But we have no epigraphic reference to the Sannidhātri (lit. piler) or the Samāhartri (collector) till the days of the "Saila" kings of the Vindhyas and the Somavamsi kings of Kosala. The main heads of revenue received into the Bhāṇḍāgāra or Kośa (treasury) were, as enumerated in the Junāgaḍh Inscription, Bali (extra tribute), Śulk (duty), and Bhāga (customary share of the king). These sufficed to fill the exchequer of a benevolent prince like Rudradā-

^{1 1124, 1146.}

² 1328, cf. Majumdar's List of Kharoshthi Ins. No. 36. For the duties of a Dandanāyaka, cf. IA, 4, 106, 275n; 5, 49; Fleet, CII, 16. Dandanāyakas sometimes carved out principalities (rājya) for themselves (JASB, 1923, 343).

³ Kaut., Bk. X. Ch. 1, 2, 5.

¹ Lüders' Ins., 1200; Ep. Ind. XIV, 155; cf. Manu, VII, 190.

¹ Lüders, 1200.

⁶ Lüders, 381, 728.

⁷ Lüders, 1200.

Lüders' Ins., 965.

^{2 1141.}

^{19 1186.}

^{11 1125.}

¹² Lüders, 82; Rājatarangini, V. 177. Note the employment of a Brāhmaņa treasurer by a Scythian ruler.

¹³ Ep Ind., XX, 28.

¹⁴ Lüders, 1141.

man with kanaka (gold), rajata (silver), vajra (diamond), vaiduryaratna (beryl), etc. Rulers less scrupulous than the Mahākshatrapa doubtless oppressed the people with arbitrary imposts, forced labour and benevolences (karavishţi-pranaya-kriyā-bhih). Besides the Bhāndāgāra whose existence is implied by Lüders' Ins.. No. 1141, we have reference to the storehouse, Koshthāgāra,1 which is described in Book II. Chapter 15, of the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra. The inscriptions afford us glimpses of the way in which the revenue was spent. The attempts to provide for "pāniya" or drinkable water are specially noteworthy. The Junagadh Inscription tells us how "by the expenditure of a vast amount of money from his own treasury" a great Scythian ruler and his amātya restored the Sudarsana lake. References to the construction or repair of tanks, wells, lakes, and other reservoirs of water, Pushkarinis, udapānas, hradas or tadagas, are fairly common. Lüders' Ins., No. 1137, makes mention of makers of hydraulic engines (Audayantrika), while another epigraph² refers to a royal official called Pāniyagharika or superintendent of waterhouses. Inscription No. 1186, after recording the gift of a tadāga (pond), a nāga (statue of a serpent deity) and a vihāra (pleasance, monastery), refers to the Amātya Skandasvāti who was the Karmāntika (superintendent of works). an official designation known to the Arthaśāstra."

In the department of Foreign Affairs we have the Dūta (envoy or messenger), but we do not as yet hear of dignitaries like the Sāmdhivigrahika (officer in charge of peace and war) and Kumārāmātyas who figure so prominently in inscriptions of the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods.

Inscriptions of the period under review refer also to

In Ins. No. 937-

^{*} Lüders, 1279.

³ Bk. I. Ch. 12.

^{*} Kumāra means 'a youth', 'a prince'. Hence Kumārāmālya may mean 'junior minister', or 'prince's minister'. The word Kumāra as the opposite of Praudha may correspond to Chikka, Chenna or Immadi of the South. Another interpretation is also possible. Kumārāmātya may mean an amātya from one's youth just as Kumāra-sevaka means ākaumāraparichārakah.

officials like the Mahāsāmiyas who preserved records, and others whose exact functions and status are nowhere indicated. Amongst these may be mentioned the Abhyamtaropasthāyaka, 'servant of the interior (harem ?),' Māḍabika, Tūthika and Neyika."

The big empires of North Western India were split up into vast satrapies and smaller provinces ruled by Mahākshatrapas and Kshatrapas. The satrapies as well as the kingdoms outside the limits of the Scythian Empire, were divided into districts called Rāshṭra, Āhāra, Janapada, Deśa or Vishaya. We do not as yet hear of the organisation into Bhuktis (lit. allotments, administrative divisions) so widely prevalent in Post-Scythian times. Rāshṭra, Āhāra (or Hāra) and Janapada seem to have been synonymous terms in this age, as is proved by the case of the Sātahani-rattha (rāshtra) or Sātavāhanihāra which is styled a janapada in the Myakadoni Inscription. The chief officer in a Rāshţra or Āhāra was the Rāshṭrapati, Rāshṭrika (Raṭhika) or Amātya. The Amātya Suvišākha, for instance, governed Surāshtra under the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. The Amātyas Vishņupālita, Šyāmaka, and Šiva-skanda-datta successively governed the Ahāra or district of Govardhana (Nāsik) in the time of Gautamîputra Śātakarņi and Pulumāyi, while the neighbouring Ahāra of Māmāla (Poona District) was under an Amātya whose name ended in-Gupta. In the Far South the chief officer of the Ahāra seems to have been called 'Vyāprita." The Janapadas, particularly those on vulnerable frontiers, were sometimes placed under the charge of military governors (Strategos, Mahāsenāpati, Mahādandanāyaka, etc.). The Janapada of Śātavāhani-

¹ For another interpretation see *JBBRAS*, N.S., IV, 1928, pp. 64, 72; *IHO*, 1935, 221. In the opinion of V. S. Bakhle the *Mahāsāmiya* "seems to refer to the resolution of the corporate assembly of the city or to that body itself."

² The word Mādabika may perhaps be connected with Mādamba of the Jaina Kalpasūtra, 89. Para. 62 refers to an official styled Mādambiya (Burgomaster). For a tax Maṇdapikā see Ep. Ind., XXIII, 137.

Sircar equates Neyika with Naiyogika,

⁴ Lüders, 1327, 1328.

hāra was, for instance, under the Mahāsenāpati Skandanāga.¹ Part of Eastern Malwa seems to have been governed by a Śaka Mahādaṇḍanāyaka shortly before its annexation by the Imperial Guptas and portions of the Indian borderland, were governed by a line of Strategoi (Aspavarman, Sasa)² under Azes and Gondophernes.

Deśa, too, is often used as a synonym of Rāshṭra, or Janapada. It was under a Deśādhikṛita, the Deshmukh of mediaeval times, an officer mentioned in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant of Śiva-Skanda-varman. The next smaller unit was apparently the Viṣhaya governed by the Viṣhayapati. But sometimes even 'Viṣhaya was used as a synonym of Deśa or Rāshṭra, and there were cases in the Post-Gupta period of the use of the term to designate a larger area than a Rāshṭra.

The smallest administrative units were the villages called Grāma or Grāmāhāra, and the smaller towns or emporia called Niagama. The affairs of a Grāma were controlled by officers styled Grāmeyika Āyutta who were apparently headed by the Grāmani, Grāmika Grāmabhojaka or (Grāma) Mahattaraka Lüders (Mathurā) Inscription, No. 48, gives the names of two such Grāmikas, Jayadeva and Jayanāga. In Southern India we have the curious title "Muluḍa" applied to the head of a village. The chief men of the Nigamas were the Gahapatis, the

¹ Cf. the Myakadoni Inscription.

For an amātya named Sasa, see the Kodavali Rock Inscription of the Sātavāhana king Siri Chamda Sāti or Sāta (Ep. Ind., XVIII, 318).

²g2gn (Lüders).

Fleet, CH, 32 n.

⁵ Lüders, Ins., No. 1195-

^{*}In Pali literature Nigamās are distinguished from grāmas, villages, as well as from nagaras, cities which had strong ramparts and gateways (dridha prākāra toraņa).

^{7 1327.}

^{# 1333-}

^{9 48,69}a.

^{10 1200.}

II Ins. 1194. Cf. Murunda=lord (Saka). For the presence of Sakas in the Far South, see Ep. Ind., XX, 37.

¹² Gahapati, house-lord, was a designation specially applied to the leading men of the gentry, the wealthy middle class, Kalyāna-bhattiko, men accustomed

counterparts of the Grāmavriddhas of villages. In Lüders' Inscription, No. 1153, we have evidence of the corporate activity of a dhamma-nigama headed by the Gahapati. The Grāma and Nigama organisation was the most durable part of the Ancient Indian system of government, and centuries of Scythian rule could not wipe it out of existence. The village and the Nigamas were also the nurseries of those ideas of associate life which found vent in the organisation of societies, committees, assemblies and corporations styled Goshthīs, Nikāyas, Parishads, Samghas, etc., about which the inscriptions of the period speak so much. Not the least interesting of these institutions was the "Goshthi" which afforded a field for oc-operation between kings and villagers. Lüders' Ins., Nos. 1332 to 1938, speak of a Goshthī which was headed by the Rājan, and which counted among its officials the son of a village headman.

A less pleasing feature of ancient Indian polity in the Scythian, as in other times, was the employment of spies, particularly of the "Samcharamtakas," or wandering emissaries, whose functions are described with gruesome details in the Arthasastra. The evidence of foreign witnesses in Maurya and Gupta periods seems, however, to suggest that political morality did not actually sink so low as a study of the Arthasastra would lead us to think. Vatsyāyana probably voices the real feelings of his countrymen when he says that every single maxim for which there is provision in a theoretical treatise need not be followed in actual practice, because theoretical manuals have to be comprehensive, but practical application should have a limited range. No sane man will think of eating dog's flesh simply because its flavour, tonic power, dressing, etc., are discussed in medical treatises.

to a good dietary. They are often distinguished from priests and nobles (Rhys Davids and Stede).

¹ Lüders' Ins., 273, 1332, 1335, 1338.

^{* 1135}

^{3 125, 925.}

^{* 5. 1137.}



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Na śāstramastītye tāvat prayoge kāranam bhavet śāstrārthān vyāpino vidyāt prayogāmstvekadeśikān rasa-vīrya vipākā hi śvamāmsasyāpi vaidyake kīrtitā iti tat kim syād bhakshaņīyam vichakshaņaiņ

CHAPTER X. THE GUPTA EMPIRE: THE RISE OF THE GUPTA POWER.

Imām sāgaraparyantām Himavad-Vindhya-kuṇḍalām mahîm ekātapatrānkām Rājasimha prasāstu naḥ —Dūtavākyam.

SECTION I. THE FOUNDATION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

We have seen that the tide of Scythian conquest, which was rolled back for a time by the Śātavāhanas, was finally stemmed by the Gupta Emperors. It is interesting to note that there were many Guptas among the officials of the Śātavāhana conquerors of the Śakas e.g., Śiva Gupta of the Nāsik Inscription of the year 18, (Pura or Puru?) Gupta of the Karle Inscription, and Śiva-Skanda Gupta of the same epigraph. It is difficult to say whether there was any connection between these Guptas and the Imperial Gupta family of Northern India, two of whom actually bore the names of Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta.

¹ With Rājasimha may be compared the epithet Narendrasimha occurring on coins of Chandra Gupta II (Allan, Gupta Coins, 43). All the letters here are not clearly legible (ibid., cxiii), but on many coins we find the analogous epithet Simha-vikrama (pp. 38 ff.). The reference in the Dūtavākya must be to a paramount ruler of Northern India, bounded by the seas and the Himāla-yan and Vindhyan ranges, who had the epithet 'lion-like king'. The ruler who answers best to the description is Chandra Gupta II. The author of the Dūtavākya possibly refers to this monarch. If he is identical with Bhāsa, a distinguished predecessor of Kālidāsa, his career as a poet may have begun before the accession of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramādītya, 'Narendra-Simha'. i.e., in the time of the great patron and 'king of poets' (Kavirāja) Samudra Gupta.

² In the Modern Review (November), 1929, p. 499 f., it has been suggested that the Guptas are of Kāraskara origin. But the evidence on the point is hardly conclusive. The identification of the "accursed" Chaṇḍasena of the Kaumudīmahotsava (adopted son of Sundaravarman), whose family was uprooted (p. 500) with Chandra Gupta I, son of Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkacha whose dynasty ruled gloriously for centuries, is clearly untenable. The mere fact that Lichchhavis helped Chaṇḍasena is not enough to prove that the prince in question is identical with Chandra Gupta I. Lichchhavis appear as enemies of Magadha as early as the fifth century B.C. For a summary of the



Scions of the Gupta family are not unoften mentioned in old Brāhmī Inscriptions The Ichchhāwar' Buddhist Statuette Inscription² mentions the benefaction of Mahādevî, queen of Srî Haridasa, sprung from the Gupta race (Gupta-vamsodita). A Bharhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription3 of the Sunga period refers to a "Gaupti" as the queen of Rājan Visadeva, and the grandmother of Dhanabhūti, probably a feudatory of the Śungas.

Traces of "Gupta" rule in Magadha proper, or some neighbouring tract down the Ganges, are found as early as the second century A.D. I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A.D., mentions a Mahārāja Srī Gupta who built a temple near Mṛigasikhāvana "which was about forty yojanas to the east of Nālandā, following the course of the Ganges." I-Tsing's date would place him about A.D. 175.5 Allan rejects the date, and identifies Śrī Gupta, with Gupta the greatgrandfather of Samudra Gupta, on the ground that it is unlikely that we should have two different rulers in the same territory, of the same name, within a brief period.

plot of the drama, which is attributed by some to a female writer, see Aiyangar Com. Vol. 361f. If Sundaravarman, and his son Kalyanavarman are real historical figures, and if they actually ruled over Magadha, they must be placed either before Mahārāja Srī Gupta or after Bālāditya (6th century A.D.). The memory of Varman adhipatya over Magadha was fresh at the time of the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāsiva Gupta (Ep. Ind., XI, 191). Cf. also Pürnavarman and Devavarman mentioned by Chinese writers, as well as kings of the Maukhari line. The origin of the Imperial Gupta family is wrapped up in obscurity. We only know that they probably belonged to the Dharana gotra (IHQ, 1930, 565). They may have been related to Queen Dharini, the chief consort of Agnimitra. Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out (IHQ, 1933. 930 ff.) that according to a Javanese text (Tantri Kāmandaka) Māhārāja Aiśvaryapāla of the Ikshvāku race traced his genealogy to the family of Samudra Gupta. Little reliance can, however, be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late writers. Even more unreliable is the testimony of works like the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa which, according to some critics, 'is a palpable modern forgery' (NHIP, VI. 133n). Cf. Proceedings of the I. H. Congress, 1944. pp. 119 ff.

Banda District.

¹ I.üders, No. 11.

a Lüders, No. 687.

Dr. Majumdar in A New History of the Indian People, VI, 129; Dr. C. Ganguli, IHQ, XIV (1938), 332.

⁵ Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction, p. xv. Cf. Ind. Ant., X (1881), 110.

But have we not two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods? There is no cogent reason for identifying Śrî Gupta of cir. A.D. 175, known to tradition, with Samudra Gupta's great-grandfather who must have flourished about a century later.

The names of Śrî Gupta's immediate successors are not known. The earliest name of a member of the Gupta family of Magadha which appears in inscriptions is that of Mahārāja Gupta who was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Ghatotkacha.

SECTION II. CHANDRA GUPTA I.

The first independent sovereign (Mahārājādhirāja)1 of the line was Chandra Gupta I, son of Ghatotkacha, who may have ascended the throne in 320 A.D., the initial date of the Gupta Era.2 Like his great fore-runner Bimbisara he strengthened his position at some stage of his career, by a matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlī or of Nepāl,3 and laid the foundations of the Second Magadhan Empire. The union of Chandra Gupta I with the Lichchhavi family is commemorated by a series of coins' having on the obverse standing figures of Chandra Gupta and his queen, the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī, and

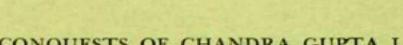
1 In the Riddhapur plates (JASB, 1924, 58), however, Chandra Gupta I and even Samudra Gupta are called (carelessly) simply Mahārājas.

² JRAS, 1893, 80; Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Rep., Vol. IX, p. 21. The identity of the Gupta king with whom the era (Gupta prakāla, Guptānam kāla) of 320 A.D. originated, is by no means clear. The claims of Mahārāja Gupta (IHQ, 1942, 273 n) or even (less plausibly) of Samudra Gupta, cannot be altogether disregarded.

It is not suggested that the marriage took place after 320 A.D. The chronology of the Guptas before A.D. 380 is still in a stage of uncertainty. Nothing definite can be stated about the relative date of the marriage till we know more about the length of Chandragupta I's reign, and the exact date of his accession, and that of his son and successor, Samudra Gupta. Some scholars think that Chandragupta I's alliance was with the ruling family of Nepāl (JRAS, 1889, p. 55) or of Pāṭaliputra (JRAS, 1893, p. 81).

There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the attribution of these coins, see Altekar in Num. Suppl. No. XLVII. JRASB, III (1937). No. 2,346. It is difficult to come to any final conclusion till the discovery of coins whose attribution to Chandragupta I is beyond doubt.





on the reverse a figure of Lakshmī, the goddess of luck with the legend "Lichchhavayah" probably signifying that the prosperity of Chandra Gupta was due to his Lichchhavi alliance. Smith suggests that the Lichchhavis were ruling in Pāṭaliputra as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushāns and that through his marriage Chandra Gupta succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives. But Allan suggests that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Śrî Gupta's time.1

From the record of Samudra Gupta's conquests it has been deduced that his father's rule was confined to Magadha and the adjoining territories. In the opinion of Allan the Puranic verses defining the Gupta dominions refer to his reign:

Anu-Gangā-Prayāgamcha Sāketam Magadhāmstathā Etan janapadan sarvan bhokshyante Guptavamsajah.

"Kings born of the Gupta family will enjoy all these territories viz., Prayaga (Allahabad) on the Ganges, Saketa (Oudh), and Magadha (South Bihar)."

It will be seen that Vaiśālî (North Bihār) is not included in this list of Gupta possessions. Therefore, it is difficult to concur in Allan's view that Vaisalî was one of Chandra Gupta's earliest conquests. Nor does Vaiśālî occur in the list of Samudra Gupta's acquisitions, though the reference to Nepāl as a border state in the famous Allahabad inscription may suggest that North Bihār was included within his dominions. It first appears definitely as a Gupta possession in the time of Chandra Gupta II, and constituted a viceroyalty under an imperial Prince. Prayaga (Allahabad) may have been conquered from a line of kings whose existence is disclosed in certain inscriptions

2 Cf. Anu-Gangam Hastinapuram, Anu-Gangam Varanasī, Anu-Sonam Pățaliputram-Patanjali, II. 1. 2.

¹ Kielhorn's North Indian Inscription, No. 541, however, suggests some connection between the Lichchhavis and Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra).

discovered at Bhīṭā.¹ Two of these kings, Mahārāja Gautamîputra Śrî Śivamagha and Rājan Vāsishṭhîputra Bhīmasena are assigned by Marshall to the second or third century A.D. The name Śivamegha (or Śivamagha) reminds us of the 'Meghas' (Maghas) who ruled in Kosalâ in the third century A.D.² Another king, Mahārāja Gautamîputra Vṛishadhvaja, is assigned to the third or fourth century A.D.

One of the most memorable acts of Chandra Gupta I was the selection, before the assembled councillors (Sabhyas) and princes of the blood, of Samudra Gupta as his successor.

SECTION III. SAMUDRA GUPTA PARĀKRAMĀNKA.3

The exact date when Chandra Gupta I was succeeded by his son, Samudra Gupta, is not known. If the evidence of the spurious Nālandā plate (issued from Nṛipura) has any value the event may have happened before the year 5 of the Gupta Era, i.e., A.D. 325. But this is doubtful. It is clear not only from the Allahabad *Prašasti* but from the epithet "tatpādaparigṛihīta," applied to Samudra Gupta in the Riddhapur inscription, that the prince was selected from among his sons by Chandra Gupta I as best fitted to succeed him. The new monarch may have been known also as Kācha.4

¹ And Bandhogarh (Rewa)—Amrita Bazar Patrika, 11-10-38, p. 2; NHIP. VI. 41 ff. The Magha kings are also known from coins (Fatchpur hoard).

² JRAS, 1911, 132; Pargiter, DKA, p. 51; see also a note on the Kosam Stone Inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, by Mr. A. Ghosh in Indian

Culture, III, 1936, 177 ff; see also IC, I. 694, 715.

The titles Parākrama, Vyāghraparākrama, and Parākramānka are found on coins (Allan, Catalogue, pp. cxi, 1f) and in the Allahabad Prašasti (CII, p. 6). Recently a coin has been found with the legend śrī Vikramah on the reverse (Bamnālā hoard, Nimar district, J. Num. Soc. Ind., Vol. V, pt. 2, p. 140, December, 1943).

The epithet Sarva-rājo-chehhettā found on Kācha's coins shows that he was in all probability identical with Samudra Gupta. Cf. Smith, Catalogue, 96; IA, 1902, 259f. For another view see Smith, JRAS, 1897, 19; Rapson, JRAS, 1893, 81; Heras, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol IX, p. 83f. To us it is unthinkable that the style "uprooter of all kings" could have been assumed by a Gupta monarch other than the one who is

It was the aim of Samudra Gupta to bring about the political unification of India (dharani-bandha) and make himself an Ekarāţ or sole ruler like Mahāpadma. But his only permanent annexation was that of portions of Aryāvarta in the upper valley of the Ganges and its tributaries, together with certain districts in Central and Eastern India. Following his "Sarvakshatrantaka" predecessor, this Sarva-rājo-chchhettā, "exterminator of all kings," uprooted Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapati Nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman, and many other kings of Aryavarta,2 captured the scion of the family of Kota and made all the kings of forest countries (āṭavika-rāja) his servants. Rudradeva has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Rudrasena Vākātaka. the Vākāṭakas can hardly be regarded as rulers of Āryāvarta, and they were far from being uprooted in the time of Samudra Gupta.3 Equally untenable is the identification of Balavarman with a prince of Assam, a province that was then looked upon as a border state (Pratyanta) and not as a part of Āryāvarta. Matila has been identified with a person named "Mattila" mentioned in a seal found in Bulandshahr in the Central Doab. The absence of any honorific

actually credited with that achievement by a contemporary inscription, before the events presupposed by the expression had actually happened. In the Poona plates we find the epithet applied to Chandra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta, along with many other designations of the latter. But it should be remembered that the plates in question are not official records of the Guptas themselves. In no official epigraph of the Imperial Guptas is the style "Sarva-rājo-chchhettā" applied to any other king except Samudra Gupta. The application of the term to Chandra Gupta II in the Poona Plates is due to the same carelessness which led the writer to describe Chandra Gupta I as a mere Māhārāja (and not Māhārājādhirāja). A comparison of the Amgāchhi record with the Banagad Inscription shows that writers of Prasastis not unoften carelessly applied to a later king eulogies really pertaining to a preceding ruler.

Destroyer of all Kshatriyas, an epithet of Mahāpadma.

Dist. of C.P. Eighth Or. Conf. 613 ff. Ep. Ind., xxvi. 147, 150.

² Father Heras thinks (Ann. Bhan. Ins., IX, p. 88) that Samudra Gupta undertook two campaigns in Aryāvarta. But his theory involves the assumption that Achyuta and Nagasena were "violently exterminated" in the second campaign after being "uprooted" in the first. To obviate the difficulty he takes "uprooted" to mean "defeated". This is, to say the least, unconvincing.

3 Cf. IHQ, 1, 2, 254. Rudrasena is connected with Deotek in the Chanda

title on the seal leads Allan to suggest that it was a private one. But we have already come across several instances of princes being mentioned without any honorific. Chandravarman has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Susunia inscription, who was the ruler of Pushkarana and was possibly the founder of Chandravarman-koţa mentioned in the Ghugrahātī grant. Some scholars identify Pushkarana with Pokran or Pokurna in Mārwār, and further equate Simhavarman, the name of the father of Chandravarman, with Simhavarman of the Mandasor family. But there is very little to be said in support of this conjecture. No mention of Chandravarman, or reference to his exploits, is found in any epigraphic record of the Varman family of Western Mālwa. Pushkarana is really to be identified with a village named Pokharan on the Dāmodar river in the Bankura District, some 25 miles to the north-east of Susunia Hill.2

^{1 &}quot;A sandstone hill 12 miles to the north-west of Bankura."

² Cf. Dikshit, ASI, AR, 1927-28, p. 188; S. K. Chatterji, "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language," II, 1061; IHQ, I, 2. 255. Pandit H. P. Sästrī believed that this local ruler who bore the modest title of Mahārāja was identical also with the mighty emperor (bhūmipati prāpta aikādhirājya) Chandra of the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription who "in battle in the Vanga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the Indus the Vāhlikas were conquered." Others suggest the identification of the great Chandra with one or other of the famous Chandra Gupta as of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. But Chandra is never styled either Chandravarman or Chandra Gupta and, unlike the court poets of the Varmans and Guptas, the panegyrist of the mighty Chandra, who is said to have carried his arms to the distant corners of India, never gives the slightest hint about his pedigree. He does not even mention the name of his father. It may be noted here that the Puranas represent the Nagas as ruling in the Jumna Valley and Central India early in the fourth century A.D. We learn from the Vishnu Purana that Nāga dynasties ruled at Padmāvatī and Mathurā. A Nāga line probably ruled also at Vidišā (Pargiter, Kali Age, p. 49). Two kings named Sadā-Chandra and Chandrāmsa, "the second Nakhavant," are mentioned among the post-Andhran kings of Naga lineage. One of these, preferably the latter, who was obviously a ruler of note, may have been the Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription. The Vählikas beyond "the seven mouths of the Indus" are apparently the Baktrioi occupying the country near Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy (Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 408). An inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Srī Chandra has been discovered on a Jaina image at Vaibhāra hill (ASI, AR, 1925-26, p. 125). The identity of this Chandra is not clear.



Ganapati Nāga, Nāgasena and Nandi seem to have been Nāga princes. That Ganapati Nāga was a Nāga prince is evident. This ruler is also known from coins found at Mathura' at Pawaya near Narwar and at Besnagar. Nagasena, who met his doom at Padmavati near Narwar on the Sindh river between Gwalior and Ihansi, is mentioned as a scion of the Naga family in the Harshacharita (Nāga-kula-janmanah sārikāśrāvita mantrasya āsīdnāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām. Nandi was also probably a Nāga prince. In the Purānas Siśu Nandi and Nandiyasas are connected with the Naga family of Central India. We know also the name of a Naga prince named Śivanandi. Achyuta was probably a king of Ahichchhatrā, modern Rāmanagar in the Bareilly District. To him has been attributed the small copper coins bearing the syllables 'achyu' found at Ahichchhatra. As to the Kota-kula Rapson⁷ draws our attention to certain coins bearing the inscription Kota. These resemble the "Sruta coins" attributed to a ruler of Śrāvasti and should apparently be referred to the upper Gangetic region."

Altekar, NHIP, vi. 37-

2 IHQ. I, 2, 255. Note the importance of the name of this king from the point of view of religious history. Cf. Gajamukha of the Brihat Samhitā, 58. 58. A reference to king Ganapati Nāga in the Bhāva Sataka, a late work, is more than doubtful. Gajavaktra \$rī of that work is a misreading for Gala Vaktra Śrī (IHQ. 1936, 135 ff Kāvyamālā, IV, pp. 46 f, 60).

Padamāvatī—"Padam Pawāyā (25 miles N-E of Narwar) in the apex of the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā. Nāga coins have been found here; also a palmleaf capital with an inscription of the first and second century

B.C." EHI, p. 300, ASI, AR, 1915-16, pp. 101 ff.

"In Padmāvatī Nāgasena, born in the Nāga family, whose confidential

deliberations were divulged by a sārikā bird, met his doom."

5 Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 31. It is interesting to note that Garuda was the emblem of the Gupta kings who did much to curb the power of the Nagas. Cf. the passage of the Junagadh Inscription of Skanda Gupta:

Narapati bhujagānām mānadarpot phanānām pratikṛti Garudājñām nirvishīm chāvakartā

In the Puranas Krishna, the deity honoured by the Guptas, crushes the head of the serpent, naga, Kaliya.

Allan, Gupta Coins, xxii; CCAI, Ixxix.

7 JRAS, 1898, 449 f.

8 Smith (Coins in the Indian Museum, 258) points out that the Kota coins are common in the Eastern Pañjāb and the Delhi bazaar. A Kota tribe is The conquered territories were constituted as Vishayas or Imperial sub-provinces. Two of these vishayas are known from later inscriptions of the family, namely, Antarvedī or the Gangetic Doāb and Airikiņa in Eastern Mālwa. It is significant that a Nāga styled the Vishaya-pati Śarva-nāga, figures as a ruler of Antarvedī as late as the time of Skanda Gupta.

The annexation of the northern kingdom named above was not the only achievement of Samudra Gupta. He made the rulers of the Atavika rajyas, or forest states. his servants. But his most daring exploit was an expedition to the south, which made his power felt by the potentates of the Eastern Deccan. We perceive, however, a difference between his northern and southern campaigns. In the north he played the part of a "digvijayī" or "conqueror of the quarters," of the Early Magadhan type.1 But in the south he followed the Epic and Kautilyan ideal of a "dharmavijayī" or "righteous conqueror," i.e., he defeated the kings but did not annex their territory. He may have realised the futility of attempting to maintain effective control over these distant regions in the south from his remote base in the north-east of India. His successor tried to maintain his hold on the Deccan by a system of marriage alliances.

The Āṭavika rājyas undoubtedly included the realm of Ālavaka (Ghāzipur) as well as the forest kingdoms

said to exist also in the Nilgiris (JRAS, 1897, 863; Ind. Ant., iii, 36, 96, 205). The passage in the Allahabad Inscription that "Samudra Gupta caused the scion of the Kota family to be captured by his armies and took pleasure at Pushpähvaya" has been taken by some scholars to suggest that the Kotas were at the time the ruling family of Pāţaliputra (cf. Jayaswal, History of India, c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 113). The identification of the Kota kula, with the Māgadha family of the Kaumudī-mahotsava lacks proof.

1 This kind of Vijaya or conquest is termed Asura-vijaya "demon's conquest" in the Arthasāstra (p. 382). The name may have been derived from the Assyrians, the ruthlessness of whose warfare is well known. For a discussion regarding the possible derivation of Asura from Assur, see JRAS, 1916, 355; 1924, 265ff. Conquest of this type is first met with in India in the sixth century B.C. (cf. Ajātasatru's subjugation of the Lichchhavis and Vidudabha's conquest of the Sākyas) when Persia served as a link between Assyria and India.



connected with Dabhālā or the Jabbalpur territory.1 The conquest of this region by Samudra-Gupta is suggested also by his Eran inscription.

The Kings of Dakshinapatha who came into conflict with the great Gupta were Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maņṭarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Koţţūra, a chieftain of Pishţapura whose precise name is uncertain,2 Damana of Erandapalla, Vishnugopa of Kāñchī, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengī, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera of Devarāshtra, Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura and others.

Kosala in Dakshināpatha, i.e., South Kosala, comprised the modern Bilāspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts, and occasionally possibly even a part of Gañjām.3 Its capital was Śrīpura, the modern Sirpur, about forty miles east by north from Raipur.4 Mahākāntāra is apparently a wild tract of the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradeśa) which probably included Kāntāra which the Mahābhārata places between Venvātaţa (the valley of the Waingangā) and Prāk-Kosala, the eastern part of Kosala mentioned above.5

Fleet, CII, p. 114; Ep. Ind., VIII, 284-287. In the latter part of the fifth and early part of the sixth century A.D., the Dabhālā country was governed by the Parivrājaka Mahārājas as feudatories of the Guptas. The Mbh. ii. 31, 13-15, like the Allahabad Praśasti, distinguishes the Aţavikas from the Kantarakas. One of the Aţavika states may have been Koţaţavi mentioned in the commentary on the Rāma-charita of Sandhyākara Nandi (p. 36). In one epigraphic record, Ep. Ind., VII, p. 126, we have a reference to a place called Vațățavi, while another, Lüder's List, No. 1195, mentions Sahalățavi.

² For the various interpretations of the passage "Paishtpuraka Mahendragiri Kauţţūraka Svāmidatta," see Fleet, CII, Vol. 3, p. 7; JRAS, 1897, pp. 420, 868-870; IHQ, 1925, 252; Barua, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, 224. It is not improbable that Mahendragiri in this passage is a personal name. Cf. the name Kumāra-giri given to a chief of Kondavidu whose territories included a portion at least of the Godāvarī district (Kielhorn, S. Ins., 596). In JRAS, 1897, 870, we have reference to Kamtagir, an ally of Sindhia.

Inclusion of Ratnapur, Ep. Ind., X, 26; of Kongoda, Ep. Ind., VI. 141. unless Kosala is a misreading for Tosala.

⁴ Fleet, CII, p. 293. Cf. Ep. Ind., xxiii, 118 f.

⁵ Mbh. II, 31, 12-13, G. Ramdas (IHQ, I, 4, 684) identifies Mahākāntāra with the 'Jhād-khaṇd' Agency tracts of Gañjām and Vizagapatam. The sway of the raja of Mahakantara or "Greater Kantara", may have extended northwards as far as Nachna in the Ajaygarh (not Jaso) state (Smith, JRAS, 1914. 320). The identification of many of the southern kingdoms suggested by Mr. R. Sathianathaier (in his Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamanda-

Kaurāla cannot be Kolleru or Colair which must have been included within the territory of Hastivarman of Vengī mentioned separately. Dr. Barnett suggests its identification with one of the villages that now bears the name Korāḍa¹ in South India. There is a place named

Kolāda near Russelkonda in Gañjām.

Kottura has been identified with Kothoor, 12 miles south-east of Mahendragiri in Gañjām.2 Pishţapura is Pithāpuram in the Godāvarî district. Erandapalla is identified by Fleet with Erandol in Khandesh, and by Dubreuil with Erandapali, "a town probably near Chicacole" in the Gañjām district.3 But G. Ramdas4 suggests the identification of Erandapalla with Yendipalli in Vizagapatam or Endapilli in Ellore Tāluk. Kāñchî is Conjeeveram near Madras. Avamukta cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the name of its king Nîlarāja reminds us of Nîlapalli, "an old seaport near Yanam" in the Godāvarî district. Vengī has been identified with Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore between the Krishna and the Godavarî. Its king Hastivarman was identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman (of the Ananda family). But the more probable view is that he belonged to the śālań-

lam) does not carry conviction. His conclusion that Samudra Gupta "first emerged on the east coast at Pithapuram and conquered the Western Deccan"

is based upon evidence that is clearly inadequate.

1 Cal. Rev., Feb., 1924, 253 n. Cf. Kurralam, Tj. 590 (A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, by V. Rangacharya). The identification with Yayatinagarī (Ep. Ind., XI. 189), which Dhoyi connects with the sports of the Keralis, was suggested in some editions of this work. But the reading Kerali in the Pavanadūta is not beyond doubt. For Kolāda see Ep.

There is another Kottura 'at the foot of the Hills' in the Vizagapatam district (Vizag., District Gaz., I. 137). See also Kottūru (IA, 4, 329) and Kottūrnādu, MS. 333, Rangacharya's List.

3 Dubreuil, AHD, pp. 58-60. A place called Erandavalli is mentioned in an inscription of Govinda III (Bhārata Itihāsa Sam, Mandala, AR, XVI).

4 IHQ, 1, 4, p. 683. There is an Erandī tīrtha in Pādma, Svarga khanda,

Gazetteer of the Godavari District, Vol. I, p. 213. Curiously enough, the Brahma Purāņa (ch. 113, 22f) mentions an Avimukta-kshetra on the bank of the Gautami, i.e., the Godavari. Cf. Avimuktesvara, Anantapur, 164 of Rangacharya's List.

6 Attivarman was wrongly assigned to the Pallava race. Cf. IHQ, 1, 2,

kāyana dynasty.1 Palakka is probably identical with Palakkada, (or Pālatkata) a Pallava royal residence or seat of a viceroy in Guntur or Nellore in South India. Allan and G. Ramdas locate it in the Nellore district. Devarāshtra is the Yellamañchili tāluk of the Vizagapatam district. Kusthalapura is, according to Dr. Barnett, probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot.4

The capture and liberation of the southern kings, notably of the ruler of Kottūra near Mt. Mahendragiri remind us of the following lines of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsam : --

Grihîta-pratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayî nripah Śriyam Mahendra-nāthasya jahāra natu medinîm

"The righteous conqueror (Raghu) took away from the lord of the Mahendra Mountain, who was made captive and then released, his glory but not his territory."

It is not a little surprising that the Allahabad Praśasti contains no clear reference to the Vakatakas who are known to have dominated part of the region between Bundelkhand and the Penganga in the fifth century A.D. The earliest reference to the Vākātakas occurs in certain inscriptions of Amaravatî.5 The dynasty rose to power under Vindhyaśakti I and his son Pravarasena I. Pravarasena appears to have been succeeded in the northern part of his dominions by his grandson Rudrasena I. Prithivishena I, the son and successor of Rudrasena I, may have been a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and perhaps also of his son Chandragupta II, inasmuch as his son Rudrasena

p. 253; Ind. Ant., IX, 102. But he is actually described as born in the lineage of the great saint Ananda (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 334; Kielhorn, S. Ins., 1015; IA.

IX, 102; ASI, 1924-25, p. 118). The name Hastivarman is actually found in a Śālańkāyana Vanišāvali (IHQ, 1927, 429; 1933, 212; Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II).

² IHQ, I, 2, 686. Cf. Ep. Ind., xxiv, 140.

³ Dubreuil, AHD, p. 160; ASR, 1908-09, p. 123; 1934-35, 43, 65.

Gal. Rev., 1924. p. 253 n. Cf. Kutalaparru, MS, 179 of Rangacharya's

List. ⁵ Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 261, 267.

II married the daughter of the last-mentioned Gupta emperor. Prithivishena I's political influence extended over a fairly wide territory. The Nach-nē-kî-talāî and Ganj regions' were in all probability ruled by his vassal Vyāghra-deva. Professor Dubreuil, however, says that the Nāchnā and Ganj inscriptions, which mention Vyāghra, belong, not to Prithivishena I, but to his great-greatgrandson Prithivishena II. This is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Prithivishena II's greatgrandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A.D. 528, the princes of the region which intervenes between Nāchnā and Ganj and the proper Vākāṭaka territory,2 owned the sway of the Gupta empire. Now as Vyāghra of the Nāchnā and Ganj records acknowledges the supremacy of the Vākāṭaka Prithivisheņa, this Prithivisheņa can only be Prithivishena I, who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II^a and not Prithivishena II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vākātakas, were apparently the acknowledged suzerains of the Madhya Pradeśa as we learn from the records of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas.*

The absence of any clear reference to Prithivishena I in Harishena's *Prašasti* is explained by the fact that Samudra Gupta's operations were actually confined to the eastern part of Trans-Vindhyan India. There is no

¹ Fleet, CII, p. 233; Ep. Ind., XVII, 12. Cf. Ind. Ant., June, 1926.

This was Berar with the adjoining regions (cf. Ep. Ind., xxvi. 147). That Nāchnā and Ganj were in the Gupta Age apparently included within Dakshiṇāpatha is suggested by the Brihat Samhlītā (xiv. 13) which places even Chitrakūṭa in the Dakshiṇa or Southern Division. A recent Vākāṭaka Inscription discovered in the Drug District contains an interesting reference to Padmapura which Professor Mirashi identifies with the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti and with the modern Padampur near Amgaon in the Bhaṇḍārā District of the Central Provinces. IHQ, 1935, 299; Ep. Ind., xxii, 207 ff. The Basim grant implies control of a branch of the family over the part of Berar south of the Ajanta range.

³ The Eran and Udayagiri Inscriptions. For evidence of Palaeography see JRASB, xii. 2, 1946, 73.

⁴ Cf. Modern Review, April, 1921, p. 475. For Dubreuil's views, see Ind. Ant., June, 1926.

reliable evidence that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to the central and western parts of the Deccan proper, i.e., to the territory ruled by Prithivishena I himself. Professor Dubreuil has shown that the identification of Devarashtra with Maharashtra and of Erandapalla with Erandol in Khandesh is probably wrong.

Though Samudra Gupta did not invade the Western Deccan it is clear from his Eran Inscription that he did deprive the Vākāṭakas of their possessions in Central India. These territories were not, however, directly governed by the Vākāṭaka monarch, but were under a vassal prince. In the time of Prithivishena this prince was Vyāghra. We should naturally expect a conflict between the Vākāṭaka feudatory and the Gupta conqueror. Curiously enough, the Allahabad Prasasti refers to Samudra Gupta's victory over Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra.2 It is probable that this Vyāghrarāja is identical with the Vyāghra of the Nāchnā Inscription who was the Central Indian feudatory of Prithivishena. As a result of Samudra Gupta's victory the Guptas succeeded the Vākāṭakas as the paramount power in parts of Central India. Henceforth the Vākātakas appear in fact as a purely southern power.

The victorious career of Samudra Gupta must have produced a deep impression on the Pratyanta nripatis or frontier kings of North-East India and the Himālayan region, and the tribal states of the Pañjāb, Western India, Mālwa and the Central Provinces, who are said to have gratified his imperious command (prachaṇḍa śāsana) "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The most important among the eastern kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samataṭa (part of Eastern Bengal bordering

¹ Cf. Modern Review, 1921, p. 457
² Has the title Vyāghra-parākrama, found on a type of Samudra Gupta's coins that represents the king as trampling on a tiger, anything to do with the emperor's victory over Vyāghra-rāja? It is not a little curious that the next sovereign, conqueror of Rudrasimha III, the last Satrap, assumed the title of Sinha-vikrama.

³ For the significance of the term, see Divyāvadāna, p. 22.

on the sea, having its capital probably at Karmmānta or Baḍ-Kamta near Comilla),¹ Pavāka (not yet satisfactorily identified)² and Kāmarūpa (in Lower Assam). We learn from the Dāmodarpur plates that the major portion of Northern Bengal, then known as Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, formed an integral part of the Gupta Empire from A.D. 443 to A.D. 543, and was governed by a line of Uparikas as vassals of the Gupta Emperor. The identification of Pavāka with certain districts of North Bengal is, therefore, probably wrong. The Northern Pratyantas were Nepāl and Kartṛipura. The latter principality comprised probably Katārpur in the Jālandhar district, and the territory of the Katuria or Katyur rāj of Kumaun, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand.³

The tribal states which paid homage were situated on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper. Among these the most important were the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas.

The Mālavas occupied part of the Pañjāb in the time of Alexander. They were probably in Eastern Rājaputāna when they came into conflict with Ushavadāta. Their exact location in the time of Samudra Gupta cannot be determined. In the time of Samudra Gupta's successors they were probably connected with the Mandasor region. We find princes of Mandasor using the reckoning, commencing B.C. 58, handed down traditionally by the Mālava-gaṇā (Mālava-gaṇāmnāta).

¹ Bhattasali, Iconography, pp. 4f. JASB, 1914, 85 ff. Cf. the position of Mabārāja Rudradatta under the emperor Vainya Gupta early in the sixth century A.D. (Gunaighar Ins.).

² Cf. Dekaka (Dacca), Hoyland, The Empire of the Great Mogol, 14. Mr. K. L. Barua identifies Davāka with the Kopili Valley in Middle Assam (Early History of Kāmarūpa, 42 n). For the alleged use of Gupta era in the Dabokā region, see Ep., xxvii, 18f.

³ EHI⁴, 302n; JRAS, 1898, 198. Ep. Ind., XIII, 114; cf. J. U. P. Hist. Soc., July-Dec., 1945, pp. 217 ff, where Mr. Powell-Price suggests 'some sort of connection between the Kunindas and the Katyurs.'

⁴ Cf. Smith, Catalogue, 161. Allan, CCAI, p. cv. Mālava coins have been found in vast numbers in the Jaipur State (JRAS, 1897, 883).

The Arjunayanas and the Yaudheyas are placed in the northern division of India by the author of the Brihat-Samhitā. They may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pandava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Pañjāb. The connection of the Ārjūnāyanas with the Pāṇḍava Arjuna is apparent.2 Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhishthira in the Mahābhārata.3 The Harivamsa, a later authority, connects the Yaudheyas with Usinara.4 A clue to the locality of this tribe is given by the Bijayagadh Inscription.5 The hill-fort of Bijayagadh lies about two-miles to the south-west of Byana in the Bharatpur state of Rajaputana. But the Yaudheya territory must have extended beyond the limits of this area and embraced the tract still known as Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the border of the Bahāwalpur state.

The Madrakas had their capital at Śākala or Śiālkoṭ in the Pañjāb. The Ābhīras occupied the tract in the lower Indus valley and western Rājaputāna, near Vinaśana¹ in the district called Abiria by the Periplus³ and the geography of Ptolemy. We have already seen that an Abhīra possibly became Mahākshatrapa of Western India and probably supplanted the Śātavāhanas in a part of Mahārāshṭra before the middle of the third century A.D. A section of the tribe apparently settled in Central India and gave its name to the Āhirwār country between Jhansi and Bhilsa.³ The territories of the Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas lay probably in Mālwa and the

¹ Ind. Ant., XIII, 331, 349. ² Their coins are found in the Mathurā region (Smith, Catalogue, 160). The Abhidhāna-chintāmaņi, p. 434, identifies a river called Ārjunī with the Bāhudā (Rāmgaṅgā?).

^{*} Adi., 95, 76. Yaudheyas are already known to Pāṇini, V. 3, 117.

⁴ Pargiter, Mārkandeya Purāṇa, p. 380. ⁵ Fleet, CII, p. 251, Yaudheya votive tablets have been found in the Ludhiana District (JRAS, 1897, 887). Coins have been found in the area extending from Saharanpur to Multan (Allan, CCAI, cli).

⁶ Smith, JRAS, 1897, p. 30. Cf. Cunningham, AGI, 1924. 281.
7 Südrābhirān prati dveshād yatra nashṭā Sarasvatī, Mbh., IX, 37. 1.

⁸ Cf. Ind. Ant., III, 226 f. ⁹ JRAS, 1897, 801. Cf. Ain-i-Akbari II, 165; Malcolm, CI, L. 20.

Central Provinces. The Prārjunakas are mentioned in the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauţilya¹ and are located by Smith² in the Narsinhapur District of the Central Provinces. A clue to the locality of the Sanakānīkas is given by one of the Udayagiri Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II discovered in Eastern Mālwa. The Kākas find mention in the Mahābhārata³—Ŗishikā Vidabhāḥ Kākās Taṅganāḥ-Parataṅganāḥ. In the Bombay Gazetteer Kāka is identified with Kākūpur near Bithur. Smith suggests that the name may be locally associated with Kākanāda (Sāňchī). The Kharaparikas may have occupied the Damoh District of the Central Provinces.⁴

The rise of a new indigenous imperial power could not be a matter of indifference to the foreign potentates of the North-West Frontier, Mālwa and Surāshṭra (Kāṭhīāwār) who hastened to buy peace "by the acts of homage, such as offer of personal service, the bringing of gifts of maidens," begging for scals marked with the Garuḍa sign (Garutmadanka) to allow them to rule over their respective districts and provinces (svavishaya bhukti)." The foreign powers that thus established diplomatic relations with Samudra Gupta were the Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi and the Śaka Muruṇḍas as well as the people of Sinihala and all other dwellers in islands."

¹ P. 194.

² JRAS, 1897, p. 892.

³ Mbh. VI, 9, 64.

⁴ Bhandarkar, IHQ, 1925, 258; Ep. Ind., XII, 46. H. C. Ray, DHNI, 1, 586, mentions a Kharpara padraka apparently in Mālwa. A Bennākārpara-bhāga is mentioned in the Siwani plate.

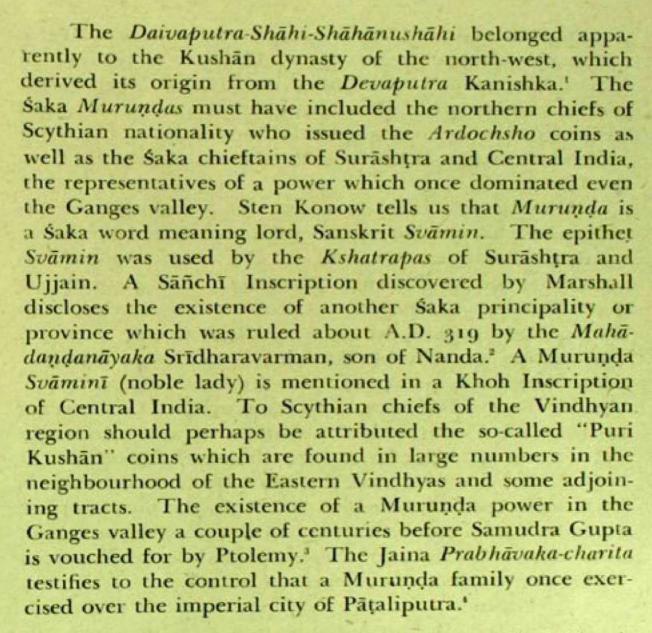
⁵ The presence of Scythian maidens in the Hindu imperial harem is not surprising in view of the known facts about Chandra Gupta Maurya's alliance with Seleukos and the marriage of a Śātakarņi with the daughter of a great satrap. Cf. also Penzer, II. 47; III. 170.

^{*} Cf. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, 145. "The victor restored the crown and country of the Chola in the form of a religious gift, which was confirmed by the issue of a royal rescript with the Pandyan seal on it."

⁷ As to the form Daiva, see Achaemenian inscriptions of Xerxes, and forms like Bhaimarathi (instead of Bhimarathi).

^{*} Note the imitation by Samudra Gupta of coins of Kushān type with Ardochsho reverse (Allan, xxviii, xxxiv, lxvi). Such coins were, according to scholars, issued by Scythians of the North-West.

⁹ Some control over the islands in the neighbouring seas is possibly hinted



at in the epithet *Dhanada-Varunendrāntakasama*, the equal of Dhanada (Kuvera, lord of wealth, guardian of the north). Varuna (the Indian Sea-god the guardian of the west). Indra, king of the celestials and guardian of the east, and Antaka (Yama, god of death, and guardian of the south). The comparison of Samudra Gupta with these deities is apposite and possibly refers not only to his conquests in all directions, but to his possession of immense riches, suzerainty over the seas, the spread of his fame to the celestial region and his extirpation of various kings. Inscriptions discovered in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago testify to the activities of Indian navigators (e.g., the *Mahānāvika* from Raktamrittikā mentioned in a Malayan epigraph) and military adventures in the Gupta Age.

Smith (JRAS, 1897, 32) identified him with Grumbates. Some scholars take the expression to refer to different kings and chieftains. Cf. Allan. xxvii. There may also be a reference to the Sassanids as well.

²Ep. Ind., xvi, p. 232; JRAS, 1923, 337 ff.

³ Ind. Ant., 1884, 377; Allan, xxix; cf. India Antiqua (Vogel Volume, 1947), 171 f, Murundas in the Ganges Valley c. 245 A.D. mentioned by the Chinese.

C. J. Shah. Jainism in N. India, p. 194; Cf. Indian Culture, III, 49.

Samudra Gupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarna. A Chinese writer, Wang Hiuen ts'e, relates that Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (i.e., Śrī Meghavarman or Meghavarna) sent an embassy with gifts to Samudra Gupta and obtained his permission to erect a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh Gayā for the use of pilgrims from the Island.¹

Allan thinks that it was at the conclusion of his campaigns that the Gupta conqueror celebrated the horsesacrifice which, we are told in the inscriptions of his successors, had long been in abeyance. But it should be noted that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Pushyamitra to that of Samudra Gupta, e.g., Pārāśarīputra Sarvatāta, Śātakarņi, the husband of Nāyanikā, Vāsishthīputra Ikshvāku Śrī-Chāmtamūla, Devavarman Śālańkāyana, Pravarasena I Vākātaka, Śiva-skandavarman Pallava and the Nāga kings of the house of Bhāraśiva. It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these monarchs. After the horse-sacrifice Samudra Gupta apparently issued coins bearing the legend Aśva-medha-parākramah, 'whose prowess was demonstrated by the performance of the horse-sacrifice."

If Harishena, the writer of the Allahabad *Prašasti*, is to be believed, the great Gupta was a man of versatile genius. "He put to shame the preceptor of the lord of

Geiger, the Mahāvamsa (trans.), p. xxxix; Lévi, Journ. As., 1900,

pp. 316 ff., 401 ff.; Ind. Ant., 1902, 194.

³ Rapson and Allan refer to a seal bearing a horse and the legend Parākrama, and the stone figure of a horse, now in Lucknow, which are probably reminiscent of the Asvamedha of Samudra Gupta. (JRAS, 1901.

102; Gupta Coins, xxxi.)

²Cf. Divekar, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, VII, pp. 164-65, "Allahabad Praiasti and Ašvamedha." In the Poona plates Samudra Gupta receives the epithet anekāšvamedhayājin. He was believed to have celebrated more than one horse-sacrifice. Some of the campaigns described in the Allahabad panegyric may have been actually conducted by Princes or officers who kept guard over the sacrificial horse that was allowed to roam at large. In the inscription of Harishena the credit for capturing some of the van-quished chieftains is given to the army. Among the great commanders were men like Tilabhattaka and Harishena himself, who was the son of Dhruvabhūti.



Gods and Tumburu' and Nārada and others by his sharp and polished intellect and choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established his title of Kavirāja by various poetical compositions." "He alone is worthy of the thoughts of the learned . . . His is the poetic style which is worthy of study, and his are the poetic works which multiply the spiritual treasures of poets." Unfortunately none of these compositions have survived.3 But the testimony of Harishena to his musical abilities finds corroboration in the lyrist type' of his coins. Himself a poet like Harsha, Mahendravarman and other kings of a later age, the Gupta monarch associated with men of letters who were none too prosperous and "put an end to the war between good poetry and plenty" (satkāvyaśrīvirodha). As a result "he enjoyed in the world of the learned, a farextending sovereignty whose shining glory endured in many poems."

Samudra Gupta favoured poetry as well as the Śāstra, while Aśoka seems to have specialised in scriptural studies alone. The former undertook military campaigns with the object of sarva-pṛithivī-jaya, conquest of the whole earth, as known to his panegyrist, the latter eschewed military conquest after the Kalinga war and organised missions to effect Dhamma-vijaya, conquest of the hearts of men, in three continents. Yet in spite of these differences there was much that was common to these remarkable men. Both laid stress on parākrama, ceaseless exertion in the cause in which they believed. Both expressed solici-

¹ For Tumburu see Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 7;EI, I. 236.

² According to the Kāvya Mīmārisā (3rd ed., GOS, pp. xv, xxxii, 19) a "Kavirāja is one stage further than a Mahākavi, and is defined as one who is unrestrained in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments." For the intellectual activities of the Gupta Age see Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India," pp. 61-74 and Bühler, 1A, 1913. The son and successor of Samudra Gupta had the title Rūpakritī, maker of plays'.

A poetical work called the Krishna-charitam is attributed to Vikramānka Mahārājādhirājā Paramabhāgavata Śrī Samudra Gupta (IC, X, 79, etc.). But the ascription has been doubted by competent critics (cf. Jagannāth in Annals, BORI, and others).

^{*} A lute-player (Vīṇā-gāthin) plays an important part in the Asvamedha.

tude for the people committed to their care, and were kind even to vanquished enemies. And both laid emphasis on *Dharma*. Samudra Gupta, no less than Dharmāśoka, made firm the rampart of the true law (*Dharma-prāchira-bandhah*).

The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kācha to Samudra Gupta may be accepted. But the emperor's identification with Dharmāditya (sun of the true faith) of a Faridpur grant is clearly wrong. The titles used by this monarch were Apratiratha, 'unrivalled car-warrior,' Aprativāryavīrya, 'of irresistible valour,' Kritānta-parašu, 'axe of death,' sarva-rāj-ochchhettā,' 'uprooter of all kings,' Vyāghra-parākrama, 'possessed of the strength of a tiger,' Aśva-medha-parākrama, 'whose might was demonstrated by the horse-sacrifice,' and Parākramānka, 'marked with prowess,' but not Dharmāditya. Most of these epithets are connected with particular types of coins issued by the emperor. Thus Parākrama is found on the reverse of coins of the standard type, Apratiratha on coins of the archer type, Kritanta-paraśu on coins of the battle-axe type, sarvarājochchhetta on coins of the Kāch type, Vyāghraparākrama (Rājā) on the tiger type of coins, and Aśwamedha-parākrama on the Aśwamedha type." The appearance of a goddess seated on a lion (simha-vāhinī, i.e., Durgā or Pārvatī, Vindhya-vāsinī or Haimavatī) may point to the extension of the Gupta dominions to the Vindhya and the Himavat. The tiger and river-goddess (makaravāhinī) type may indicate that the sway of Samudra Gupta spread from the Ganges valley to the realm of the 'Tiger king' in Mahākāntāra. The figures of Gangā and Yamunā occur frequently in door jambs of the Gupta Age.

* Nana on lion of Huvishka's coins (Whitehead, 207) may have suggested this type.

¹ Cf. the epithet "sarva-hshattrāntaka" applied to his great fore-runner, Mahāpadma Nanda.

² The battle-axe appears also on coins of the Udumbaras, CHI, 539; and Jayadāman, Rapson (Andhra, etc.), 76.

³Cf. 'Horse facing post' which appears also on a square coin attributed to Chashtana (Rapson *ibid.*, 75) whose dynasty was overthrown by the Guptas.



It has been surmised that they symbolise connection with the Gangetic Doab.

Samudra Gupta's 'virtuous and faithful wife,' possibly Datta Devī, appears to be mentioned in an Eraņ inscription referable to the period of his rule. We possess no genuine dated documents for the reign of the great emperor. The Nālandā¹ and Gayā grants profess to be dated in the years 5 and 9 respectively, but no reliance can be placed on them and the reading of the numeral in the Gayā record is uncertain. Smith's date (A.D. 330-375) for Samudra Gupta is conjectural. As the earliest known date of the next sovereign is A.D. 380-381² it is not improbable that his father and predecessor died some time after A.D. 375.³ One of the last acts of Samudra Gupta was apparently the selection of his successor. The choice fell on Chandra Gupta, his son by Datta Devī.

¹ ASI, AR, 1927-28, p. 138. ² An inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated in the year 61, corresponding to A.D. 380-81 was discovered in the Mathura District (Ep. Ind., XXI, 1 ff.).

³ Sircar (IHQ, 1942, 272) reads the dated portion of the inscription of the year 61 as \$r\tilde{t}\$ Chandra Guptasya vijaya-r\tilde{a}jya samuatsare pa\tilde{n}chame—the fifth regnal year of Chandra Gupta (II). Therefore, his first year may be taken to be A.D. 376-77.

CHAPTER XI. THE GUPTA EMPIRE—(continued): THE AGE OF THE VIKRAMADITYAS.

Kāmam nripāh santu sahasrašo' nye rājanvatīmāhuranena bhūmim nakshatra-tārā-graha sankulāpi jyotishmatī Chandramasaiva rātrih.

-Raghuvamsam.

SECTION I. CHANDRA GUPTA II VIKRAMADITYA.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, also called Narendra Chandra, Simha Chandra, Narendra Simha and Simha Vikrama, born of queen Dattadevī. Chandra Gupta was chosen out of many sons by his father as the best fitted to succeed him. Another name

¹ Cf. the name Vikrama Simha of Ujjayinī, Penzer, III. 11. The story narrated in Vishamašila Lambaka, has for its hero Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya, who is apparently to be identified with Skanda Gupta. But some of the motifs such as strīvesha (Kathā Sar. XVIII. 3. 42), visit to the enemy's own place with a Vetāla (5. 40 f) were probably taken from the cycle of legends associated with Chandra Gupta II, father of Mahendra.

² That Samudra Gupta had many sons and grandsons appears clear from the Eran epigraph. The theory of Dr. Altekar (JBORS, XIV, pp. 223-53; XV. pt. i-ii, pp. 184 f.) and others that a king named Rama (Sarma? Sena?) Gupta intervened between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II is unsupported by any contemporary epigraphic evidence. The tradition that a Gupta king killed his brother and took his wife and crown, dates only from a ninth century epigraph. The literary evidence on the point is discrepant and hardly conclusive. The version given by Bana in the seventh century differs in important respects from the story known to the author of the Kāvya-Mimāmsā. Cir. 900 A.D. (Cf. Ind. Ant., Nov., 1933, 201 ff.; JBORS, XVIII, 1, 1932. 17 ff.). The simple story, narrated in the Harsha-Charita, that Chandra Gupta, disguised as a female, destroyed a saka (not Khasa) king, who coveted the wife of another, in the very city of the enemy, was doubtless embellished by later poets and dramatists, and (as is clear from certain data, to which Mr. V. V. Mirashi draws attention in IHQ. March, 1934. 48 ff.) details, such as fratricide, and association with ghouls, not found in the earlier account. continued to be added in the days of Amoghavarsha I (A. D. 815-78) and Govinda IV (A.D. c. 927-933). The Devi Chandraguptam and similar works are as much unsuited to form bases of the chronicles of Chandra Gupta II as

of the new monarch disclosed by certain Vākātaka inscriptions, several types of coins and the Sanchi inscription of A. D. 412-3 was Deva Gupta, Deva-śrī or Deva-rāja.1

For the reign of Chandra Gupta II, we possess a number of dated inscriptions so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession should be placed before A.D. 381, and his death in or about A.D. 413-14.

The most important external events of the reign were the emperor's matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, son of Prithivishena I, and the war with the śaka Satraps which added Western Mālwa and

Surāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwār) to the Gupta dominions.

Matrimonial alliances occupy a prominent place in the foreign policy of the Guptas. The Lichchhavi connection had strengthened their position in Bihār. After the conquest of the upper provinces they sought alliances with other ruling families whose help was needed to consolidate the Gupta power in the newly acquired territory and prepare the ground for fresh conquests. Thus Samudra Gupta received presents of girls (kanyopāyana) from Śaka-Kushān chiefs and other foreign potentates. Chandra Gupta II married Kuberanāgā, a princess of Nãga lineage," and had by her a daughter named Prabhāvatī, whom he gave in marriage to Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king of Berar and the

the Mudrārākshasam and the Ašokāvadāna are in regard to the doings of the great Mauryas. The subject has been fully discussed by the present writer in an article entitled "Vikramāditya in History and legend" contributed to the Vikrama-volume, Scindhia Oriental Institute (1948), pp. 483-511. The story of Chandra Gupta's adventure in its developed form has absorbed a good deal of folklore, such as tales about ghouls, Pisācha. The motif of the wife leaving a mean-spirited husband is found in Penzer, Kathā S. S., III. 290.

1 Cf. Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant. 1913. p. 160.

² Nāga-kulotpannā cf. JASB, 1924. p. 58. It is possible as urged by many writers, that Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya also entered into marriage alliances with the Kadambas of Vaijayanti or Banavāsi in Kuntala, or the Kanarese, country. The sending of an embassy to Kuntala by Vikramāditya, is vouched for by Bhoja and Kshemendra. (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, p. 6.) Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings in or about the fifth century (Talagunda Inscription, Ep. Ind., VIII, 33 ff.; IHQ, 1933, 197 ff.).

adjoining districts. According to Dr. Smith¹ "the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service or disservice to the northern invader of the dominions of the Śaka satraps of Gujrāt and Surāshṭra. Chandra Gupta adopted a prudent precaution in giving his daughter to the Vākāṭaka prince and so šecuring his subordinate alliance."

The campaign against the Western Satraps is apparently alluded to in the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Vīrasena-Śāba in the following passage "he (Śāba) came here (to Eastern Mālwa), accompanied by the king (Chandra Gupta) in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world." Śāba was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra. He held the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of a Sachiva or minister of Chandra Gupta II, and was placed by his sovereign in charge of the Department of Peace and War. He naturally accompanied his master when the great western expedition was undertaken. Eastern Mālwa, which had already felt the might of Samudra Gupta, became the base of operations against the Sakas. Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Sañchī suggest that the emperor Chandra Gupta II assembled at or near Vidiśā in East Mālwa many of his ministers, generals and feudatories, some of whom are mentioned in records dating from A.D. 402 to 413. The campaign against the Sakas was eminently successful. The fall of the Saka Satrap is alluded to by Bāṇa. The annexation of his territory is proved by coins.3

Chief Cities of the Empire.—The first important Gupta metropolis seems to have been at Pāṭaliputra—"the city named Pushpa" where Samudra Gupta is said to have

¹ JRAS, 1914, p. 324.

² Silver coins of the Garuda type bearing the legend *Parama-Bhāgavata*, probably struck in Surāshtra (Allan, p. xciv). Some of the coins bear the date 90 (=A.D. 409, EHI, 4th ed., p. 345). It has been suggested that, like his father, Chandra Gupta, too, performed a horse sacrifice (IHQ, 1927, p. 725) and that a stone horse lying in a village named Nagawa near Benares, and bearing an inscription containing the letters Chamdragu, commemorates the event. But there is no clear reference to such a sacrifice in the inscriptions or coins hitherto published.



"rested on his laurels" after one of his victorious campaigns, and from which a Gupta Minister for Peace and War went to East Mālwa in the company of his sovereign. From A.D. 402 Chandra Gupta seems to have had a residence in Mālwa, at first possibly at Vidiśā and later on, after his western conquests, at Ujjain. Certain chiefs of the Kanarese districts, who claimed descent from Chandra Gupta (Vikramāditya), referred to their great ancestor as Ujjayinī-puravar-ādhīśvara, 'lord of Ujjain, the best of cities,' as well as Pāṭalipuravar-ādhīśvara, 'lord of Pāṭali (putra), the best of cities.' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies Chandra Gupta II with the traditional Vikramāditya Śakāri, "the sun of valour, the destroyer of the Śakas," of Ujjain.1 The titles Śrī Vikramah, Simha-Vikramah, Ajita-Vikramah, Vikramānka and Vikramāditya actually occur on Chandra Gupta's coins.1

1 In literature Vikramāditya is represented as ruling at Pāţaliputra (Kathā-sarit-sāgara, VII, 4. 3:—Vikramāditya ityāsidrājā Pāṭaliputrake) as well as Ujjayinī and other cities. Sāhasānka of Ujjain is said to have ordered the exclusive use of Sanskrit in his harem (Kāvya Mīmāmsā, 3rd ed., p. 50). He thus reversed the policy of Āḍhyarāja (p. 197) or Sātavāhaņa of Kuntala. Cf. the verse in Sarasvatī. Kanṭhābharaṇa II. 15.

Ke'bhunn Adhyarājasya rājye prākrita-bhāshinah kāle śrī Sāhasānkasya ke na Samskritavādinah.

Among the Kāuya-kāras tested in Ujjain mention is made of a Chandra Gupta along with Kālidāsa, Amara, Bhāravi and others (Kāuya M., p. 55). Paramārtha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, refers to Ayodhyā as the capital of a Vikramāditya while Hiuen Tsang represents Śrāvastī as the seat of the famous king (EHI, 3rd Ed., pp. 332-33). Subandhu refers to the fame of Vikramāditya, but not to his capital city, "like a lake Vikramāditya hath left the earth, save indeed in fame" (Keith, Hist. Sans. Lit., p. 312). Cf. Hāla, v. 64.

Hāla, v. 64. ² Name, title or epithet.	Type of coin. (Archer type (gold):
Śrī Vikrama	Archer type (gold) {Couch type (gold).
Vikramāditya	Chhattra (Parasol) type (gold).
Rūpakritī	Couch type (gold).
Simha-Vikrama, Narendra Chandra,	Lion-Slayer (gold).
Narendra Simha, Simha Chandra Ajita-Vikrama	Horseman type (gold).
Paramabhāgavata)	
Paramabhāgavata Vikramāditya	Silver coins of the Garuda type.
Vikramānka Vikramāditya, Mahārāja, Chandra	Copper coins (Garuda, Chhattra and Vase type).

We have no detailed contemporary notice of Ujjayinī (also called Viśālā, Padmāvatī, Bhogavatī, Hiraņyavatī)1 in the days of Chandra Gupta. But Fa-hien who visited Mid India during the period A.D. 405 to 411, has left an interesting account of Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim refers to the royal palace of Asoka and the halls in the midst of the city, "which exist now as of old," and were according to him "all made by spirits which Asoka employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work,-in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish." "The inhabitants are rich and prosperous, and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images . . . The Heads of the Vaisya families establish houses for dispensing charity and medicines." The principal port of the empire on the east coast was Tāmralipti or Tamluk in West Bengal from which ships set sail for Ceylon, Java (then a centre of Brahmanism), and China.

Much light is thrown on the character of Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya's administration by the narrative of Fa-hien and the inscriptions that have hitherto been discovered. Speaking of the Middle Kingdom, the dominions of Chandra Gupta in the upper Ganges Valley, the Chinese pilgrim says: "the people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it. If they want to go, they go: if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily, according to the circumstances of each case. Even in cases of repeated attempts

¹ Meghadūta (I. 31) and Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Tawney's translation, Vol. II. p. 275. For an account of Ujjayinī in the seventh century A.D., see Beal, H. Tsang, II, p. 270; and Ridding, Kādambarī, pp. 210 ff.

at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off. The king's bodyguards and attendants all have salaries. Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Chāṇḍālas. In buying and selling commodities they use cowries." The last statement evidently refers to such small transactions as Fa-hien had occasion to make. The pilgrim does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency, we know from the references to "dīnāras" and "suvarņas" in inscriptions.

That Chandra Gupta II was a good monarch may be inferred also from the inscriptions. Himself a devout Vaishṇava (Parama-bhāgavata), he appointed men of other sects to high offices. His general Āmrakārddava, the hero of a hundred fights, anēkasamar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākaḥ, appears to have been a Buddhist or at least a pro-Buddhist, while his Minister of Peace and War, śāba-Vīrasena, and perhaps also his Mantrin or High

Counsellor, śikharasvāmin, were śaivas.

Regarding the machinery of Government we have no detailed information. But the following facts may be gleaned from the inscriptions. As in Maurya times, the head of the state was the Rājā who was at times nominated by his predecessor. The king is now regarded as a divinity—Achintya Purusha, 'the Incomprehensible Being,' Dhanada-Varuṇendrāntaka-sama, the equal of Kuvera, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama, loka dhāma deva, 'a god dwelling on earth,' Paramadaivata, 'the supreme

¹ Legge.

² Allan.

³ Chandra Gupta II also issued silver and copper coins. The silver coins were mainly intended for the western provinces conquered from the Saka satraps but they are also mentioned in the time of his son in inscriptions of Northern Bengal. The Baigram inscription of the year 128 (448 A.D.) for instance refers to rūpakas along with dīnāras (cf. Allan, p. exxvii). The copper coins issued by Chandra Gupta II are commonly found around Ayodhyā (Allan, p. exxxi).

deity.' He was assisted by a body of High Ministers whose office was very often hereditary as is suggested by the phrase "anvaya-prāpta sāchivya" 'acquirer of the post of minister by hereditary descent', of the Udayagiri Inscription of śāba.1 The most important among the High Ministers were the Mantrin, 'High Counsellor,' the Sāmdhi-vigrahika, 'Minister for Peace and War,' and the Akshapatal-ādhikrita, 'the Lord Keeper of State Documents.' Like the Kautilyan Mantrin, the Gupta Sāmdhi-vigrahika accompanied the sovereign to the battlefield. As in the case of most of the Pradhanas of Śivājī there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be Sāmdhi-vigrahika, Kumārāmātya (cadet-minister), and Mahādanda-nāyaka, 'great commandant of the army,' and a Mantrin could become a Mahā-bal-ādhikrita, 'chief commander of forces.'

It is not clear whether the Guptas had a central council of ministers (Mantri-parishad). But the existence of local parishads (e.g., the Parishad of Udānakūpa) is proved by a Basārh seal discovered by Bloch.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces styled Deśas, Bhuktis, etc., sub-divided into districts called Pradeśas or Vishayas. Among Deśas the Gupta inscriptions mention śukuli-deśa. Śurāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwāḍ), Dabhālā (the Jubbalpore region, Dāhala or Chedi of later times) and "Kālīndī Narmadayor Madhya," the territory lying between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, and embracing, no doubt, Eastern Mālwa, are also perhaps to be placed under this category.

3 A territorial unit styled Vithi is also known.

¹ The Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka Harisheṇa was the son of the Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka Dhruva-bhūti. The Mantrin Pṛithivisheṇa was the son of the Mantrin Sikharasvāmin. Cf. also the hereditary governors (goptṛi), of Mandasor. Surāshṭra, etc. Things were somewhat different in the Maurya Period. Pushya Gupta, Rāshṭrɨya of Surāshṭra in the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya, was quite unconnected by blood with Tushāspha, governor or feudatory in the time of Aśoka.

² The Bilsad Ins. (CII, 44) refers to a [Pa]rshad. But there is nothing to show that it was a central political assembly. The Sabhyas mentioned in connection with the nomination scene in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription may, however, have been members of a Central Curia Regis or Council.

Among Bhuktis (lit. allotments) we have reference in inscriptions of the Gupta and early Post-Gupta Age to Puṇḍra-vardhana bhukti (North Bengal), Vardhamāna bhukti (West Bengal), Tīra bhukti (North Bihār), Nagara bhukti (South Bihār), śrāvastī bhukti (Oudh), and Ahichchhatra bhukti (Rohilkhand), all situated in the Ganges valley. Among Pradešas or Vishayas mention is made of Lāṭa-vishaya (in continental Gujarāṭ), Tripurī-vishaya (in the Jubbalpure region), Airikiṇa in Eastern Mālwa (called Pradeša in Samudra Gupta's Eraṇ inscription, and Vishaya in that of Toramāṇa), Antarvedī (the Gangetic Doāb), Vālavī (?) Gayā, Koṭivarsha (the Dinājpur region in North Bengal), Mahākhushāpāra (?),

Khāḍāṭāpāra (?) and Kuṇḍadhāṇi.1

The Desas were governed by officers called Goptris, or Wardens of the Marches, as is suggested by the passage Sarveshu Deseshu vidhāya Goptrin 'having appointed Goptris in all the Desas.' The Bhuktis were usually governed by Uparikas or Uparika Mahārājas who were sometimes apparently princes of the Imperial family, e.g., Rājaputra-deva-bhaţţāraka, Governor of Pundravardhana bhukti mentioned in a Dāmodarpur plate, Govinda Gupta, Governor of Tîrabhukti mentioned in the Basarh seals2 and possibly Ghatotkacha Gupta of Tumain in Central India. The office of Vishaya-pati or District Officer was held by Imperial officials like the Kumār-āmātyas and Ayuktakas,3 as well as by feudatory Mahārājas like Mātrivishņu of Eraņ. Some of the Vishayapatis, e.g., Śarvanāga of Antarvedi', were possibly directly under the Emperor, while others, e.g., those of Kotivarsha, Airikina and Tri-

units.

4 And Kulavriddhi of Pañchanagari (in North Bengal), Ep. Ind., xxi, 81.

¹ Cf. Kundadhana, a town mentioned in the Book of the Gradual Sayings.

 ¹⁸ h.
 Govinda Gupta is known also from the newly discovered Mandasor Ins.
 of the Mālava—Vikrama year 524 (noticed by Garde, ASI, Annual Report,
 1922-23, p. 187; Cal. Rev.; 1926, July, 155; Ep. Ind., xix, App. No. 7; xxvii,
 12 ff.) which mentions his Senādhipa or captain Vāyurakshita, and Vāyu's son
 Dattabhaţa, Commander-in-chief of the forces of king Prabhākara (467-68 A.D.).
 They are also known as officers apparently in charge of vīthīs or smaller

purī, were usually under provincial Governors. The Governors and District Officers were no doubt helped by officials and dignitaries like the Dāṇḍika, Chaur-oddharaṇika and Daṇḍapāśika¹ (apparently judicial and police officials), Nagara Śreshṭhī (President or Alderman of a city-guild), Sārthavāha (lit. caravan-leader or merchant), Prathama-Kulika (foreman of artisans), Prathama-Kāyastha (the chief scribe), Pusta-pāla (record-keeper) and others. Every Vishaya consisted of a number of "grāmas" or villages which were administered by headmen and other functionaries styled Grāmikas, Mahattaras and Bhojakas.²

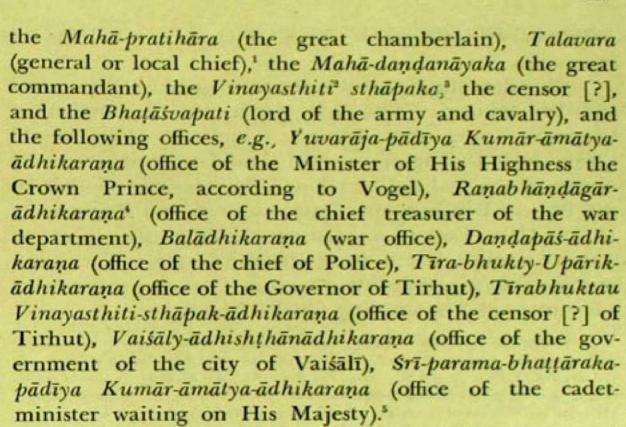
Outside the limits of the Imperial provinces lay the vassal kingdoms and republics, mentioned in the Allahabad prašasti and other documents.

The Basārh seals throw some interesting sidelight on the provincial and municipal government as well as the economic organisation of the province of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut) in North Bihār. The province was apparently governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the Mahādevī Śrī Dhruva-svāminī, who had his capital at Vaiśālī. The seals mention several officials like the Uparika (governor), the Kumār-āmātya (cadet-minister).

¹ Cf. Dandoasi, Village Watchman, JASB, 1916, 30.

In the Mrichchhakatika (Act IX), which may be a composition of the period between Bāṇa (who knew a king Sūdraka, but no poet of the same name) and Vāmana (8th century) the judge (adhikaraṇika) in a court of law is accompanied by a \$reshthin and a Kāyastha. Reference is also made to the Adhikaraṇa-Bhojakas and a Mahattaraka in connection with the arrangement of benches in the Vyāvahāra-maṇḍapa (the hall of justice) and the detection of people "wanted" by the city Police (nagara-raksh-ādhikrita). The Mudrā-rākshasa of Višākhadatta which is probably to be assigned to a period anterior to Rājašekhara, the Dasarūpaka and Bhoja, perhaps also to Vāmana but not to Avantivarma (of the Maukhari or Utpala dynasty) or Dantivarman (Rāshṭrakūṭa or Pallava) whose name or names occur in the Bharata Vākya, makes mention of Kāyastha, Daṇḍapāšika, etc. Village functionaries were ordinarily placed under officials of the Vishaya or district. But in exceptional cases they had direct dealings with the Uparika or governor of a Bhukti (Ep. Ind., XV, 136).

³ It has been taken to mean (1) minister of a prince as distinguished from that of the King (rājāmātya), (2) minister in charge of Princes, C. V. Vaidya, Med. Hind. Ind., I, 138, (3) a junior minister whose father is alive, or (4) one who has been a minister since the days of his youth. But cf. Ep. Ind., X, 49; XV, 302 f. It will be seen that the Kumārāmātyas were, as stated by a previous



The reference to the Parishad (Council or Committee) of Udānakūpa shows that the Parishad still formed an important element of the machinery of local government. The mention of the 'mote-hall of aldermen of guilds, caravan-leaders and foremen of artisans' (Śreshṭhī-

writer, divided into two classes, viz., (i) Yuvarājapādīya, those serving the Crown Prince, and (ii) Parama-bhṭṭārakapādīya, those serving the Emperor himself. This perhaps makes the interpretation 'counsellor of, or in charge of the Prince' untenable. See, however, Penzer. I. 32; III. 136. The most probable view is that the term Kumāra in the expression Kumārāmātya corresponds to Pina, Chikka, Immadi, Ilaya, of the south, and is the opposite of Peda (Prauḍha), Piriya. In the Gupta Age the Kumārāmātyas often served as district officers. The office was also combined with that of a general, counsellor and foreign secretary.

1 Cf. talāra of the Chīrwā Inscription of Samara Simha.

2 Dr. Basak takes Vinaya-sthiti in the sense of law and order (The History

of North-Eastern India, p. 312).

³ In the Nāṭya-śāstra, Sthāpaka is the designation of the introducer of a play (Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 340). Here a different functionary may be meant.

The mention of Rana-bhandagara suggests that the finance department

had its military as distinguished from the civil side.

s A distinction is drawn between imperial officials and those connected with viceregal administration and amongst the latter officers of the province of Tirabhukti are clearly distinguished from the public servants in charge of the subordinate administration of the adhishthana of Vaisali.

sārthavāha-kulika-nigama) is of interest to students of economics.

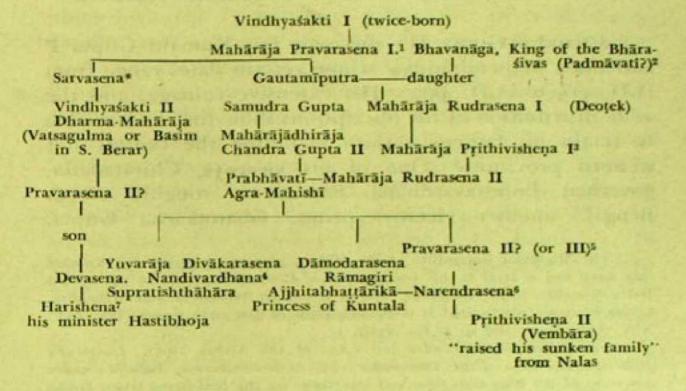
Chandra Gupta II had at least two queens, Dhruvadevī and Kubera-nāgā. The first queen was the mother of Govinda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta I.¹ The second queen had a daughter named Prabhāvatī who became queen of the Vākāṭakas. The latter was the mother of the Princes Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II (or III). Certain mediaeval chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta. The origin of these chiefs is probably to be traced to some unrecorded adventures of Vikramāditya in the Deccan.²

1 A son of Chandra Gupta styled bhūpati (king) Chandraprakāša is mentioned in a verse quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyālankāra-Sūtravyitti (JASB, Vol. I, No. 10. [N.S.], 1905, 253 ff.). But the identity of this Chandra Gupta is uncertain. His identification with Vikramāditya (i.e., Chandra Gupta II) rests on the vexed problem of the date of Vasubandhu (or Subandhu ?) alleged to be mentioned by Vāmana, and the question as to whether the personage mentioned may be identified with the Buddhist scholar whose biographer was Paramārtha (A.D. 500-69). Paramārtha was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja family of Ujjayinī who stayed for a time in Magadha and then went to China (A.D. 546-69). According to his account Vasubandhu was born at Purushapura or Peshāwār of the Brāhmaṇa family of Kauśika. He went to Ayodhyā at the invitation of Bālāditya, son of Vikramāditya (JRAS, 1905, 33 ff.). For some recent views about the date of Vasubandhu, see Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman, 79 ff.

2 Rājašekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsā and Bhoja in his spingāra Prakāsikā mention that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king by Vikramāditya. "Kṣemendra, in the Aucitya Vicāra Carcā, refers to Kālidāsa's Kuntesvara Dautya" (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924. p. 6). That the Guptas actually established contact with Kuntala appears clear from the Talagund Inscription which states that a Kadamba ruler of the Kanarese country gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. An important indication of Gupta influence in the South Western Deccan is possibly afforded by the coins of Kumara Gupta I found in the Satara District (Allan, p. cxxx). The rôle assigned to Kālidasa by Rājaśekhara, Bhoja and Kshemendra is not unworthy of credence as tradition points to a date for him in the early Gupta Age. For traditions about his synchronism with Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya (śakārāti) and Dignāga and with king Pravarasena who is held to be the author of the poem Setubandha written in Mahārāshţrī Prakrita and is, therefore, presumably identical with one of the kings bearing the same name in the Vākāṭaka family, (recorded in Abhinanda's Rāmacharita, ch. 32. Hāla, Gāthāsaptašatī, Bhūmikā, p. 8 and other works) see Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference, 99 ff.; Mailinatha's comment on Meghadūta, 1. 14; Ind. Ant., 1912, 267, JRAS, 1918, 118f. It has recently been pointed out by Mr. Mirashi that the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II (year 27) refer to a Kālidāsa as the writer of the charter, Ep. Ind., xxiii (1935), pp. 81 ff. But the identity of the scribe with the great poet remains doubtful.



GENEALOGY OF THE VĀKĀŢAKAS OF VISHNUVŖIDDHA GOTRA



* It must not be understood that Sarvasena was necessarily the elder of the two brothers. The matter may be settled when further evidence is available.

¹ He performed four Aśvamedhas, and is styled a Mahārāja, and Samrāj. His traditional capital Kāńchanakāpura recalls Hiraņyapura (Hirapur? SSE of Sāgar) of the Dudia plates (Ep. Ind. III. 258ff). The splitting up of the name into Purikā and Chanakā seems hardly justifiable.

2 J. Num. Soc., v pt. ii, p. 2. Coins and Identity of Bhavanaga (Altckar).

3 A dharma-vijayī whose "kosa-daņḍa-sādhana" is said to have been accumulating for a hundred years.

⁴ Identified by some with Nagardhan near Ramtek (Hiralal Ins. No. 4.; Tenth Or. Conf. p. 458) and by others with Nandapur, near Ghughusgarh, north-east of Ramtek (Wellsted Notes on the Vākāṭakas), JASB, 1933, 16of.

⁵ Ruler of pravarapura, Charmmānka and of following rājyas, viz., Bhojakata (N. Berar). Ārammi (east of Berar) and of the Wardhā region. Pravarapura has been identified by some with Pavnār in Wardhā District (JASB, 1933, 159).

6 His commands were honoured by rulers of Kosalā, Mekalā (at the source

of the Nerbudda) and Mālava.

7 Credited with the conquest of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Andhra,
Trikūta, Lāta.

SECTION II. KUMĀRA GUPTA I MAHENDRADITYA.

Chandra Gupta II's successor was Kumāra Gupta I's surnamed Mahendrāditya² whose certain dates range from A.D. 415 to A.D. 455.³ His extensive coinage, and the wide distribution of his inscriptions show that he was able to retain his father's empire including the central and western provinces. One of his viceroys, Chirātadatta, governed Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti or roughly North Bengal, another viceroy, prince Ghaṭotkacha Gupta,

The Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 524 suggests that Kumāra may have had a rival in his brother prince Govinda Gupta. In the record Indra (vivudhā dhipa, Kumāra?, who is styled Śrī Mahendra and Mahendra-karmā on coins) represented as being suspicious of Govinda's power. Ep. Ind., XIX, App. No. 7 and n. 5; Ep. xxvii. 15.

² Also called \$r\tilde{r}\tilde{language} Mahendra (on coins of the Asvamedha type), Mahendrakarm\tilde{a}, Ajita Mahendra (on coins of the horseman type and sometimes on the lion-slayer type), Si\tilde{n}ha Mahendra (on coins of the lion-slayer type), \$r\tilde{language} Mahendra Si\tilde{m}ha (also on coins of the lion-slayer type), Mahendra Kum\tilde{a}ra (on coins of the peacock type) Mahendra-kalpa (Tumain Ins.), \$Si\tilde{m}ha Vikrama (on coins of the lion-slayer type; Allan, Gupta Goins, p. 80), Vy\tilde{a}ghra bala-par\tilde{a}krama (on coins of the tiger-slayer type) and \$r\tilde{r} Prat\tilde{a}pa. On the swordsman type of gold coins and on copper coins of the Garuḍa and possibly si\tilde{n}ha-v\tilde{a}hin\tilde{la} types the emperor is simply called \$r\tilde{r} Kum\tilde{a}ra Gupta. The title Mahendr\tilde{a}ditya with the epithet Parama bh\tilde{a}gavata, 'devoted worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vish\tilde{n}u-K\tilde{r}ish\tilde{n}a),' is found on silver coins, apparently struck in Sur\tilde{a}sh\tilde{t}ra.

The date 96 (=A.D. 415) is found in the Bilsar Inscription and the date 136 (=A.D. 455) on silver coins (EHI, 4th ed., pp. 345-46). The Eran inscription of Samudra Gupta refers to his 'virtuous and faithful wife' and many sons and son's sons of the royal pair. From this it seems probable that Kumāra Gupta and his brothers were already born during the reign of their grandfather, and that Kumāra had seen not less than some thirty five summers before his accession. As he reigned for at least forty years, he could not have

died before the age of 75 (approximately).

4 The possession of the central districts in the Ganges valley is, according to Allan, confirmed by the silver coins of the peacock type (cf. the Ayodhyā coins of Āryamitra, CHI, I. 538 and Meghadūta I. 45.) and the inclusion of the western province by those of the Garuḍa type. Silverplaited coins with a copper core were intended for circulation in the Valabhī area, and coins of small thick fabric resembling the Traikuṭaka coinage were apparently struck in South Gujarāṭ (Allan, pp. xciii ff.).

⁵ Cf. the Dāmodarpur plates of the years 124 and 128. (Ep. xvii. 193.) The Baigram inscription of the year 128 (A.D. 447-48) refers to a Kumārāmātya named Kulavriddhi who governed a vishaya with its headquarters at Pañchanagarī possibly pañchabibi or Pañchgad on the Karatoyā, H. Standard 14-10-47 in N. Bengal. Ep. Ind., XXI, 78 ff. Year Book, ASB, 1950, 200. The Sultanpur or Kalaikudi Inscription (Bangaśrī 1350 B. S. Baišākha, pp. 415-51



EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE OF KUMĀRA GUPTA I 501

held office in the province of Eraņ (in Eastern Mālwa) which included Tumbavana¹; a third viceroy or feudatory, Bandhuvarman, ruled at Daśapura in western Mālwa.² The Karamadāṇḍe inscription of A.D. 436 mentions Pṛithivisheṇa who was a Mantrin and Kumārāmātya, and afterwards Mahā-balādhikṛita or general under Kumāra Gupta, probably stationed in Oudh. The panegyrist of a Mālwa viceroy claims that the suzerainty of Kumāra Gupta extended over "the whole earth which is decked with the rolling seas as with a rocking girdle, which holds in its breast-like mountain altitudes the founts of the vivifying liquid, and smiles with the flowers of its forest glens."

Like his father, Kumāra was a tolerant king. During his rule the worship of Svāmī Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), of Buddha, of Siva in the linga form and of the sun, as well as that of Vishņu, flourished peacefully side by side.3

and Bhādra; IHQ, XIX. 12) of the year 120=A. D. 439 in the Bogra district, makes mention of another officer, the Ayuktaka, Achyutadāsa of Purņakaušikā in Śrińgaveravīthi. The Natore Inscription of A. D. 432 (JPASB, 1911) is

another record of Kumāra's reign found in N. Bengal.

¹ Tumain in the Guna district of the Gwaliar state, about 50 miles to the north-west of Eran. M. B. Garde, Ind. Ant., xlix 1920, p. 114, Ep. Ind. xxvi (1941), pp. 115 ff; Tumain Inscription of the year 116, i.e., A. D. 435. The identity of the prince mentioned in the record, with \$rī Ghatotkacha Gupta of seals and Ghato Kramāditya of coins is uncertain (Allan, xvi, xl, liv) Hema Chandra (in the Parisishţa parvan, xii, 2-3) places Tumbavana in the Avantideśa, 'the ornament of the western half of Bhārata' in Jambūdvīpa.

Ihaiva Jambūdvīpe 'pāg Bharatārdhā vibhūshaṇam Avantiriti dešo' sti svargadešīya riddhibhiḥ tatra Tumbavanamiti vidyate sannivešanam

² Mandasor Inscription of A. D. 437-38. Bhide suggests (JBORS, VII, March, 1921, pp. 33 f) that Viśva-varman of Gupta Ins. No. 17 is an independent king, who flourished a century before his namesake of ins. No. 18, who is a governor (Goptri) of the Guptas. S. Majumdar points out that even Viśva-varman of Ins. No. 17 must be later than Naravarman of V. S. 461 (=A. D. 404-05). In the Bihar Kotra (Rājgaḍh state, Mālwa) Ins. (Ep. Ind. xxvi. 130 ff) of Mahārāja Naravarman of the year 474 (i.e., A. D. 417-18) the king is styled 'aulikara', thus establishing his connection with Vishnuvardhana of the Mālava Era 589 (A. D. 532-33).

³ Cf. the Bilsad, Mankuwar, Karamadande and Mandasor inscriptions. Siva appears to have been the favourite deity of many high ministers, Vishnu of the most powerful ruling race and the sun of traders and artisans in the early Gupta period. The expression Jitam Bhagavatā appears to have been popularised by the king. His example seems to have been followed by Mādhava

The two notable events of Kumāra's reign are the celebration of the horse sacrifice, evidenced by the rare Aśvamedha type of his gold coinage, and the temporary eclipse of the Gupta power by the Pushvamitras. The reading Pushyamitra in the Bhitarī inscription is, however, not accepted by some scholars because the second syllable of this name is damaged.1 Mr. H. R. Divekar in his article -"Pusyamitras in the Gupta Period" makes the plausible emendation Yudhy = amitrām's = ca for Dr. Fleet's reading Pusyamitrāms = ca in the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription. It is admitted on all hands that during the concluding years of Kumāra's reign the Gupta empire "had been made to totter." Whether the reference in the inscription is simply to amitras (enemies), or to Pushyamitras, cannot be satisfactorily determined. We should, however, remember in this connection that a people called Pushyamitra is actually referred to in the Vishnu Purāņa and a Pushyamitika-Kula in the Jain Kalpasūtra. The Purana text associates the Pushyamitras, Patumitras, Durmitras and others with the region of Mekala near the source of the Nerbudda.5 References to the warlike activities of Mekala and the neighbouring realm of Kosala

Ganga of Penukonda plates (Ep. Ind. XIV. 334), Vishnuvarman I Kadamba of Hebbata grant (Mys. A. S., A. R., 1925. 98), Nandivarman Pallava of Udayendiram (Ep. Ind., III. 145) and other kings of the south. The popularity of the cult of Kärttikeya is well illustrated not only by the sanctuaries erected in his honour, but also by the names Kumāra and Skanda assumed by members of the imperial family, and the issue of the peacock type of coins by the emperor Kumāra Gupta I. The Gupta empire reached the zenith of its splendour before its final decline in the time of the originator of the 'peacock' coins, as a later empire did in the days of the builder of the peacock-throne.

1 Cf. Fleet, CII, p. 55 n.

3 CII, iii, p. 55.

* SBE, XXII, 292. Cf. the legend Pusamitasa found on Bhīţā seals in characters of the Kushān period or a somewhat earlier date (JRAS, 1911, 138).

⁵ Vish., IV. 24. 17; Wilson, IX. 213. "Pushyamitra, and Paţumitra and others to the number of 13 will rule over Mekalā." The commentary, however, distinguishes the 13 Pushyamitra-Paṭumitras from the 7 Mekalas. But from the context it is apparent that the position of the Pushyamitras was between the Māhishyas (people of Māhishmatī?) and the Mekalas in the Nerbudda-Son valleys if not in a part of the country of the Mekalas themselves. Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1889, 228, cf. also Bhīṭā seals. For Mekalā see also Ep. Ind. xxvii 138 f.

² Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1919-20, 99 f.



that had once been overrun by Kumāra's grandfather, are found in inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka relations of Kumāra Gupta. Bāṇa relates the tragic story of a ruler of Magadha who was carried off by the ministers of the lord of Mekala. A passage in the Mankuwar stone image inscription of the year 129 (A.D. 449) where the emperor Kumāra Gupta I is styled simply Mahārāja Śrī instead of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī has been interpreted by some scholars to mean that he was possibly deprived by his enemies of his status as paramount sovereign. But the theory is rendered improbable by the Dāmodarpur plate of about the same date where Kumāra is given full imperial titles. It may be noted in this connection that in several inscriptions, and on certain coins, his immediate predecessors, too, are simply called Rājā or Mahārāja.

The assumption of the title Vyāghra-bala-parākrama "displaying the strength and prowess of a tiger", on coins of the tiger-slayer type, by Kumāra may possibly indicate that he attempted to repeat the southern venture of his grandfather and penetrate into the tiger-infested forest territory beyond the Nerbudda. Expansion towards the south is also indicated by a find of 1,395 coins in the Satara District.¹ But the imperial troops must have met with disaster. The fallen fortunes of the Gupta family were restored by prince Skanda Gupta who may have been appointed his father's warden in the Ghāzīpur region, the Aṭavi or Forest Country of ancient times.²

The only queen of Kumāra I named in the genealogical portion of extant inscriptions is Anantadevī. He had at least two sons, viz., Puru Gupta, son of Anantadevī, and Skanda Gupta the name of whose mother is, in the opinion of some scholars, not given in the inscriptions. Sewell, however, suggests that it was Devakī. This is not an unlikely assumption as otherwise the comparison of the

¹ Allan p. cxxx. Cf. also the Kadamba inscription referring to social relations between the Kadambas of the fifth century and the Guptas.

² Cf. the Bhitari Inscription. ³ Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 349.

widowed Gupta empress with Krishna's mother in verse 6 of the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription will be less explicable. Hiuen Tsang calls Buddha Gupta (Fo-to-kio-to) or Budha Gupta,1 a son (or descendant?) of Śakrāditya.2 The only predecessor of Budha Gupta who had a synonymous title was Kumāra Gupta I who is called Mahendrāditya on coins. Mahendra is the same as Sakra. The use of terms conveying the same meaning as titles and epithets was not unknown in the Gupta period. Vikramāditya was also called Vikramānka. Skanda Gupta is called both Vikramāditya and Kramāditya, both the words meaning "puissant like the sun" or "striding like the sun." If Sakrāditya of Hiuen Tsang be identical with Mahendrāditya or Kumāra I, Budha Gupta³ was closely related to Kumāra. Another member of Kumāra's family was possibly Ghatotkacha Gupta.4

SECTION III. SKANDA GUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA.

According to the evidence of the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, confirmed by epigraphic testimony, the immediate successor of Mahendra, i.e., Kumāra Gupta I, was Skanda Gupta. In an interesting paper read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. R. C. Majumdar sugges-

¹ The name Fo-to-kio-to has been restored as Buddha Gupta. But we have no independent evidence regarding the existence of a king named Buddha Gupta about this period. The synchronism of his successor's successor Bālāditya with Mihirakula indicates that the king meant was Budha Gupta, cf. also Ind. Ant., 1886, 251 n.

² That Śakrāditya was a reality is proved by a Nālandā seal (H. Sastri, MASI, No. 66, p. 38). To him is ascribed an establishment at Nālandā, the far-famed place, which grew into a great university in the seventh century A.D. The pilgrim was not indulging in mere fancy as suggested by Śrī N. Śāstrī in a treatise on Nālandā.

³ Recent discoveries show that Budha Gupta was really a grandson (not a son) of Kumāra Gupta I. The Chinese pilgrim may have failed to distinguish between a son and a grandson. Cf. The Kopparam plates where Pulakešin II is represented as a grandson of Kīrtivarman I. But he was really the son of the latter. It is also possible that šakrāditya was an epithet of Purugupta, the father of Budha.

*The Tumain Inscription referred to by Mr. Garde; cf. also the Basarh seal mentioning \$rī Ghatotkacha Gupta. The exact relationship with Kumāra is, however, not stated in the inscription.

ted that after Kumāra's death, which apparently took place while the struggle with the Pushyamitras was still undecided, there was a fratricidal war in which Skanda Gupta came off victorious after defeating his brothers including Puru Gupta, the rightful claimant, and rescued his mother just as Kṛishṇa rescued Devakī.¹ Dr. Majumdar observed that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta in the genealogy given in the Bihār and Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscriptions indicated that she was not the chief queen and Skanda 'had no natural claim to the throne'. The rightful heir of Kumāra was Puru Gupta, the son of the Mahādevī Anantadevī.

We should, however, remember that there was no rule prohibiting the mention of ordinary queens in inscriptions. The mother of Princess Prabhavatī, Kuberanagā, was not the chief queen of Chandra Gupta II.2 No doubt the title Mahādevī is once given to her in the Poona plates of her daughter in the year 13, but it is not repeated in the Riddhapur plates of the year 19, where she is called simply Kuberanāgā devī without the prefix Mahādevī, whereas Kumāra-devī, Datta-devī and even her own daughter, Prabhā vatī-guptā are styled Mahādevīs. The contrast is full of significance and we know as a matter of fact that the real Mahādevī (chief queen) of Chandra Gupta II was Dhruva-devī or Dhruva-Svāminī. Though Kuberanāgā was not the principal consort (agramahishī) of her husband, she is mentioned in the inscriptions of her daughter. On the other hand the names of queens, the mothers of kings, are sometimes omitted.3 In the genealogical portion of the Banskhera and Madhuban plates the name of Yasomatī as Harsha's mother is not mentioned, but in the Sonpat

¹ Cf. the Bhitari Inscription, JASB, 1921 (N. S. XVII), 253 ff. In IC. 1944, 171, Dr. Majumdar modified his views regarding the omission of the name of the queen mother in the Bihar ins. and found the names of Mahādevi Anantadevi and her son Purugupta in the inscription.

² JASB, 1924, 58. ³ The name of the father of a reigning king is also sometimes omitted (cf. Kielhorn's N. Ins. Nos. 464, 468).

and the Nālandā seals' she is mentioned both as the mother of Rājya-vardhana and as the mother of Harsha. Therefore it is not safe to draw conclusions from a comparison of genealogies given on seals and those given in ordinary prasastis. From a comparative study of the seals and plaques referred to above on the one hand and ordinary panegyrical epigraphs on the other, two facts emerge, viz., (a) genealogies given by the records of the former class are fuller than those given in the others, and (b) names of mothers of reigning kings that are invariably given (even though this meant repetition) in documents of the first group are sometimes omitted by the writers of prasastis, even though they be the names of the chief queens. There is no real analogy between the genealogy on the Bhitarī seal and that in the Pillar Inscriptions. A seal should be compared to another seal and an ordinary prasasti with another document of the same class.2

As to the question of rightful claim to the succession, we should remember that the cases of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II suggest that the ablest among the

¹ A. R. of the ASI, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44; Ep. Ind., XXI. 74 ff. MASI, No. 66, 68 f.

tadvamie Devakijānirddidīpe Timma bhūpatiḥ yalasvī Tuluvendreshu Yadoḥ Krishņa ivānvæye... sarasādudabhūttasmān Narasāvanipālakaḥ Devakīnamdanāt (var. "nandanaḥ) Kāmo Devaki namdanādiwa.

The problem, however, is not free from difficulties and its final solution must await fresh discoveries.

We have already seen that in the opinion of Sewell the name of Skanda's mother is actually mentioned in one epigraph. According to that scholar her name was Devaki. The comparison with Krishn's mother (who, with all her mistortunes, did not experience the pangs of widowhood) in the Bhitari Inscription would be less explicable, if not altogether pointless, if Devaki was not the nam of the mother of Skanda Gupta as well as that of Krishna. Why were Krishna and Devaki thought of in connection with the victory over hostile powers, instead of, say, Skanda (Kärttikeya) and Pärvati, Indra or Vishnu and Aditi, by the panegyrist of Skanda Gupta who is compared to Sakra (Sakropama, Kahaum Inscription) and Vishnu (Sriparikshiptavakshā, Junāgaḍh epigraph)? A possible explanation is that the name of his mother coupled with her miserable plight suggested to the court-poet comparison with Krishna and Devaki. Cf. Ep. Ind. I, 364; xiii. 126, 131 (Hampe and Conjeeveram ins. of Krishnadeva Rāya) where we have a similar play on the name Devaki:—

princes was chosen irrespective of any claim arising out of birth.

There is nothing to show that the struggle at the end of Kumāra's reign, referred to in the Bhitarî Pillar Inscription, was a fratricidal conflict. The relevant text of the inscription runs thus:

Pitari divam upētē viplutām vamša-lakshmīm bhuja-bala-vijit-ārir-yyaḥ pratishṭhāpya bhūyaḥ jitam-iti paritoshān mātaram sāsra-nettrām hata-ripur-iva Krishņa Devakīm-abhyupetaḥ.

"Who, when (his) father had attained heaven (i.e., died), vanquished (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and steadied once more the drifting fortunes of his family; and then exclaiming 'the victory has been won' betook himself, like Kṛishṇa, when his enemies had been slain, to his weeping mother, Devakī."

The hostile powers (ari), who made the Vamsalakshmī, goddess of family fortune, of Skanda Gupta "vipluta," 'convulsed,' after the death of his father, were apparently enemies of the Gupta family, i.e., outsiders not belonging to the Gupta line. As a matter of fact the antagonists expressly mentioned in the Bhitarī Pillar Inscription were outsiders, e.g., the Pushyamitras² and the Hūṇas. There is not the slightest reference to a fratricidal war. There is no doubt a passage in the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Skanda which says that "the goddess of fortune and splendour (Lakshmī) of her own accord selected (Skanda) as her husband (svayam varayam-chakāra)...having discarded all the other sons of kings (manujendra-putra)." But "Svayameva śriyā grihīta" "ac-

¹ For the reference to Devaki, see Vishnu Purana, V, 79.

² Even if the reference be merely to "amitras" (see ante, p. 568), these amitras could not have included an elder brother, as the passage "kshitipa-charanapīthe sthāpita vāma-pādah," "placed (his) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that hostile power himself)" clearly shows. The expression samudita bala kosha ("whose power and wealth had risen") would be singularly inappropriate in the case of the rightful heir to the imperial throne of the Guptas with its enormous resources existing for several generations, and can only point to a parvenu power that had suddenly leaped to fame.

cepted by Śrī or Lakshmī of her own accord" is an epithet which is applied by Prabhākara-vardhana, shortly before his death, to Harsha whose devotion to his elder brother is well-known. That Skanda Gupta like Harsha was considered to be the favourite of the Goddess of Luck is wellknown. Attention may be invited to the Lakshmī type of his coins' and the epithet Śrī-parikshiptavakshāh ("whose breast is embraced by Śrī, i.e., Lakshmī"), occurring in the Junagadh Inscription. The panegyrist of the emperor refers to a svayambara in the conventional style.2 A svayambara naturally presupposes an assemblage of princes, not necessarily of one particular family, in which all the suitors are discarded excepting one. But there is no inseparable connection between a svayambara and a fight, and, even when it is followed by a fight, the combatants are hardly ever princes who are sons of the same king. The epigraphic passage referring to Lakshmī's svayambara, therefore, does not necessarily imply that there was a struggle between the sons of Kumāra in which Skanda came off victorious. It only means that among the princes he was specially fortunate and was considered to be the best fitted to rule because of the valiant fight he had put up against the enemies of the family and empire. In the Allahabad prašasti we have a similar passage: - "who (Samudra Gupta) being looked at with envy by the faces, melancholy through the rejection of themselves, of others of equal birth...was bidden by his father,-who exclaiming 'verily he is worthy' embraced him-to govern of a surety the whole world." It may be argued that there is no proof that Skanda was selected by Kumāra. On the contrary he is said to have been selected by Lakshmī of her own accord. But such was also the case with Harsha. Skanda like Harsha was called upon to save the empire of

yasya jajñe svayambara
The Svayambara of Lakshmī forms the subject of the drama which Urvasi
acts before Indra with her sister nymphs (JASB, 59, 32).

¹ Allan, p. xcix.

² Cf. Ep. Ind., I. 25. Gürjjaresvara-rājya-Srīr



his forbears at a time when the fortunes of the imperial family were at a low ebb, and both these eminent men owed their success to their own prowess. The important thing to remember is that the avowed enemies of Skanda Gupta mentioned in his inscriptions were outsiders like the Pushyamitras, Hūṇas,1 and Mlechchhas.2 The manujendra-putras of the Junagadh Inscription are mentioned only as disappointed suitors, not as defeated enemies, comparable to the brothers of Samudra Gupta who were discarded by Chandra Gupta I. We are, therefore, inclined to think that as the tottering Gupta empire was saved from its enemies (e.g., the Pushyamitras) by Skanda Gupta it was he who was considered to be the best fitted to rule. There is no evidence that his brothers disputed his claim and actually fought for the crown. There is nothing to show that Skanda shed his brothers' blood and that the epithets "amalātmā," 'pure-souled,' and "parahitakārī," 'the benefactor of others,' applied to him in the Bhitarī Inscription and coin legends,3 were unjustified.

The view that Skanda Gupta was the immediate successor of Kumāra Gupta I seems to be confirmed by a verse in the Arya-Manjuśri-mūla-kalpa' which runs thus: -

Samudrākhya nripašchaiva Vikramaschaiva kīrtitah Mahendrangipavaro mukhyah Sakārādyam atah param Devarājākhya nāmāsau yugādhame

It is impossible not to recognise in the kings (nripa) Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra and "Sākārādya" mentioned in the verse, the great Gupta emperors Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya, Kumāra Gupta I, Mahendrāditya and Skanda Gupta.5

¹ Bhitari Ins.

² Junägadh Ins.

Allan, Gupta Coins, exxi.

Vol. I, ed. Ganapati Sastri, p. 628. Cf. the Rewa Ins. of 141 = A.D. 460/61. Attention was drawn to this record by Mr. B. C. Chhabra at the Oriental Conference, Twelfth (Benares) Session, Summaries of Papers, part II. p. 39 and later by Drs. Majumdar and Sircar.

⁵ IHO, 1932, p. 352.

Skanda Gupta assumed the titles of Kramāditya and Vikramāditya.¹ The passage from the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa quoted above refers to his appellation Devarāja. The titles Vikramāditya and Devarāja were apparently assumed in imitation of his grandfather. The latter epithet reminds one further of the name Mahendra given to his father. It is also to be noted that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudra Gupta is extolled as the equal of Indra and other gods and in the Kahāum record Skanda Gupta is called Śakropama.

From the evidence of coins and inscriptions we know that Skanda ruled from A.D. 455 to c. 467. The first achievement of the monarch was the resuscitation of the Gupta Empire and the recovery of lost provinces. From an inscriptional passage we learn that while preparing to restore the fallen fortunes of his family he was reduced to such straits that he had to spend a whole night sleeping on the bare earth. Line twelve of the Bhitarī Inscription tells us that when Kumāra Gupta I had attained heaven, Skanda conquered his enemies by the strength of his arms. From the context it seems that these enemies were the Pushyamitras "whose power and wealth had (suddenly) gone up."

The struggle with the Pushyamitras was followed by conflicts with the Hūṇas² and probably also with the Vākāṭakas in which the emperor was presumably victorious in the end. The invasion of the Hūṇas took place not later than A.D. 458 if we identify them with the *Mlechchhas* or barbarian uitlanders of the Junāgaḍh Inscription. The

1 Allan, Catalogue, pp. 117, 122; cf. Fleet, CII, p. 53:—
"Vinaya-bala-sunītair vvikramena kramena
pratidinam-abhiyogād īpsitam yena labdhvā."

The epithet Kramāditya is found on certain gold coins of the heavy Archer type as well as on silver issues of the Garuda, Bull and Altar types. The more famous title of Vikramāditya is met with on silver coins of the Altar type.

² The Hūṇas are mentioned not only in inscriptions, but in the Mahā-bhārata, the Purāṇas, the Raghuvāmia and later in the Harsha-charita and the Nītivākyāmṛita of Somadeva. The Lalita Vistara (translated by Dharma-raksha, d. A. D. 313) mentions the Hūṇalipi (Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 266). See also W. M. McGovern, The Early Empires of Central Asia, 399ff, 455ff, 485f.



memory of the victory over the Mlechchhas is preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain, in Somadeva's Kathā-sarit-sāgara.1 Central India and Surashtra seem to have been the vulnerable parts of the Gupta Empire. The Bālāghāṭ plates refer to Narendrasena Vākāṭaka, son of Skanda Gupta's cousin Pravarasena II (III?) as "Kosalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ādhipatyabhyarchitaśāsana" 'whose commands were treated with respect by the lords of Kosalā (Upper Mahānadī Valley), Mekalā (Upper Valley of the Nerbudda and the Son), and Malava (probably Eastern Mālwa). The Junāgaḍh Inscription tells us that Skanda "deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surashtras." Allan deduces from this and from the words "sarveshu deśeshu vidhāya goptrin" 'appointing protectors in all the provinces' that the emperor was at particular pains to appoint a series of Wardens of the Marches to protect his dominions from future invasion. One of these Wardens was Parnadatta,3 governor of Surāshţra. In spite of all his efforts Skanda Gupta could not, however, save the westernmost part of his empire from future troubles. During his lifetime he no doubt, retained his hold over Surashtra, the Cambay coast and the adjoining portions of continental Gujarāţ and Mālwa. But his successors do not appear to have been so fortunate. Not a single inscription or coin has yet

2 Ep. Ind., IX, p. 271.

² Persian Farna-dāta seems, according to Jarl Charpentier, to be the form underlying the name Parṇadatta (JRAS, 1931, 140; Aiyangar Com. Vol., 15).

¹ Allan, Gupta Coins, Introduction, p. xlix.

⁴ The inclusion of Suräshţra within his empire is proved by the Junāgaḍh Inscription and that of the Cambay coast by silver coins of the 'Bull type'. The type was imitated by Kṛishṇarāja (Allan, ci), who is to be identified with the king of that name belonging to the Kaṭachchuri family. Kṛishṇa's son and successor, samkaragaṇa appropriates the epithets of the great Samudra Gupta. His son Buddharāja effected the conquest of Eastern Mālwa early in the seventh century A. D. (c. 608 A. D.; Vaḍner plates, Ep. Ind., xii, 31 ff.; see also Marshall, A Guide to Sānchī, p. 21n). The dynasty was overthrown by the early Chalukyas and it is interesting to note that three of the characteristic epithets of Samudra Gupta are applied to the Chalukya Vijaya-rāja in the Kaira grant; Fleet, CII, 14.

been discovered which shows that Surāshţra and Western Mālwa formed parts of the Gupta empire after the death of Skanda Gupta. On the contrary Harisheṇa Vākāṭaka, cousin of Narendrasena, claims victories over Lāṭa (South Gujarāṭ) and Avanti (district around Ujjain) besides Trikūṭa in the Koṅkan, Kuntala (the Kanarese country), Andhra (the Telugu country), Kaliṅga (South Orissa and some adjoining tracts), and Kosala (Upper Mahānadī Valley), while the Maitrakas of Valabhī (Wala in the peninsular portion of Gujarāṭ) gradually assume independence.

The later years of Skanda seem to have been tranquil.¹ The emperor was helped in the work of administration by a number of able governors like Parṇadatta, viceroy of the west, Sarvanāga, District Officer (Vishayapati) of Antarvedī or the Gangetic Doāb and Bhīmavarman, the ruler of the Kosam region.² Chakrapālita, son of Parṇadatta, restored in A.D. 457-58 the embankment of the lake Sudarśana at Girnar which had burst two years previously.

The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers. Himself a *Bhāgavata* or worshipper of Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu, he and his officers did not discourage followers of other sects, e.g., Jainas and devotees of the Sun. The people were also tolerant. The Kahāum Inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person "full of affection for Brāhmaṇas." The Indore plate records a deed by a Brāhmaṇa endowing a lamp in a temple of the Sun.

1 Cf. the Kahaum Ins. of 141=A.D. 460-1.

³ Cf. The Pāhāḍpur epigraph of the year 159 (A.D. 479) which records a donation made by a Brāhmaņa couple for the worship of the Divine Arhats, i.e., the Jinas.

² The inclusion within Skanda's empire of provinces lying still further to the east is proved by the Bhitarī and Bihār Pillar Inscriptions and possibly by gold coins of the Archer type struck on a standard of 144.6 grains of metal. Allan, p. xcviii, 118.



CHAPTER XII. THE GUPTA EMPIRE (continued): THE LATER GUPTAS

Vasvaukasārāmatibhūya sāham saurājya vaddhotsavayā bibhūtyā samagrašaktau tvayi Sūryavamšye sati prapannā karuņāmavasthām

-Raghuvamsam.

SECTION I. SURVIVAL OF THE GUPTA POWER AFTER SKANDA GUPTA

It is now admitted on all hands that the reign of Skanda Gupta ended about A.D. 467.1 When he passed away the empire declined,2 especially in the west, but did not wholly perish. We have epigraphic as well as literary evidence of the continuance of the Gupta Empire in parts of Central and Eastern India in the latter half of the fifth as well as the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Dāmodarpur plates, the Sārnāth Inscriptions and the Eran epigraph of Budha Gupta prove that from A.D. 477 to 496 the Gupta Empire extended from Bengal to Eastern Mālwa. The Betul plates of the Parivrājaka Mahāraja Samkshobha, dated in the year 199 G. E., i.e., 518 A.D., 'during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta King," testify to the fact that the Gupta sway at this period was acknowledged in Dabhālā, which included the Tripuri Vishaya (Jabbalpur region).5 Another inscription of Samkshobha found in the valley near the village of Khoh

2 For the probable causes of decline, see Calcutta Review, April, 1930. p. 96 ff; also post. 626 ff.

¹ Smith, The Oxford History of India, additions and corrections, p. 171.

³ A.S.I. Report, 1914-15; Hindusthan Review, Jan., 1918; JBORS, IV, 344 f.

4 Srimati pravardhamāna vijaya-rājye samvatsara-šate nava-navatyuttare Gupta-nripa-rājya bhuktau. "In the glorious, augmenting and victorious
reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, in the enjoyment of
sovereignty by the Gupta King."

5 Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 284-87. Dabhālā=later Dāhala.

in Baghēlkhaṇḍ, dated in A.D. 528, proves that the Gupta Empire included some of the central districts even in A.D. 528.¹ Fifteen years later the grant of a village in the Koṭivarsha Vishaya (Dinājpur District) of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti (roughly North Bengal) 'during the reign of Paramadaivata (the Supreme Divinity) Parama-bhaṭṭāraka (the Supreme Lord) Mahārājādhirāja (King of Kings) Srī......Gupta,'² shows that the Gupta dominions at this period included the eastern as well as the central provinces. Towards the close of the sixth century a Gupta king, a contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushyabhūti³ family of Śrīkaṇṭha (Thānēsar), was ruling in "Mālava." Two sons of this king, Kumāra Gupta and

1 Fleet, CII, III, pp. 113-16, Hoernle in JASB, 1889. p. 95

² Ep. Ind., XV, p. 113 ff. Corrected in Ep. Ind., XVII (Jan., 1924), p. 193.

³ This seems to be the correct spelling and not Pushpabhūti (Ep. Ind., 68)

4 "Mālava" was graced by the presence of the Guptas as early as the fifth century. This is proved by the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II and the Tumain inscription of Ghatotkacha Gupta. In the latter part of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh century, it seems to have been under the direct rule of a line of Guptas whose precise connection with the Great Guptas is not clear. Magadha was probably administered by local rulers like Kumārāmātya Mahārāja Nandana (A. D. 551-2?) of the Amauna plate, Gaya Dist., Ep. Ind., X. 49, and the Varmans (cf. Nagarjuni Hill Cave Ins., CII, 226; also Pūrnavarman mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and Devavarman, IA, X, 110). For a detailed discussion see Ray Chaudhuri, JBORS. XV, parts iii and iv (1929, pp. 651 f.). The precise location and extent of the "Malava" of the "later Guptas" cannot be determined. In Ep. Ind., V. 229. the Dandanāyaka Anantapāla, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have subdued the Sapta Mālava countries up to the Himālaya Mountains. This suggests that there were as many as seven countries called Malava (cf., also Rice, Mysore and Coorg, 46). These were probably: (1) The country of the 'Malavas' in the Western Ghats (Kanarese Districts, p. 569), (2) Mo-la-po Mālavaka āhāra of Valabhī grants on the Mahī governed by the Maitrakas. (3) Avanti in the wider sense of the term ruled by the Katachchuris or Kalachuris of the Abhona plates (sixth century) and by a Brāhmaņa family in the time of Hiuen Tsaug Chinese pilgrim, (4) Pūrva Mālava (round Bhilsa). (5) District round Prayaga, Kausambi and Fatchpur in U. P. (Smith, EHI, 4th ed., p. 350n, ; IHQ. 1931. 150f.; cf. JRAS, 1903. 561). (6) part of eastern Rājputāna, (7) Cis-Sutlej districts of the Pañiāb together with some Himālayan territory. The later Guptas probably held (4) and (5) and at times, Magadha as well. The Bhagvata Purana (xii, 1, 36) whose date is not probably far removed from that of the later Guptas, associates Malava with Arbuda (Abu) and distinguishes it from Avanti. The rulers of Malava and Avanti are also distinguished from each other by Rājašekhara in his Viddhašāla bhañjikā, Act IV (p. 121 of Jivananda Vidyasagara's edition). Early, in the seventh



Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon the princes Rājya-vardhana and Harsha of Thānesar. From the Aphsaḍ Inscription of Ādityasena we learn that the fame of the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, marked with honour of victory in war over Susthitavarman, doubtless a king of Kāmarūpa, was constantly sung on the bank of the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra. This indicates that even in or about A.D. 600 (the time of Prabhākara-vardhana) the sway of kings bearing the name Gupta extended from "Mālava" to the Brahmaputra.²

In the sixth century Gupta suzerainty was no doubt successively challenged by the Huns and their conquerors belonging to the Mandasor and Maukhari families. In the first half of the seventh century the Guptas lost Vidiśā to the Kaṭachchuris and their power in the Ganges Valley was overshadowed by that of Harsha. But, after the death of the great Kanauj monarch, the "Gupta" empire was sought to be revived by Ādityasena, son of Mādhava Gupta, who "ruled the whole earth up to the shores of the oceans," performed the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices and assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

century the Guptas seem to have lost Eastern Mālwa to the Kaṭachchuris. In the Vaḍner plates issued from Vidiśā (Besnagar) in or about A.D. 608, a Kaṭachchuri king, śaṁkaragaṇa received epithets that are palpably borrowed from the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudra Gupta. The overthrow of the Kaṭachchuris was effected by the early Chalukyas of Badami and South Gujarāt. Fleet points out (CII, 14) that three of the epithets of Samudra Gupta are applied to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja in the Kaira grant of the year 394 (IA. VII 248). Ādityasena of the later Gupta family, who ruled in the second half of the seventh century A.D., seems to be referred to in Nepalese inscriptions as 'King of Magadha'. Magadha, now replaced Eastern Mālwa as the chief centre of Gupta power.

1 Cf. Hoernle in JRAS, 1903, 561.

² An allusion to the later Guptas seems to occur in the Kādambari, Verse 10, of Bāṇa which says that the lotus feet of Kubera, the poet's greatgrandfather, were worshipped by many a Gupta:—

Babhūva Vātsyāyana vamša sambhavo dvijo jagadgitaguņo'granih satām aneka Guptārchitapāda pankajah Kubera nāmāmša iva Svayambhuvah.

SECTION II. PURU GUPTA AND NARASIMHA GUPTA BALADITYA

We shall now proceed to give an account of Skanda Gupta's successors. The immediate successor of the great emperor seems to have been his brother Puru Gupta. The existence of this king was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitarī seal of Kumāra Gupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle.1 The seal describes Puru Gupta as the son of Kumāra I by the queen Anantadevī, and does not mention Skanda Gupta. The mention of Puru Gupta immediately after Kumāra with the prefix tat-pad-anudhyata "meditating on, or attached to, the feet of" (Kumāra), does not necessarily prove that Puru Gupta was the immediate successor of his father, and a contemporary and rival of his brother or half-brother Skanda Gupta.* In the Manahali grant Madanapāla is described as Śri-Rāmapāla-Deva-pādānudhyāta, although he was preceded by his elder brother Kumārapāla. In Kielhorn's Northern Inscription No. 39. Vijayapāla is described as the successor of Kshitipāla, although he was preceded by his brother Devapāla. Smith and Allan have shown that Skanda ruled over the whole empire including the eastern and the central as well as many of the western provinces. He may have lost some of his districts in the Far West. But the coin-

¹ JASB, 1889, pp. 84-105.

² The omission of Skanda's name in the Bhitarī seal of his brother's grandson does not necessarily imply that the relations between him and Puru's family were unfriendly as suggested by Mr. R. D. Banerji (cf. Annals of the Bhand. Ins., 1918-19, pp. 74-75). The name of Pulakeśin II is omitted in an inscription of his brother and Yuvarāja Vishņuvardhana (Sātārā grant, Ind. Ant., 1890, pp. 227f). The name of Bhoja II of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty is not mentioned in the Partabgarh Inscription of his nephew Mahendrapāla II, but it is mentioned in an inscription of his brother Vināyakapāla, the father of Mahendrapāla. Besides, there was no custom prohibiting the mention of the name of a rival uncle or brother. Maṅgaleśa and Govinda II are mentioned in the inscriptions of the rivals and their descendants. On the other hand even an ancestor of a reigning king was sometimes omitted, e.g., Dharapaṭṭa is omitted in his son's inscription (Kielhorn, N. Ins., No. 464).

³ Kielhorn, Ins. No. 31.



types of the successors of Kumāra Gupta, with the exception of Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta, show that none of them could have held sway in the lost territories of Western India. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence clearly indicates that there was no room for a rival Mahārājādhirāja in Northern India including Bihār and Bengal during the reign of Skanda Gupta. He was a man of mature years at the time of his death cir. A.D. 467.1 His brother and successor Puru Gupta, too, must have been an old man at that time. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that he had a very short reign and died some time before A.D. 473 when his grandson Kumāra Gupta II was ruling. The name of Puru Gupta's queen has been read by various scholars as Śrī Vatsadevī, Vainyadevī or Śrī Chandradevī.3 She was the mother of Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya.

The coins of Puru Gupta are of the heavy Archer type apparently belonging to the eastern provinces of the empire of his predecessors.3 Some of the coins hitherto attributed to him have the reverse legend Śrī Vikramah' and possible traces of the fuller title of Vikramāditya. Allan identifies him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu. The importance of this identification lies in the fact that it proves that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis. If the spurious Gayā plate is to be believed Ayodhyā was the

When sons succeed a father or mother after a prolonged reign they are usually well advanced in years. In the case of Skanda Gupta we know that already in A.D. 455 he was old enough to lead the struggle against all the enemies of his house and empire in succession. Cf. 566 n. 3 ante.

² Ep. Ind., XXI. 77; ASI, AR, 1934-35, 63.

³ Allan, pp. Lxxx, xcviii.

Mr. S. K. Sarasvati attributes these coins to Budha Gupta (Indian Culture, I, 692). This view, however, is not accepted by Prof. Jagan Nath (Summaries of papers submitted to the 13th All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur, 1946, Sec. 1X, p. 11). According to Mr. Jagan Nath the reading is definitely Puru and not Budha. As to the title Vikramāditya, see Allan, p. cxxii. Dr. R. C. Majumdar (ASB, 4-4-49) adduces evidence in support of the view of Mr. Sarasvati,

seat of a Gupta jaya-skandhāvāra, or 'camp of victory,' as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. The principal capital of Bālāditya and his successors appears to have been Kāśī.¹

The identification proposed by Allan also suggests that Puru Gupta could not have flourished much later than 472 A.D., for a Chinese history of the Indian patriarchs belonging to that year mentions "Ba-su-ban-da."

The evidence of the Bharsar hoard seems to show that a king styled Prakāśāditya came shortly after Skanda Gupta. Prakāśāditya may be regarded as possibly a biruda or secondary epithet of Puru Gupta or of one of his immediate successors. Even if we think with Allan that Puru had the title Vikramāditya there is no inherent improbability in his having an additional Āditya title. That the same king might have two "Āditya" names is proved by the cases of Skanda Gupta (Vikramāditya and Kramāditya) and Śīlāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhī. But the identification of Prakāśāditya still remains sub judice. His coins are of the combined horseman and lion-slayer type. The "horseman type" was associated with the southern provinces of the empire of the Guptas and the lion-slayer type with the north.

Puru Gupta seems to have been succeeded by his son Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya. This king has been identified with king Bālāditya whose troops are represented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned the tyrant Mihirakula. It has been overlooked that Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was the immediate successor of Tathāgata Gupta⁵ who was himself the immediate successor of Bud(d)ha Gupta.⁶

¹ CII, 285.

² JRAS, 1905, 40. This is now confirmed by the seal which represents Puru as the father of Budha (476-95).

³ Allan, p. lxxxvi.

⁴ Ibid., xci.

⁵ Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 111. Si-yu-ki, II, p. 168.

⁶ Fo-to-kio-to. Beal, Fleet and Watters render the term by Buddha Gupta, a name unknown to imperial Gupta epigraphy. The synchronism of his second successor Baladitya with Mihirakula proves that Budha Gupta is meant. We have other instances of corruption of names, e.g. Skanda is



whereas Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya was the son and successor of Puru Gupta who in his turn was the son of Kumāra Gupta I and the successor of Skanda Gupta. The son and successor of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was Vajra1 while the son and successor of Narasimha was Kumāra Gupta II. It is obvious that the conqueror of Mihirakula was not the son of Puru Gupta but an altogether different individual.2 The existence of several kings of the eastern part of the Madhyadeśa having the biruda Bālāditya is proved by the Sārnāth Inscription of Prakațāditya." Narasimha Gupta must have died in or about the year A.D. 473. He was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya by queen Mitradevī.4

The coins of Narasimha and his successor belong to two varieties of the Archer type. One class of these coins was, according to Allan, apparently intended for circulation in the lower Ganges valley, and the other may have been issued in the upper provinces. The inclusion of Eastern India within the dominions of Bālāditya (Bālākhya) and Kumāra (II) is vouched for by the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa.5

transformed into Skandha in several Purāṇic lists of the so-called Andhra dynasty.

1 Yuan Chwang II, p. 165.

2 Drs. Bhattasalī and Basak, who uphold the identification of Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya with the son of Puru Gupta, do not apparently attach due weight to the evidence of the Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 111, which, as we shall see later on, is corroborated by the combined testimony of the Sarnath inscription of Prakațăditya and the Arya-Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa. The evidence of these documents suggests that Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya was identical with Bhānu Gupta and was the father of Prakaṭāditya and Vajra.

3 CH, p. 285. A Bālāditya is mentioned in the Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yasovarman (Ep. Ind., 1929, Jan., 38) and also a seal (\$ri Nālandāyām

Srī Bālāditya Gandhakudī, MASI, 66, 38).

It is suggested in Ep. Ind., xxi, 77 (clay seals of Nālandā) and ASI, AR, 1934-35, 63, that the name of Kumāra Gupta's mother has to be read as Mitradevī and not śrīmatī devī or Lakshmīdevī.

5 Ganapati Śāstrī's ed., p. 630. Cf. Jayaswal, Imperial History, 35. Bālākhya nāmasau nripatir bhavitā Pūrva dešakah tasyāpareņa nripatih Gaudāņām prabhavishņavah Kumārākhyo nāmatah proktah so'pir atyanta dharmavān.

SECTION III. KUMARA GUPTA II AND VISHNUGUPTA

Kumāra Gupta II of the Bhitarī seal, son of Narasimha Gupta, has been identified with Kramāditya of certain coins of the Archer type that are closely connected with the issues of Narasimha Bālāditya. He is also identified with king Kumāra Gupta mentioned in the Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 154 G. E., i.e., A.D. 473-74.1 Drs. Bhattasālī, Basāk and some other scholars think that the Kumāra Guptas of the Bhitarī seal and the Sārnāth epigraph were distinct individuals. The former places Kumāra, son of Narasimha, long after A.D. 5002. But his theory is based upon the doubtful identification of Narasimha, with the conqueror of Mihirakula. According to Dr. Basāk Kumāra of the Sārnāth Inscription was the immediate successor of Skanda. In his opinion there were two rival Gupta lines ruling simultaneously, one consisting of Skanda, Kumāra of Sārnāth and Budha, the other comprising Puru, Narasimha and his son Kumāra of the Bhitarī seal. But there is not the slightest evidence of a partition of the Gupta Empire in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. On the contrary inscriptions and coins prove that both Skanda and Budha ruled over the whole empire from Bengal to the West. We have already seen that according to the traditional account of the Arya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa the kingdom of Bālākhya, i.e., Bālāditya and his successor Kumāra embraced the Purva-deśa (Eastern India) including Gauda (Western and part of Northern Bengal).3 How can we reconcile the rule of these kings with the contemporary sovereignty of a rival line represented by Skanda and Budha? There

¹ Sec ASI, AR, 1914-15, 124, Hindusthan Review, Jan., 1918, Ann. Bhand. Inst., 1918-19, 67 ff. and JBORS, iv, 344, 412, for the views of Venis, Pathak, Panday, Pannalall and others.

² Dacca Review, May and June, 1920, pp. 54-57-

² Ārya-Manjuśrī-mūla-halpa, G. šāstrī's ed., pp. 630 f.

⁴ The seal of Budha Gupta (MASB, No. 66, p. 64) proves conclusively that Budha, far from belonging to a rival line, was actually a son of Puru Gupta. It also negatives the late date for Puru Gupta suggested by Dr. Bhattasäli.

is no cogent reason for doubting the identity of Kumāra of the Bhitarī seal with his namesake of the Sārnāth Inscription.

Kumāra II's reign must have terminated in or about the year A.D. 476-77, the first known date of Budha Gupta¹. The reigns of Puru, Narasimha and Kumāra II appear to be abnormally short, amounting together to only ten years (A.D. 467-77). This is by no means a unique case. In Vengī three Eastern Chālukya monarchs, viz., Vijayāditya IV, his son Ammarāja I, and Ammarāja's son, another Vijayāditya, ruled only for seven years and six and a half months.² In Kaśmîra six kings, Śūravarman I, Pārtha, Śambhuvardhana, Chakravarman, Unmattāvanti and Śūravarman II, ruled within six years (A.D. 933-39); and three generations of kings, viz., Yaśaskara, his uncle Varṇaṭa, and his son Samgrāmadeva ruled for ten years (A.D. 939-49). A fragmentary seal discovered at Nālandā

¹ One of the successors of Kumāra (II), son of Bālāditya, is according to the Arya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, a prince styled Ukārākhya. That appellation may according to Jayaswal apply to Prakāśāditya, for Allan finds the letters ru or u on his coins. But the identification of a prince whose designation was u. (Ukārākhya), with Budha Gupta (Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, 38), does not seem to be plausible. The passage in the Arya-Manjusrimūla-kalpa suggests a name like Upagupta, Upendra. Though there is no direct epigraphic evidence for the name Upagupta, the existence of such a prince does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that an Upagupta is mentioned in Maukhari records as the mother of Isanavarman [Asirgadh (Fleet, CII, p. 220) and Nälandä (Ep. Ind., xxi, p. 74) seals]. Cf. Bhanu Gupta and Bhanu Gupta, Harsha Gupta and Harsha Gupta, Mahasena Gupta and Mahāsena Guptā. On the analogy of these cases it is possible that there was a prince named Upagupta, apparently the brother of Upaguptā. If this surmise be correct Upagupta may have to be placed in the same period as the mother of Isanavarman, i.e., in the first half of the sixth century A.D., sometime after Budha Gupta. If u is the initial of Upendra (Vishnu or Krishna) and not of Upagupta, it may refer to Vishnu Gupta or to Krishna Gupta, just as Somākhya has reference to the Gauda king śaśāńka. The existence of a son of Kumāra Gupta II named Mahārājādhirāja Sri Vishnu Gupta has recently been disclosed by a fragmentary seal at Nālandā (Ep. Ind., xxvi. 235; IHQ, XIX. 19). It is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say whether he was the immediate successor of his father, or had to wait till the death of his great uncle Budha Gupta. Those who place him and his father after Budha Gupta, have to dissociate Kumara of the Bhitarī and Nālandā seals from the homonymous prince of Sārnāth. This is not improbable but must await future discoveries for confirmation. 2 Hultzsch, SII, Vol. I. p. 46.

refers to Kumāra's son Vishnu Gupta who is probably to be identified with Chandrāditya of the coins.

SECTION IV. BUDHA GUPTA

For Budha Gupta, now known to have been a son of Puru Gupta' we have a number of dated inscriptions and coins which prove that he ruled for about twenty years

(A.D. 477-c. 495).

Two copper-plate inscriptions discovered in the village of Dāmodarpur in the district of Dinājpur, testify to the fact that Budha Gupta's empire included Pundravardhana bhukti (roughly North Bengal) which was governed by his viceroys (Uparika Mahārāja) Brahmadatta and Jayadatta.2 The Sārnāth Inscription of A.D. 476-77 together with the Stone Pillar Inscription of 159 (= A. D. 478-79 noted by Dr. D. C. Sircar (ASB, 6-12-48) (TRASB, 1949, 5 ff.) and Benares Inscription3 of 479 prove his possession of the Kāśī country. In A.D. 484-85 the erection of a dhvaja-stambha or flag staff in honour of Janārdana, i.e., Vishņu, by the Mahārāja Mātrivishņu, ruler of Eraņ, and his brother Dhanyavishņu, while the Bhūpati (King) Budha Gupta, was reigning, and Mahārāja Suraśmichandra was governing the land between the Kālindī (Jumna) and the Narmadā (Nerbudda), indicates that Budha Gupta's dominions included part of Central India as well as Kāśī and North Bengal.

The coins of this emperor are dated in the year A.D. c. 495. They continue the peacock-type of the Gupta silver coinage that was meant, according to Allan, for circulation in the central part of the empire. Their

1 Seal of Budha Gupta (MASB, No. 66, p. 64).

² To the reign of this Gupta king belongs also probably the Pāhādpur (ancient Somapura) (Rājshāhi District) plate of A.D. 478-79 (Mod. Rev., 1931, 150; Prabāsī 1338, 671; Ep. Ind., XX, 59 ff) and also a copper-plate of A.D. 488-9 (Ep. Ind., xxiii. 52), originally found at Nandapura (Monghyr District). For a possible reference to Budha Gupta in Purāņic literature, see Pro. of the Seventh Or. Conf., 576.

³ JRASB, 1949, 5 ff.
4 Cf. also Mahābhārata, ii. 32. 4; Kālīdāsa, Meghadūta, 1. 45.



legend is the claim to be lord of the earth and to have won heaven,—found on the coins of Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta.

SECTION V. SUCCESSORS OF BUDHA GUPTA

According to the Life of Hiuen Tsang Budha Gupta was succeeded by Tathagata Gupta, after whom Baladitya succeeded to the empire.1 At this period the supremacy of the Guptas in Central India was challenged by the Hun king Toramāna. We have seen that in A.D. 484-85 a Mahārāja named Mātrivishņu ruled in the Airikiņa Vishaya (Eran in Eastern Mālwa, now in the Saugor District of the Central Provinces) as a vassal of the emperor Budha Gupta. But after his death his younger brother Dhanyavishnu transferred his allegiance Toramana. The success of the Huns in Central India was, however, short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general named Goparāja fighting by the side of a Gupta king at Eran and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Dabhālā to the south-east of Eran acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In A.D. 518-9 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripurī vishaya (Jubbalpore District). In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the Parivrājaka-Mahārāja of Dabhālā. The Parivrājakas Hastin and Samkshobha seem to have been the bulwarks of the Gupta Empire in the northern part of the present Madhya Pradeśa. The Harsha-charita of Bana recognises the possession of Mālava, possibly Eastern Mālwa, by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhākara-vardhana (cir. A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from parts of Central India was final.2 The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably effected in the time of Bālāditya whose troops are repre-

¹ Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, p. 168; the Life, p. 111.
2 For the survival of the Huns in the Malwa region, See Ep. Ind., xxiii., 102.

sented by Hiuen Tsang as having imprisoned Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, and set him at liberty at the request of the Queen Mother. The Hun king had to be content with a small kingdom in the north. It is not improbable that Bālāditya was a biruda of the "glorious Bhanu Gupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha" along with whom Goparāja went to Eraṇ and having fought a "very famous battle" died shortly before A.D. 510-11.2

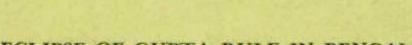
Mihirakula was finally subjugated by the Janendra³ Yaśodharman of Mandaśor some time before A.D. 533.

1 Beal Si-yu-ki, I, p. 171.

"He (Yasodharman) to whose feet respect was paid—by even that (famous)

² In a Nälandä Stone Inscription (Ep. Ind., XX, 43-45) Bālāditya is described as a king of irresistible valour and vanquisher of all foes. The last of the Bālādityas mentioned in a Sārnāth Inscription (Fleet, CII, 285 f.) had a son named Prakaţāditya by his wife Dhavalā. In the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa (ed. G. Śāstrī, p. 637 ff.) Pakārākhya (Prakaţāditya) is represented as the son of Bhakārākhya (Bhānu Gupta). Buddhist tradition thus corroborates the identification, first proposed in these pages, of Bālāditya with Bhānu Gupta. Cf. now Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, pp. 47. 53. An inscription found at Gunaighara near Comilla and certain seals at Nalanda disclose the existence of a king named (Yai)nya Gu(pta) who ruled in or about A.D. 507 and must have been also a contemporary of Mihirakula or of his father (Prabāsī, 1338, 675; IHQ, 1930, 53, 561). The scals give him the style Mahārājādhirāja (ASI, AR, 1930-34, Pt. I, 230, 249; MASI, 66, 67; IHQ, XIX, 275) and suggest relationship with the imperial Guptas Dr. D. C. Ganguly identifies him with the Dvādašāditya of coins (IHQ, 1933, 784, 989). But owing to damaged condition of the Nālandā seal his parentage cannot be ascertained.

The ascription of the title of Vikramāditya to Yasodharman of Man. dasor, and the representation of this chief as a ruler of Ujjain, the father of Sīlāditya of Mo-la-po and the father-in-law of Prabhākara-vardhana are absolutely unwarranted. According to Father Heras (JBORS, 1927, March, 8-9) the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of Bālāditya took place after the Hun king's conflict with Yasodharman. It should, however, be remembered that at the time of the war with Bālāditya Mihirakula was a paramount sovereign to whom the king of Magadha had been tributary, and with whom he dared not fight, being only anxious to conceal his poor person (Beal, Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, p. 168). This is hardly possible after the Janendra of Mandasor had compelled the Hun "to pay respect to his two feet". The victory of Bălāditya over Mihirakula was certainly not decisive. The "loss of the royal estate" was only temporary, and the tyrant soon placed himself on the throne of Kasmīra and conquered Gandhāra (Beal, Si-yu-ki, I, p. 171). To the court-poet of Yasodharman Mihirakula was pre-eminently a king of the Himalayan region. This is clear from the following passage which was misunderstood by Fleet whose interpretation has been followed by Father Heras (p. 8 n):-



Line 6 of the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription leaves the impression that in the time of Yasodharman Mihirakula was the king of a Himālayan country ("small kingdom in the north"), i.e., Kasmīra and that neighbourhood, who was compelled "to pay respect to the two feet" of the victorious Janendra probably when the latter carried his arms to "the mountain of snow the tablelands of which are embraced by the Gangā."

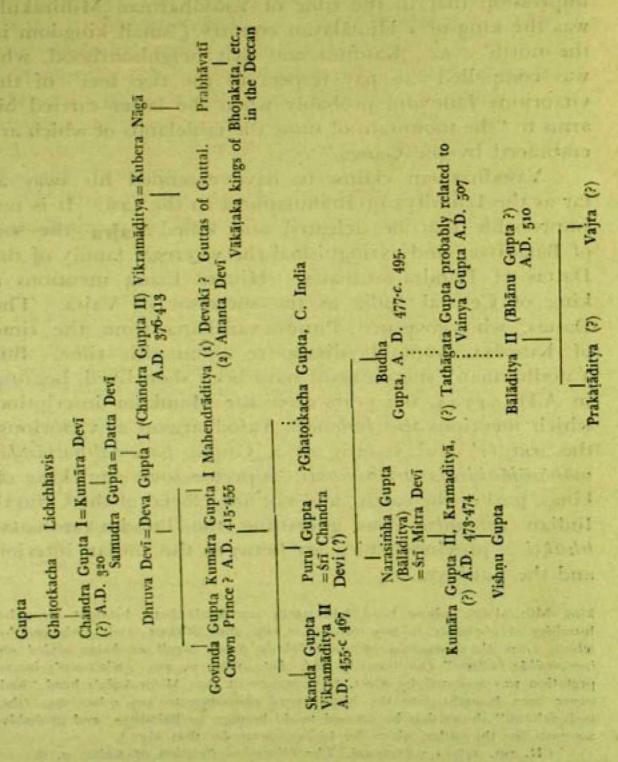
Yasodharman claims to have extended his sway as far as the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra in the east. It is not improbable that he defeated and killed Vaira the son of Bālāditya,2 and extinguished the viceregal family of the Dattas of Pundra-vardhana. Hiuen Tsang mentions a king of Central India as the successor of Vajra. The Dattas, who governed Pundra-vardhana from the time of Kumāra Gupta I, disappear about this time. But Yasodharman's success must have been short-lived, because in A.D. 543-44, ten years after the Mandasor inscription which mentions the Janendra Yasodharman as victorious, the son (?) and viceroy of a Gupta paramabhattāraka mahārājādhirāja prithivipati, 'supreme sovereign, king of kings, lord of the earth', and not any official of the Central Indian Janendra, was governing the Pundra-vardhanabhukti, a province which lay between the Indian interior and the Lauhitya.

king Mihirakula, whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānu (and) embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself as being styled an inaccessible fortress" (Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., 1885, p. 219). Kielhorn's interpretation was accepted by Fleet. [The statement that Mihirakula's head "had never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānu" shows that he refused to do homage to Bālāditya, and probably accounts for the order, given for his execution by that king.]

1 CII, pp. 146-147; Jayaswal, The Historical Position of Kalki, p. 9.

² If the identification of Bālāditya with Bhānu Gupta first proposed in these pages is correct, his son Vajra may be identified with Vakārākhya, the younger brother (anuja) of the Prakaṭāditya of the Sārnāth Inscription (Fleet, CII. 284 ff.)—the Pakārākhya of the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa who is represented as the son of Bhakārākhya, i.e., Bhānu Gupta (ed. G. Śāstrī, pp. 637-44). Prakaṭāditya is represented in the inscription named above as the son of Bālāditya by Dhavalā. Cf. now Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, pp. 47, 53, 56, 63.

THE EARLY IMPERIAL GUPTAS





SECTION VI. THE LINE OF KRISHNA GUPTA

The name of the Gupta emperor in the Dāmodarpur plate of A.D. 543-44 is unfortunately lost. The Aphsaḍ Inscription, however, discloses the names of a number of "Gupta" kings,¹ the fourth of whom, Kumāra Gupta (III), was a contemporary of Iśānavarman Maukhari who is known from the Harāhā Inscription to have been ruling in A.D. 554.² Kumāra Gupta III, and his three predecessors, viz., Kṛishṇa, Harsha and Jîvita, should probably be placed in the period between A.D. 510, the date of Bhānu Gupta, and 554, the date of Iśānavarman. It is possible, but by no means certain, that one of these kings is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate of A.D. 543-44.³ The absence of high-sounding titles like Mahārājādhirāja or Parama-bhaṭṭāraka

2 H. Śāstrī, Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110 ff.

Although the rulers, the names of most of whom ended in-gupta, mentioned in the Aphsad and connected contemporary epigraphs, who ruled over the provinces in the heart of the early Gupta empire, are called "Guptas" for the sake of convenience, their relationship with the early Gupta-kula or Gupta-vamsa is not known. It is, however, to be noted that some of them (e.g., Kumāra Gupta and Deva Gupta), bore names that are found in the earlier family, and Krishna Gupta, the founder of the line, has been identified by some with Govinda Gupta, son of Chandra Gupta II. But the last suggestion is hardly acceptable, because Govinda must have flourished more than half a century before Krishna Gupta. And it is surprising that the panegyrists of Krishna Gupta's descendants should have omitted all references to the early Guptas if their patrons could really lay claim to such an illustrious ancestry. In the Aphsad inscription the dynasty is described simply as Sad-varisa 'of good lineage'. The designation Gupta, albeit not "Early Imperial Gupta", is possibly justified by the evidence of Bana. The Guptas and the Gupta Kulaputra mentioned in Bana's Kadambari and Harsha-charita may refer to the family of Krishna, if not to some hitherto unknown descendants of the early imperial line. One of the princes of the early Gupta line, Ghatotkacha Gupta of the Tumain inscription is known to have ruled over Eastern Mālwa and it is not impossible that Krishņa Gupta was, in some way, connected with him. We must, however, await future discoveries to clear up the point.

³ Mr. Y. R. Gupte (Ind. Hist. Journal) reads the name of Kumāra in the inscription of A.D. 543-44, but he identifies him with the son of Narasimha Gupta. The ruler whose name is missing may represent one or other of the "Gupta" lines already known to scholars or some new line. Cf. the cases of Vainya Gupta and the princes mentioned on pp. 214-15 of Ep. Ind., xx, Appendix.

in the ślokas or verses of the Aphsad Inscription does not necessarily prove that the kings mentioned there were petty chiefs. No such titles are attached to the name of Kumāra I in the Mandaśor Inscription, or to the name of Budha in the Eran Inscription. On the other hand the queen of Mādhava Gupta, one of the least powerful kings mentioned in the Aphsad Inscription, is called Paramabhaṭṭārikā and Mahādevī in the Dēo Baraṇārk epigraph.

Regarding Krishna Gupta we know very little. The Aphsad Inscription describes him as a hero whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemy (driptārāti), (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes. The driptārāti against whom he had to fight may have been Yasodharman. The next king Deva Śri Harsha Gupta had to engage in terrible contests with those who were "averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him, her) own lord." There were wounds from many weapons on his chest. The name of the enemies, who tried to deprive him of his rightful possessions, are not given. Harsha's son Jivita Gupta I probably succeeded in re-establishing the power of his family in the territory lying between the Himālayas and the sea, apparently in Eastern India. "The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow." The "haughty foes" on seaside shores were probably the Gaudas who had already launched into a career of conquest about this time and who are described as living on the sea shore (samudr-āśraya) in the Harāhā Inscription of A.D. 554.1 The other ene-



mies may have included ambitious Kumārāmātyas like Nandana of the Amauna plate.

The next king, Kumāra Gupta III had to encounter a sea of troubles. The Gaudas were issuing from their "proper realm" which was in Western Bengal as it bordered on the sea and included Karnasuvarna1 and Rāḍhāpuri.2 The lord of the Andhras who had thousands of three-fold rutting elephants, and the Śūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, were powers to be reckoned with. The Andhra king was probably Mādhavavarman (I. Janāśraya) of the Polamuru plates belonging to the Vishnukundin family who "crossed the river Godāvari with the desire to conquer the eastern region" and performed eleven horse-sacrifices. The śūlikas were probably the Chalukyas.4 In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription the name appears as Chalikya. In the Gujarāţ records we find the forms Solaki and Solanki. Śūlika may have been another dialectic variant. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription tells us that in the sixth century A.D., Kīrtivarman I of the "Chalikya" dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vanga, Anga, Magadha, etc. His father is known to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, "the super-eminent touch-stone to test the might of warriors conquering the world and an indication of the conquest of all the warriors." Prince Kīrtivarman may have been entrusted with the guardianship of the sacrificial steed that had to roam about for a year in the territories of the rulers to whom a challenge was thrown by the performer of the sacrifice.

A new power was rising in the Upper Ganges Valley

¹ M. Chakravarti, JASB, 1908, p. 274-

² Prabodha-chandrodaya, Act II.

³ Dubreuil, AHD, p. 92 and D. C. Sircar, IHQ, 1933, 276 ff.

In the Brihat-Samhitä, IX. 15; XIV. 8, the Sülikas and Saulikas are associated with Aparanta (N. Konkan), Vanaväsi (Kanara) and Vidarbha (Berar). In Brih. Sam., IX. 21, X. 7, XVI. 35, however, they are associated with Gandhara and Vokkana (Wakhan). A branch of the people may have dwelt in the north-west. In JRAS, 1912, 128, we have a reference to Kulastambha of the Sulki family. Taranatha (Ind. Ant., IV. 364) places the kingdom of "Sulik" beyond "Togara" (Ter in the Deccan?).

which was destined to engage in a death grapple with the Guptas for the mastery of Northern India. This was the Mukhara or Maukhari¹ power. The Maukharis claimed descent from the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata, i.e., Yama² (not Manu). The family consisted of several distinct groups. The stone inscriptions of one group have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Bārā Bankī districts of the Uttara Pradeśa, while lithic records of another group have been discovered in the Gayā district of Bihār. A third family has left inscription at Badvā in the Kotah state in Rājputāna. The Maukharis of Gayā, namely, Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman were a feudatory family. Śārdūla is expressly called sāmanta chūḍāmaṇi, 'crest-jewel of vassal chiefs' in the Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of his son.3 The Badva Maukharis held the office of general or military governor under some Prince of Western India in the third century A.D. The Maukharis of the Uttara Pradeśa⁴ probably also held a subordinate rank at first. The earliest princes of this family, viz., Harivarman, Adityavarman,

¹ The family was called both Mukhara and Maukhari. "Soma-Sūrya vainšāviva Pushpabhūti (sic) Mukhara Vainšau", "sakalabhuvana namaskrito Maukhari vainšah." (Harsha-charita, Parab's ed., pp. 141,146). Cf. also CII, p. 229.

² Mbh., III. 296. 38 ff. The reference is undoubtedly to the hundred sons that Asvapati obtained as a boon from Yama on the intercession of his daughter Savitri. It is surprising that some writers still identify the Vaivasvata of the Maukhari record with Manu.

² CII, p. 223. The connection of the Maukharis with Gayā is very old. This is proved by the clay seal with the inscription Mokhališa, or Mokhalinam (Fleet, CII, 14), to which attention has already been drawn above. A reference to the Mokaris seems also to occur in the Chandravalli Stone Inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūrašarman (Arch. Survey of Mysore, A. R. 1929, pp. 50 ff). Dr. Tripathi finds a possible reference in the Mahābhāshya (JBORS, 1934, March). For the Badvā ins., see Ep. Ind., XXIII, 42 ff. (Altekar).

In literature the Maukhari line of U. P. is associated with the city of Kanauj which may have been the capital at one time. Cf. C. V. Vaidya, Mediaeval Hindu India, I, pp. 9, 35: Aravamuthan, the Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Samgam Age, p. 101. Hiuen Tsang, however, declares Kanauj to have been included within the realm of the House of Pushyabhūti even before Harsha. A Gupta noble was in possession of Kuśasthala (Kanauj) for some time after the death of Rājyavardhana and before the rise of Harsha. (Harsha-Charita, Parab's ed., pp. 226, 249).



and Iśvaravarman, were simply Mahārājas. Ādityavarman's wife was Harsha Guptā, probably a sister of king Harsha Gupta. The wife of his son and successor Iśvaravarman was also probably a Gupta princess named Upa-Guptā. In the Harāhā inscription Iśānavarman, son of Iśvaravarman and Upa-Guptā,¹ claims victories over the Andhras,² the Śūlikas and the Gaudas and is the first to assume the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. It was this which probably brought him into conflict with king Kumāra Gupta III.³ Thus began a duel between the Maukharis and the Guptas which ended only when the latter with the help of the Gaudas wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana.⁴

We have seen that Iśānavarman's mother and grandmother were probably Gupta princesses. The mother of Prabhākaravardhana, the other empire-builder of the second half of the sixth century, appears also to have been a Gupta princess. It seems that the Gupta marriages in this period were as efficacious in stimulating imperial ambition⁵ as the Lichchhavi marriages of more ancient times.

Kumāra Gupta III claims to have "churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Iśānavarman, a very moon among kings." This is not an empty boast, for the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over

¹ Fleet, CII. 220.

² The victory over the Andhras is also alluded to in the Jaunpur stone inscription (CII. p. 230) which, according to Fleet, also seems to refer to a conflict with Dhārā, the capital of Western Mālava (?). Dr. Basāk thinks that Dhārā in this passage refers to the edge of the sword (Hist. N. E. Ind., 109).

as I, II, III etc. need not imply that the kings in question belonged to the same dynasty.

⁴ The successors of Grahavarman may have survived as petty nobles. With them a "Later Gupta" king contracted a matrimonial alliance in the seventh century A.D.

⁵ Cf. Hoernle, JRAS, 1903, p. 557.

⁶ Aphsad Ins.

the Guptas. Kumār Gupta III's funeral rites took place at Prayāga which probably formed a part of his dominions.

The son and successor of this king was Dāmodara Gupta. He continued the struggle with the Maukharis' and fell fighting against them. "Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūnas (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."

Gupta. He is probably the king of Mālava, possibly Eastern Mālwa, mentioned in the Harsha-charita, whose sons Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana by their father, king Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushyabhūti family of Śrīkaṇṭha (Thānesar). The intimate relation between the family of Mahāsena Gupta and that of Prabhākara-vardhana is proved by the Madhuban grant and the Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsha which represent Mahāsena Guptā Devī as the mother of Prabhākara, and the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena which alludes to the association of Mādhava Gupta, son of Mahāsena Gupta, with Harsha.

2 Reference to Mahābhārata XII. 98, 46-47; Raghuvams, VII. 53; Kāvyādarša, II, 119; Rājatarangiņī, I. 68, shows that the objections raised against the interpretation of Fleet are invalid. The significance of the touch of Surabadhūs as distinct from a human being, is entirely missed by a writer in Bhand. Com. Vol. 181, and a reviewer of Dr. Tripathi's History of Ancient India.

The Maukhari opponent of Dāmodara Gupta was either Sūryavarman or Sarvavarman (both being sons of Išānavarman), if not Išānavarman himself. A Sūryavarman is described in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta as "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of their ādhipatya (supremacy) over Magadha." If this Sūryavarman be identical with, or a descendant of, Sūryavarman, the son of Išānavarman, then it is certain that for a time the supremacy of Magadha passed from the hands of the Guptas to that of the Maukharis. The Deo-Baraṇārk Inscription (Shāhābad District) of Jīvita Gupta II also suggests (CII, pp. 216-218) that the Maukharis Sarvavarman and Avantivarman held a considerable part of Magadha some time after Bālāditya-deva. After the loss of Magadha the later Guptas were apparently confined to "Mālava," till Mahāsena Gupta once more pushed his conquests as far as the Lauhitya.



The Pushyabhūti alliance of Mahāsena Gupta was probably due to his fear of the rising power of the Maukharis.¹ The policy was eminently successful, and during his reign we do not hear of any struggle with that family. But a new danger threatened from the east. A strong monarchy was at this time established in Kāmarūpa by a line of princes who claimed descent from Bhagadatta. King Susthitavarman² of this family came into conflict with Mahāsena Gupta and was defeated. "The mighty fame of Mahāsena Gupta," says the Aphsaḍ inscription, "marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious Susthitavarman.....is still constantly sung on the banks of the river Lohitya."

Between Mahāsena Gupta, the contemporary of Prabhākara-vardhana, and his younger or youngest son Mādhava Gupta, the contemporary of Harsha, we have to place a king named **Deva Gupta** H³ who is mentioned by name in the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions of Harsha as the most prominent among the kings "who resembled wicked horses," who were all punished and restrained in their evil career by Rājya-vardhana. As the Gupta princes are uniformly connected with Mālava in the Harsha-charita there can be no doubt that the wicked Deva Gupta is identical with the wicked lord of Mālava who cut off Grahavarman Maukhari, and who was himself defeated "with ridiculous ease" by Rājya-vardhana. It is difficult

¹ And perhaps of other aggressive states mentioned in the beginning of the fourth *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Harsha-charita*. The Lāṭas of that passage may have reference to the Kaṭachchuris who finally ousted the Guptas from Vidisā in or about A.D. 608. The Kaṭachchuri (Kalachuri) dominions included the Lāṭa country in the latter part of the sixth and the first decade of the seventh century A.D. (Dubreuil, AHD, 82).

² See the Nidhanapur plates. A writer in the JRAS (1928) revives the theory that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari and not a king of Kāmarūpa. But no Maukhari king of that name is known. The association of Susthitavarman with the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra clearly shows that the king of that name mentioned in the Nidhanapur plates is meant.

³ The Emperor Chandra Gupta II was Deva Gupta I.

It is difficult to believe, as does one writer, that the Malava antagonist of Grahavarman and Rajya-vardhana was Buddharaja of the Kalachuri (Katachchuri) family. Had that been the case then it is rather surprising that a shadowy figure like Devagupta, and not Buddha-raja, would be specially

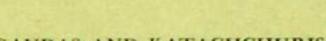
to determine the position of Deva Gupta in the dynastic list of the Guptas. He may have been the eldest son of Mahāsena Gupta, and an elder brother of Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta. His name is omitted in the Aphsaḍ list of kings, just as the name of Skanda Gupta is omitted in the Bhitarī list.

Shortly before his death, king Prabhākara-vardhana had given his daughter Rājyaśrī in marriage to Grahavarman, the eldest son of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. The alliance of the Pushyabhūtis with the sworn enemies of his family must have alienated Deva Gupta, who formed a counter-alliance with the Gauḍas whose hostility towards the Maukharis dated from the reign of Iśānavarman. As soon as Prabhākara died the Gupta king and the Gauḍa king, Śaśāńka,² seem to have made a joint attack on the Maukhari kingdom. "Graha-varman was by the wicked rājā of Mālava cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī also, the princess, was confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet and cast into prison at Kanyākubja." "The villain,

selected in the epigraphic records of the time of Harsha, for prominent notice among "the kings who resembled wicked horses," who received punishment at the hands of Rājyavardhana. It is the 'Guptas' who are associated with Mālava in the Harsha-charita which deals mainly with events till the rescue of Rājyaśrī. The rulers mentioned in connection with the tragic fate of the last of the Maukharis, the vicissitudes through which Rājyaśrī passed, and the struggles in which Rājyavardhana engaged, include Guptas and Gaudas but no Kaṭachchuri king.

¹ Hoernle, JRAS, 1903, p. 562. The suggestion, however, cannot be regarded as a well-established fact. Devagupta may have represented a collateral line of the Mālava family who continued to pursue a policy hostile to the Pushyabhūtis and the Maukharis, while Kumāra, Mādbava, the Gupta Kulaputra who connived at the escape of Rājyaśrī from Kuśasthala (Kanauj), and Ādityasena, son of Mādhava, who gave his daughter in marriage to a Maukhari, may have belonged to a friendly branch.

There is no reason to believe that sasanka belonged to the Gupta family (pace Allan, Gupta Coins, lxiv). Even if it be proved that he had a secondary name, Narendra Gupta, that by itself cannot establish a connection with the Gupta line in view of (a) the absence of any reference to his supposed Gupta ancestry in his own seal matrix ins. or in the record of his feudatories, (b) the use of the Nandidhvaja to the exclusion of the Garudadhvaja, (c) his Gauda connection. The epithet 'Samudrāiraya' applied to the Gaudas of the sixth century A.D., can hardly be regarded as an apposite characterisation of the Guptas of Magadha, Prayāga or Mālwa.



deeming the army leaderless purposes to invade and seize this country (Thanesar) as well." Rajya-vardhana, though he routed the Malava army "with ridiculous ease," was "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the overlord of Gauda, and then weaponless, confiding and

alone despatched in his own quarters."

To meet the formidable league between the Guptas and the Gaudas, Harsha, the successor of Rājya-vardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhāskara-varman, king of Kāmarūpa, whose father Susthita-varman Mṛigānka had fought against Mahāsena Gupta. This alliance was disastrous for the Gaudas as we know from the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskara. At the time of the issuing of the plates Bhāskara-varman was in possession of the city of Karnasuvarna that had once been the capital of the Gauda king, śaśāńka, whose death took place some time between A.D. 619 and 637. The king overthrown by Bhāskaravarman may have been Jayanaga (nagarajasamahvayo Gaudarāja, the king of Gauda named Nāga, successor of Somākhya or Śaśānka), whose name is disclosed by the Vappaghoshavāṭa inscription.3 The Gauda people, however, did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa, and their hostility towards those two powers was inherited by the Pāla and Sēna successors of Śaśānka.

In or about A.D. 608 the Guptas seem to have lost Vidiśā to the Kaṭachchuris. Magadha was held a little before A.D. 637 by Pūrṇavarman. **Mādhava Gupta** the younger or youngest son of Mahāsena Gupta, remained a subordinate ally of Harsha of Thānesar and Kanauj and apparently resided at his court. In the period 618-27, Harsha "punished the kings of four parts of India" and in 641 assumed the title of King of Magadha. After his

¹ Harsha-charita, Uchchhvāsa 6, p. 183. 2 Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 60 ff; Arya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, ed. G. šāstrī, p. 636. The name Jaya is also given in the Buddhist work. 3 Ind. Ant., IX. 19.

death the Gupta sovereignty in Magadha was revived by Adityasena, a prince of remarkable vigour and ability, who found his opportunity in the commotion which followed the usurpation of Harsha's throne by Arjuna (?). For this "Later Gupta" king we have a number of inscriptions which prove that he ruled over a wide territory extending to the shores of the oceans. The Aphsad, Shāhpur and Mandāra inscriptions recognise his undisputed possession of south and part of east Bihar. A Deoghar inscription, noticed by Fleet, describes him as the ruler of the whole earth up to the shores of the seas, and the performer of the Asvamedha and the other great sacrifices. He renewed contact with the Gaudas as well as the Maukharis and received a Gauda named Sūkshamsiva in his service. A Maukhari chief, Bhogavarman, accepted the hands of his daughter2 and presumably became his subordinate ally. The Deo-Baranark inscription refers to the Jayaskandhāvāra of his great-grandson Jīvita Gupta II at Gomatīkottaka. This clearly suggests that the so-called Later Guptas, and not the Maukharis, dominated about this time the Gomatī valley in the Madhya-deśa. The Mandara inscription applies to Adityasena the imperial titles of Parama-bhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. We learn from the Shāhpur stone image inscription that he was ruling in the year A.D. 672-73. It is not improbable that he or his son Deva Gupta (III) is the Sakalottarā-patha-nātha, lord of the whole of North India, who was defeated by the Chalukya kings Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-96) and Vijayāditya.3

We learn from the Dēo-Baraṇārk inscription that Ādityasena was succeeded by his son Deva Gupta (III), who in his turn was succeeded by his son Vishņu Gupta (II). The last king was Jīvita Gupta II, son of Vishņu.

¹ CII, p. 213 n. Aditya is said to have performed three Asvamedha sacrifices.

² Kielhorn, INI, 541.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 189, 368, 371; and Kendur plates.

⁴ This king seems also to be mentioned in an inscription discovered at Mangraon in the Buxar subdivision,



All these kings continued to assume imperial titles. That these were not empty forms appears from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vātāpi which testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The only North Indian sovereigns, *Uttarāpatha-nātha*, who laid claim to the imperial dignity during this period, and actually dominated Magadha and the *Madhya-deśa* as is proved by the Aphsaḍ and Dēo-Baraṇārk inscriptions, were Ādityasena and his successors.¹

The Gupta empire was probably finally destroyed by the Gaudas who could never forgive Mādhava Gupta's desertion of their cause and who may have grown powerful in the service of Ādityasena. In the time of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, i.e., in the first half of the eighth century A.D., a Gauda king occupied the throne of Magadha.²

Petty Gupta Princes, apparently connected with the imperial line, ruled in the Kanarese districts during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. and are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Evidence of an earlier connection of the Guptas with the Kanarese country is furnished by the Tālagund inscription which says that Kākustha-varman of the Kadamba dynasty gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. In

¹ For a curious reference to the Chalukyas and king Jih-kwan ('Sun army' i.e., Adityasena), see IA, X, p. 110.

² Cf. the Gaudavaho by Vakpatiraja. Banerji confounds the Gaudas with the later Guptas. In the Harāhā Inscription the Gaudas are associated with the sea-coast, Samudrāšraya, while the later Guptas, as is well-known, had their centres in the hinterland including Magadha and Mālwa. The people on the seashore were, according to the evidence of the Aphsad Inscription, hostile to Jīvita Gupta I. The Prašastikāra of the Aphsad record is expressly mentioned as a Gauda, a designation that is never applied to his patrons. The family of Krishna Gupta is simply characterised as Sadwainsa and there is not the slightest hint that the kings of the line and their panegyrist belonged to the same nationality. The fact that Gauda is the designation of the lord of Magadha in the days of Yasovarman early in the eighth century cannot be taken to prove that Gauda and later Gupta are interchangeable terms. In this period lordship of Magadha is not inseparably connected only with later Gupta lineage. Cf. the passage Magadhātipatyamahatām jāta kule varmanam, which proves the existence of non-Gupta lines among rulers of Magadha in this age.

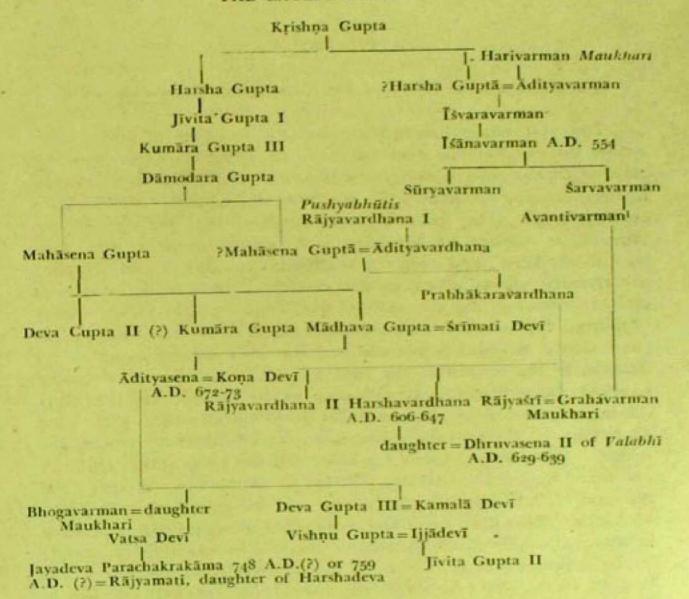
the fifth or sixth century A.D. the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena, a descendant of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya through his daughter Prabhāvatī Guptā, is said to have married a princess of Kuntala, i.e., of the Kanarese region. Curiously enough, the Gutta or Gupta chiefs of the Kanarese country claimed descent from Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, lord of Ujjayinī.

1 Jouveau Dubreuil, AHD, p. 76.

² Bomb, Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 578-80. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "A Peep into the Early History of India," p. 60. I owe this reference to Dr. Bhandarkar.

³ The account of the Later Guptas was first published in the JASB, 1920, No. 7.

THE LATEST GUPTAS



APPENDIX A

THE RESULTS OF ASOKA'S PROPAGANDA IN WESTERN ASIA1

The vast region beyond the western frontiers of India came within the geographical horizon of Buddhist writers as early as the Bāveru Jātaka, and possibly the Sussondi Jātaka, and its princes figure not inconspicuously in Buddhist inscriptions of the third century B. C. The records of Asoka show that the eyes of the imperial missionary of Magadha were turned more to the West than to the East; and even the traditional account of early Buddist proselytising efforts given in the chronicles of Ceylon,2 does not omit to mention the country of the Yonas where Mahārakkhita "delivered in the midst of the people the 'Kālakārāma suttanta,' in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the Path (of salvation) and ten thousand received the pabbajjā." It will perhaps be argued that the Yona country mentioned in the chronicles is to be identified with some district in the Kābul valley, and is not to be taken to refer to the realm of "Antiochos," the Yona king, and the kings, the neighbours of that Antiochos, namely, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander," mentioned in the second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Asoka. Rhys Davids, in fact, is inclined to regard the declaration in these edicts about the success of Aśoka's missionary propaganda in the realms of Yona princes as mere "royal rhodomontade". "It is quite likely," says he, "that the Greek kings are only thrown in by way of make (weight, as it were); and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all."4 Sir Flinders Petrie is, however,

¹ Mainly an extract from an article published in the Buddhistic Studies (ed. B. C. Law).

² Mahāvamša, Ch. XIL.

³ Dr. Jarl Charpentier has contributed a paper to A Volume of Indian Studies presented to Professor E. J. Rapson in which he revives the suggestion of Prinsep (Hultzsch, Aśoka, xxxi) that "Amtiyaka" referred to by Aśoka is Antiochos Soter (c 281-61), and not his son Antiochos Theos (261-46). But his theory requires that Chandragupta ascended the throne in 327-25 B.C., that he was identical with Xandrames and that the story of his visit to Alexander (recorded by Justin and Plutarch) is a myth. The theory is opposed not only to the evidence of Justin and Plutarch, but to the known facts about the ancestry of Chandragupta. Unlike Xandrames, Chandragupta is nowhere represented as of barber origin. His paternal ancestors are described as rulers by Brāhmanical and Buddhist writers alike.

4 Buddhist Indiā, p. 298.



of opinion that in the Ptolemaic Period Buddhism and Buddhist festivals had already reached the shores of Egypt. He infers this from Indian figures found at Memphis. An epigraph from the Thebaid mentions as the dedicator "Sophon the Indian".

Alberuni,2 writing in the eleventh century A. D. says, "In former times Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole Empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. succeeding kings made their religion (i.e., Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irak. In consequence the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh......Then came Islam." The above account may not be correct in all its particulars. The statement that Buddhism flourished in the countries of Western Asia before Zoroaster is clearly wrong. But the prevalence of the religion of Śākyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni and its suppression by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the firecult is hinted at in the Bhūridatta Jātaka.3 It has even been suggested that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists.4

Four centuries before Alberuni, Hieuen Tsang bore witness to the fact that Lang kie(ka)-lo, a country subject to Persia, contained above 100 monasteries and more than 6,000 Brethren who applied themselves to the study of the Great and Little "Vehicles". Persia (Po-la-sse) itself contained two or three Sanghārāmas, with several hundred priests, who principally studied the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Saravāstivādin school. The pātra of śākya Buddha was in this country, in the King's palace.

The Chinese pilgrim did not probably personally visit Persia. But no doubt need be entertained regarding the existence of Buddhist communities and Sanghārāmas or monasteries in Irān,

¹ Mahaffy, A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, 155f.

² Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 21.

³ No. 543.

⁴ Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 450.

⁵ Beal, Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 277-78; Watters Yuan Chwang, II, 257.

Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in "the terminal marshes of the Helmund" in Seistan. Mani, the founder of the Manichæan religion, who was born in A.D. 215-16, at Ctesiphon in Babylonia and began to preach his gospel probably in A.D. 242, shows unmistakable traces of Buddhist influence.2 In his book Shābūrqān (Shapurakhan) he speaks of the Buddha as a messenger of God. Legge and Eliot refer to a Manichæan treatise which has the form of a Buddhist Sutra. It speaks of Mani as the Tathagata and mentions Buddhas and the Bodhisattva. In Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, App., II, No. 4, we have reference to a Parthian prince who became a Buddhist sramana or monk before A.D. 148. In his History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Dr. Vincent Smith refers to a picture of a four-armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (vajra) in his left hand, which has been found at a place called Dandan-Uiliq in Turkistan. Such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Iran, and enjoyed considerable popularity as late as the eighth century A.D. which is the date assigned by Dr. Smith to the fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster discovered at Dandan-Uilig.

It is difficult to say to what extent Buddhist literature made its influence felt in Western Asia. Sir Charles Eliot points out the close resemblance between certain Manichæan works and the Buddhist Suttas and the Pātimokkha, and says that according to Cyril of Jerusalem, the Manichæan scriptures were written by one Scythianus and revised by his disciple Terebinthus who changed his name to Boddas. He finds in this "jumble" allusions to Buddha Sākyamuni and the Bo-tree. It may further be pointed out that some Jātaka tales show a surprising similarity to some of the stories in the Arabian Nights. The Samugga Jātaka, for instance, tells the story of the demon who put his beautiful wife in a box and guarded her in this manner in order that she might not go astray.

¹ Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 3.

² Ibid, p. 446; The Dacca University Journal, Feb., 1926, pp. 108, 111; JRAS, 1913, 69, 76, 81.

⁵ P. 310.

⁴ Cf. McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, p. 185. Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus but that he was a new Buddha (Buddas) and that he was born of a virgin. Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, who was a Saracen born in Palestine and who traded with India."

No. 436.



But this did not prevent her from taking pleasure with others. The tale in all its essential recurs in the Arabian Nights.

The Jātaka verse,

"He his true bliss in solitude will find, Afar from woman and her treachery"

is comparable to the statement of the poet in the Arabian Nights:

"Never trust in women; nor rely upon their vows;

For their pleasure and displeasure depend upon their passions. They offer a false affection;

For perfidy lurks within their clothing."

Whatever may be the case at the present day, in times gone by Western Asia was clearly not altogether outside the sphere of the intellectual and spiritual conquests of Buddhism.

¹ Burton, The Book of the Thousand Nights, I. 12ff; Olcott, Stories from the Arabian Nights, p. 3; Lane's Arabian Nights, pp. 8-9. A similar story is found in Lambaka X, taranga 8 of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara; Penzer, The Ocean of Story, Vol. V. pp. 151-52. "So attachment to women, the result of infatuation produces misery to all men. But indifference to them produces in the discerning emancipation from the bonds of existence."

APPENDIX B

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION OF KANISHKA AND RUDRADĀMAN I

Some years ago2 Mr. Haricharan Ghosh and Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankar contributed two very interesting notes on the date of Kanishka. The latter upholds the theory of Dr. Sten Konow, fortified by the calculations of Dr. Van Wijk, that the great Kushān Emperor began his rule in A.D. 128-29, and criticises the view put forward in this work that Kanishka I's rule in the "Lower Indus Valley" (this and not "Sind," is the expression actually used) could not have synchronised with that of Rudradaman I, who, "did not owe his position as Mahākshatrapa to anybody else." The conclusions of Professor Konow and Dr. Van Wijk are admittedly hypothetical, and little more need be said about them after the illuminating observations of Professor Rapson in JRAS, 1930, January, pp. 186-202. In the present note we shall confine ouselves to an examination of the criticism of Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankar and Mr. Haricharan Ghosh of the views expressed in the preceding pages.

The Professor has not a word to say about the contention that Kanishka's dates 1-23, Vāsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 313-60, and Vāsudeva's dates 67-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kanishka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era current in North-West India which commenced in the second century A.D. He only takes considerable pains to prove that Rudradaman's sway over Sindhu-Sauvīra (which he identifies with modern Sind) between 130 and 150 A.D. does not imply control over Sui Vihār and Multān, and consequently Kanishka's sovereignty over Sui Vihār in the year 11 of an era starting from 128-29 A.D., i.e., in or about 140 A.D., is not irreconcilable with the rule of the Great Satrap in Sindhu-Sauvīra at about the same time. He is not oblivious of the difficulty of harmonising this limitation of Rudradaman's power with the known fact of the Great Satrap's campaign against the Yaudheyas in the course of which he claims to have uprooted that powerful tribe "in their country

¹ IHQ, March, 1930, pp. 149ff.

² IHQ, V, No. 1, March, 1929, pp. 49-80, and JBORS, XV, parts I & II March-June, 1929, pp. 47-63.

³ The earliest recorded date of Huvishka is now known to be the year 28

proper which was to the north of Suē Vihār" and, according to the theory advocated by the Professor, "formed part of Kanishka's dominions" at that time. He meets the difficulty by saying that "the pressure of the Kausāna armies from the North had driven the Yaudheyas to the desert of Marwar". Such surmises to explain away inconvenient details, are, to say the least, not convincing, especially in view of the fact that Maru finds separate mention in the inscription of Rudradāman as a territory under the rule of the mighty Satrap.

But is the contention of the Professor that Sindhu-Sauvīra did not include the country up to Multan correct? Alberuni, who based his assertions on the geographical data of the Puranas and the Brihatsamhitā, made the clear statement that Sauvīra was equivalent to Multan and Jahravar. Against this Professor Vidyalankar quotes the evidence of Yuan Chwang who says that in his days "Mou-lo-san-pu-lu," i.e., Müla-sthana-pura or Multan was a dependency of the "Che-ka" or Takka country in the C. Pañjāb. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese pilgrim is referring to political dependence, and not geographical inclusion. India was a dependency of Great Britain. But geographically it was not a part of the British Isles. On the other hand, Alberuni does not give the slightest hint that what he actually means by the equation "Sauvīra, i.e., Multān and Jahrāvār" is political subjection of Multān to Sind. His account here is purely geographical, and he is merely giving the names of the countries, as taken from the Samhitā of Varāhamihira with his own comments. Far from making Multān a political dependency of Sind he carefully distinguishes "Sauvīra, i.e., Multan and Jahravar" from "Sindhu" which is mentioned separately.

The view that ancient Sauvīra was confined to Southern Sind and that Sindhu and Sauvīra together correspond to modern Sind, and nothing but Sind, is unsupported by any early evidence. Yuan Chwang went east from Sin-tu above 900 li and, crossing to the east bank of the Indus, came to the Mou-lo-san-pu-lu country. This proves that Sin-tu lay to the west of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu (Multān), and was situated on the west side of the Indus. The commentator of the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana makes the clear statement संस्थानामिति। सिन्धनामा नदस्तस्य पश्चिमेन सिन्धदेशस्तत्र भवानाम्। The major part of modern Sind was clearly outside the geographical (as opposed to the political) limits of ancient "Sin-tu" or

I I. 802.

⁼ Watters, II. 254-

³ Benares edition, p. 295.

Sindhu and was, in the days of Yuan Chwang, included in the countries of A-tien-p'o-chih-lo, Pi-to-shih-lo, and A-fan-tu. Part of the modern territory of Sind may have been included in Sauvīra whose southern limits undoubtedly reached the sea, because the Milinda-Pañho mentions it in a list of countries where "ships do congregate". We are informed by the author of the Periplus that "ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum" (at the mouth of the Indus). But the evidence of Alberuni leaves no room for doubt that the northern limits of Sauvīra reached Multān. A scholar like Alberuni thoroughly conversant with Purāṇic lore, is not likely to make an unwarranted statement. In fact, the inclusion of Multān within Sauvīra receives striking confirmation from some of the Purāṇas. The Skandapurāṇa, for instance, referring to the famous temple of the Sun at Mūla-sthāna or Multān, says that stood on the banks of the river Devikā (Devikātaṭa):—

ततो गच्छेन्महादेवि मूलस्थानमिति श्रुतम् । देविकायास्तटे रम्ये भास्करं वारितस्करम् ।।

In the Agnipurana² the Devika is brought into special relations with the realm of Sauvīra:—

सौबीरराजस्य पुरा मैत्रेयोऽभूत् पुरोहितः। तेन चायतनं विष्णोः कारितं देविकातटे।।

According to Yuan Chwang, Sin-tu and Multān were neighbouring countries lying on opposite sides of the Indus. This is quite in accordance with the close association of Sindhu and Sauvīra in early literature.

> पतिः सौवीरसिन्धूनां दुष्टभावो जयद्रथः ।³ किच्चदेकः शिवीनाढयान् सौवीरान् सह सिन्धुभिः । ⁴ शिविसौवीरसिन्धुनां विषादश्चाप्यजायत ।⁵

Rudradāman's mastery over Sindhu and Sauvīra (in the sense in which these terms were understood by the *Purāṇas*, the commentator on the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana, Yuan Chwang and Alberuni) is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kanishka over Sui Vihār.

Apart from the identification of Sauvīra with Multān and Jahrāvār, is it unreasonable to hold that a power which exercised sway over ancient Sindhu and Maru, and fought with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawār, had the Sui Vihār region under its control?

Mr. H. C. Ghosh asserts6 that it cannot be proved that Ru-

¹ Prabhāsa-kshetra-Māhātmya, Ch. 278.

² Ch. 200.

³ Mbh., III, Ch. 266.

⁴ Mbh., III, Ch. 266.

⁵ Mbh., III, Ch. 270.

e IHQ, 1929, p. 79.



dradāman held Sindhu and Sauvīra some time from 136 A.D. at least. He also thinks that the argument that Kanishka started an era "involves a petitio principii." Now, we know that by 150 A.D. Rudradaman was "the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, Anupanīvrid, Ānartta, Surāshtra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda, and other territories gained by his own valour." The conquest of so many countries must have taken a long time, and the Andhau inscriptions show that one of the countries, at any rate, namely, Kachchha, had come under the sway of the Great Satrap as early as 130 A.D. On p. 277 of the Political History of Ancient India (second edition) it has been pointed out that "the name of the capital of Scythia (i.e., the Lower Indus Valley) in the time of the periplus was Minnagara, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in sakasthana mentioned by Isidore. Rapson points out that one of the most characteristic features in the name of the western Kshatrapas of Cashtana's line, viz., 'Dāman' (-dama) is found also in the name of a prince of the Drangianian house of Vonones. Lastly, the Karddamaka family, from which the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Karddama river in Persia."

The facts noted above indicate that the Saka sept to which Chashṭana and Rudradāman belonged came from Sakasthāna in Irān through the Lower Indus Valley to Cutch and other places in Western India. In view of this and the contiguity of Cutch to the Lower Indus Valley, it is permissible to think that the date of the conquest of Sindhu and Sauvīra could not have been far removed from, and may have even preceded, that of Cutch (Kachchha). As the great Satrap retained his hold on these provinces till 150 A.D. it stands to reason that he was their ruler from c. 136 A.D.

As to the second contention of Mr. Ghosh, it may be pointed out that Kanishka's dates 1-23, Väsishka's dates 24-28, Huvishka's dates 28-60, and Väsudeva's dates 67-98, do suggest a continuous reckoning. To deny that Kanishka started an era is tantamount to saying that the dates of its successors, Väsishka, Huvishka, and Väsudeva are regnal years. But no serious student will contend that Väsudeva's dates 67-98 are to be taken as regnal years.

APPENDIX C

A NOTE ON THE LATER GUPTAS'

It was recently urged by Professor R. D. Banerji that Mahā-sena Gupta of the Aphsaḍ inscription, father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, could not have been a king of East Mālava, and secondly, that Susthitavarman whose defeat at the hands of Mahāsena Gupta, in the Lohita or Lauhitya region, is mentioned in the Aphsaḍ inscription, was not a Maukhari, but a king of Kāmarūpa.

The second proposition will be readily accepted by all careful students of the Aphsad epigraph and the Nidhanapur plate inscrition, though some western scholars are still, I know not why, of a contrary opinion. As to the first point, viz., whether Mahāsena Gupta was a direct ruler of East Mālava or of Magadha, a student will have to take note of the following facts:—

- (i) In the Deò-Baraṇārk Inscription of Jīvita Gupta II, which records the continuance of the grant of a village³ in south Bihar, we have reference to Bālāditya-deva, and after him, to the Maukharis ŝarvavarman and Avantivarman. Not a word is said about their later Gupta contemporaries in connection with the previous grants of the village. The inscription is no doubt damaged, but the sovereignty of ŝarvavarman and Avantivarman undoubtedly precludes the possibility of the direct rule of their contemporaries of the later Gupta line.
- (ii) Inscriptions discovered in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni hill caves disclose the existence of another line of Maukhari "Varmans" who were feudatory (sāmanta) chiefs of the Gayā district in the time of the later Guptas.
- (iii) Yuan Chwang who visited Magadha in the time of Harsha mentions Pūrņavarman as the occupant of the throne of

¹ Mainly an extract from an article published in JBORS, Sept.-Dec., 1929, pp. 561ff.

² JRAS, 1928, July, pp. 689f.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar's suggestion that the village in question may have been situated in U.P. has been commented upon by Dr. Sircar who points out that Fleet's reading of the name of the village (on which Dr. Majumdar bases his conclusions) is tentative and unacceptable.



Magadha.¹ He does not say a word about Mādhava Gupta or his father in connection with Magadha.

(iv) Bāṇa indeed, refers to Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, but he expressly mentions his father as the king of Mālava, and not of Magadha. The existence of two associates of Harsha, each bearing the name of Mādhava Gupta, one of whom was the son of a king of Magadha, is not known to the biographer of the great emperor.

From the evidence adduced above two facts emerge, viz., that the father of the only Mādhava Gupta whom the biographer of Harsha knew to be the associate of his royal patron, was a king of Mālava, and that before Harsha's conquest of the province in A.D. 641,2 direct control over Magadha was exercised, not by the Guptas, but by the "Varmans". The memory of "Varman" ādhipatya (supremacy) over Magadha had not died away even in the time of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāsiva Gupta.

The only relevant argument that Professor Banerji urged against the view that Mahāsena Gupta, the father of Mādhava Gupta, the associate of Harsha, was "probably" a king of Mālava, is that "it was impossible for a king of Mālava to reach the banks of the Lauhitya without strenuous opposition from the kings" who governed the intervening region. But how did Professor Banerji solve the problem? By making Mahāsena Gupta king of Magadha, and assuming that "Assam very probably lay on his frontier and Rādhā and Vanga or Mithilā and Varendra were included in his kingdom." Anything in the nature of a proof he failed to give, but we were asked to accept his surmise because "in this case only is it possible for Mahāsena Gupta to have fought with Susthitavarman of Assam."

Regarding the possibility of a king of Mālava carrying his arms to the banks of the Lauhitya, attention may be invited to the Mandaśor inscription of Yaśodharman. In the case of Mahāsena Gupta a careful student of the Aphsad inscription cannot fail to note that the way before him had been prepared by his immediate predecessors. Kumāra Gupta, his grandfather, had pushed to Prayāga, while Dāmodara Gupta, father of Mahāsena Gupta, claims to have "broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari"—the same power which we have already seen, held control of Magadha a little before Harsha's conquest of the Province. The Gauda expansion had

¹ Watters, III, 115.

² Ind. Ant., IX, 19.

Political History of Ancient India, Second Edition, p. 373.

550

already been stopped for a time by the victories of Iśanavarman Maukhari. What was there to prevent the son of Damodara Gupta (who must have assumed command after the death of his father on the battle-field) from pushing on the Lauhitya?

¹ Cf. Fleet Corpus III. pp. 203, 206. Cf. also Vīrašayyā motif ante.

APPENDIX D

THE DECLINE OF THE EARLY GUPTA EMPIRE1

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. the empire built up by the genius of Samudra Gupta and Vikramāditya was fast hastening towards dissolution. Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-c.467) was the last king of the Early Gupta line who is known to have controlled the westernmost provinces. After A.D. 467 there is no evidence that the Imperial Guptas had anything to do with Surāshṭra or the major part of Western Mālwa.² Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-77 to c. 495) was probably the last prince of the family to be implicitly obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmadā. The rulers who came after him retained a precarious hold for some time on Eastern Mālwa and North Bengal. But they had to fight with enemies on all sides, and, if a tradition recorded by Jinasena,³ is to be believed, their power collapsed in A.D. 551 (320+231):

Guptānām cha sata-dvayam eka-trimsachcha varshāni kāla-vidbhir udāhritam.

1 First published in the Calcutta Review, April, 1930.

² The identity of the supreme lord (Parama-svāmin) mentioned in connection with the consecration of the early Valabhī king Dronasimha, is unknown. The surmise that he was a Gupta, though plausible lacks convincing proof. Some scholars lay stress on the fact that the era used is the Gupta era (IC, V. 409). But the use of an era instituted by a dynasty does not always indicate political subordination to that line. It may simply have a geographical significance, a continuation of a custom prevailing in a particular locality. Even undoubted Gupta vassals used the Mālava-Vikrama Samvat in Mandasor. Conversely the Gupta era is found used in regions, e.g., Shorkot and Ganjam, beyond the proper limits of the Gupta empire. Tejpur, too, should possibly come under the category, as we are not sure as to whether it formed a part of the state of Kamarupa in the fourth century A.D. Equally conjectural is the identification of the ruler in question with a Hun or a sovereign of Mandasor. Theories and speculations in the absence of clear data are at best unprofitable. Some connection of the later kings of the Gupta line with the Mandasor region in W. Mālwa in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. may possibly be hinted at by the expression Guptanāthaih 'by the Gupta lords' used in the Mandasor prasasti or panegyric of Yasodharman. The term natha may have reference to the fact that the Guptas were once overlords of Mandasor. But the analogy of Hūnādhipa occurring in the same record may suggest that nātha simply means 'lord' or 'king' without reference to any special relations subsisting between Mandasor and the Guptas in or about 533 A.D.

³ Harivamsa, Ch. 60.

⁴ Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Bhand Com., Vol., 195.

The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (cir. A.D. 554)¹ and Pushyabhūti (family of Harsha, A.D. 606-47) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj and that neighbourhood. Attempts were no doubt made by a line of so-called later Guptas to restore the fallen fortunes of their family, but these were not crowned with success till after the death of Harsha.

The causes of the decline of the early Gupta Empire are not far to seek, though a detailed presentation of facts is impossible in view of the paucity of contemporary records. The broad outline of the story is, however, perfectly clear. The same causes were at work which proved so disastrous to the Turki Sultanate of Delhi in the fourteenth century, and to the so-called Mughul Empire in the eighteenth, viz., outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without, the growth of a class of hereditary governors and other officials who commanded enormous influence in local centres, and assumed the titles of Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja, and dissensions in the imperial family itself.

Already in the time of Kumāra Gupta I, the stability of the empire was seriously threatened by a turbulent people whose name is commonly read as Pushya-mitra. The danger was averted by the crown prince Skanda Gupta. But a more formidable enemy appeared from the steppes of Central Asia. Inscriptions discovered at Bhitarī, Kura, Gwalior and Eran, as well as the records of several Chinese pilgrims, prove that shortly after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, the fierce Huns swooped down upon the north-western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves masters of the Panjāb and Eastern Mālwa.

The newcomers were long known to the people of India as a race of Uitlanders closely associated with the Chinese. The Mahāvastu² mentions them along with the Chīnas, while the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata³ includes them in a list of foreign tribes amongst whom the Chīnas occupy the first place:—

Chīnān Sakams tathā ch Odrān(?)43 Varvarān Vanavāsinaḥ Vārshņeyān (?) Hāra-Hūṇāmscha Krishnān Haimavatamstathā.

or A.D. 564) as pointed out by Drs. Bhattasali and Sircar, king Bhūtivarman of Assam is found arrogating to himself imperial titles by the performance of an Asvamedha sacrifice. Cf. Bhāratavarsha, Āshāḍha, 1348. p. 83, etc. Ep. Ind., xxvii. 18f. Subsequently Sircar opines that he finds no Gupta year in the record.

² I. 135.

³ II. 51, 23-24.

⁴ The mention of the Odras in this connection is odd. It is tempting to read in the epic verse Chadotāmcha (instead of tathāchodrān). Chadota is the name of a territory in Central Asia near Khotan.



A verse in the Bhīshmaparva⁴ brings the Huns into relations with the Pārasikas or Persians:—

Yavanās Chīna-Kāmbojā dāruņā Mlechchhajātayah Sakridgrahāh Kulatthāscha Hūnāh Pārasikaih saha.

This verse is reminiscent of the period when the Huns came into contact with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.5 Kālidāsa, too, places the Huns close to Persia-in the saffron-producing country watered by the river Vankshu, the modern Oxus. Early in the reign of the Emperor Skanda Gupta they poured into the Gupta Empire, but were at first beaten back. The repulse of the Huns is mentioned in the Bhitari Inscription and is also probably alluded to by the grammarian Chandragomin as a contemporary even.7 With the passing away of Skanda Gupta, however, all impediments to the steady advance of the invaders seem to have been removed and, if Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Krishna III, Rāshtrakūta, is to be believed, they penetrated into Indian interior as far as Chitrakūța.1 They certainly conquered the Eran district (Airikina pradesa) in the northern part of the present Madhya Pradesa. The principal centres of their power in India, in the time of their kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, were Pavvaiya on the Chināb² and śākala, modern Sialkot, between the Chenab and the Degh, in the Upper Pañjāb.

Next to the Hun inroads must be mentioned the ambition of generals and feudatories. In the time of the Emperor Skanda Gupta, Surāshtra was governed by a Goptri or Margrave named Parņadatta, who was appointed by the emperor himself to the Viceroyalty of the Far West. Shortly afterwards, Bhaṭārka, a chief of the Maitraka clan, established himself in this province as general or military governor, with his capital probably at Valabhī. He, as well as his immediate successor, Dharasena I, was satisfied with the title of Senāpati or general, but the next chief Droṇasimha, the second son of Bhaṭārka (A.D. 502-03) had to be installed as Mahārāja by his suzerain. A branch of the dynasty established itself in Mo-la-po

2 JBORS. 1928, March, p. 33; C. J. Shah, Jainism in Northern India,

210, quoting Kuvalayamālā (? 8th century A.D.).

<sup>* 9.65-66.

5</sup> Smith. EHI. 4th edition, p. 339. See also W.M. McGovern, The Early Empires of Central Asia.

⁶ Ind. Ant., 1912, 265f. 7 Ind. Ant., 1896, 105.

¹ Bhand., Com. Vol., 216. Chitrakūţa may be Chitor in Rājaputāna, or more probably the equally famous Chitrakūţa on the Mandākinī in Central India, where Rama lived for a short time during his banishment. A Hūṇamaṇḍala is mentioned in an inscription as being situated in the Mālwa region (Ep. Ind. XXIII. 102).

(Mālavaka)³ or the westernmost part of Mālwa in the latter half of the sixth century, and made extensive conquests in the direction of the Sahya and Vindhya Hills.⁴ Another, and a junior, branch continued to rule at Valabhī. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II of Valabhī married the daughter of Harsha. His son Dharasena IV (A.D. 645-49) assumed the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara Chakravartin.

But the Maitrakas of Mo-la-po and Valabhī were not the only feudatories who gradually assumed an independent position. The rulers of Mandasor pursued the same course, and their example was followed by the Maukharis of the Madhyadesa and the kings of Navyāvakāsikā-Vardhamāna and Karņasuvarņa in Bengal.

Mandasor, the ancient Dasapura was one of the most important Viceregal seats of the Early Gupta Empire. It was the Capital of a long line of margraves belonging to the Aulikara family who governed part of Western Malwa on behalf of the Emperor Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāra Gupta I Mahendāditya. With the sixth century A.D. however, a new scene opened. Yasodharman, ruler of Mandasor about A.D. 533, emboldened no doubt by his success over the Huns, defied the power of the Gupta lords (Guptanātha), and set up pillars of victory commemorating his conquests, which, in the words of his court panegyrist, embraced the whole of Hindusthān from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendra or the Eastern Ghāts. After his death the Guptas figure

² Smith. EHI, 4th edition, p. 343.

⁴ Dharasena II, king of Valabhī, left two sons, viz., Silāditya II Dharmāditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen Tsang seems to suggest that in his time (i.e., shortly after Śīlāditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Sīlāditya-Dharmāditya, the other part, including Valabhi, obeying Kharagraha and his sons, one of whom was Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya or Dhruvabhata, who married the daughter of Harsha of Kanauj. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of śīlāditya VII (Fleet, CII, 171f. esp. 182n) which associates Derabhata, the son of Sīlāditya I Dharmāditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains, while the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhi. The Navalakhi and Nogāwā plates, however, suggest that occasionally the same ruler governed both Mālavaka and Valabhi. In the latter half of the seventh century A.D. the line of Kharagraha I became extinct, and the Maitraka dominions were once more united. For an alleged connection of the Valabhi dynasty with the Kanarese country, see Moraes, Kadamba-kula, 64f. The recently discovered Virdi copperplate grant of Kharagraha I of the year 297 (=A.D. 616-17) shows that for a time that ruler held Ujjain (Pro of the 7th Or. Conf. 659ff.). It is from the camp at Ujjain that the grant was issued. 1 Ep. Ind. XXVI. 130 ff; Fleet, CII, 153.



again as lords of Mālava (Eastern Mālwa) in literature and possibly in inscriptions of the time of Harsha. But Western Mālwa could not be recovered by the family. Part of it was, as we have already seen, included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Another part, viz., Avanti or the district round Ujjain, the proud capital of Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya in the fifth century A.D., is found in the next centuries in the possession of śamkaragana of the Kaṭachchhuri or Kalachuri dynasty and Kharagraha I of the Maitraka line which gave way to a Brāhmana family in the days of Hiuen Tsang, which in its turn, was replaced by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Gurjara Pratihāras and other families.

Another family which came to the forefront in the sixth century A.D., was the line of the Mukharas or Maukharis The stone inscriptions of the princes of this dynasty prove their control over the Bārā Bankī, Jaunpur and Gayā districts of the Uttar Pradeśa and Bihār. All these territories formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In the next century they must have passed into the hands of the Maukharis. The feudatory titles of the earlier princes of the Mukhara line leave no room for doubt that they occupied a subordinate position in the first few decades of the sixth century A.D. In or about the year A.D. 554, however, Išānavarman Maukhari ventured to measure swords with the Guptas, and probably also with Huns, and assumed the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. For a period of about a quarter of a century (A.D. 554-cir. A.D. 580) the Maukharis were beyond

² Somadeva. Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Bk. XVIII; Allan. Gupta Coins, xlix n; Bomb. Gaz., I, ii. 578.

¹ G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, 82.

Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii. 250. This family may have been connected with the viceregal line of Naigamas mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription of the Mālava year 589, of the time of Yasodharman and Vishņuvardhana. Abhayadatta of this family was the viceroy (Rājasthāniya, Sachiva) of a district bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra (Western Vindhyas including the Aravalli range) and the Sindhu (the sea or a Central Indian stream bearing the same name). His nephew is called a nripati (king). Daksha, the young brother of the ruler, excavated a well in the year 589 (=A.D. 533-34).

grant); cf. Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 177 (reference to a governor of Ujjain under the Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla II). In the Sañjam inscription it is claimed that at Ujjain an early Rāshtrakūṭa king made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (Pratihāra). It is not improbable that, like the Paramāras, the Gurjara lords brought to Ujjain were for a long time feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the name Pratihāra had reference to their status under the Rāshtrakūṭas, before the theory of descent from Lakshmaṇa was adumbrated. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the home territory (Svavishaya) of Nāgabhaṭa's line was in Marwar as is clear from the Jaina Kuvalayamāla and the Buchkala inscription.

question the strongest political powers in the Upper Ganges Valley. They anticipated to some extent the glorious achievements of Harsha, the brother-in-law, and, apparently, the successor (on the throne of Kanauj?) of their last notable king Grahavarman.

Like the Maukharis, the rulers of Bengal too, seem to have thrown off the Gupta voke in the second half of the sixth century A.D. In the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal undoubtedly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire. The reference to Samatata in Eastern Bengal as a pratyanta or border state in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the emperor Samudra Gupta proves that the Imperial dominions must have embraced the whole of western and central Bengal, while the inclusion of northern Bengal (Paundravardhana bhukti) within the empire from the days of Kumāra Gupta I (A.D. 443-44) to A.D. 543-441 is sufficiently attested by the Damodarpur plates. Samatata, though originally outside the limits of the Imperial provinces, had nevertheless, been forced to feel the irresistible might of the Gupta arms. The Harāhā Inscription of Isanavarman, however, shows that the political situation had changed completely about the middle of the sixth century A.D. A new power, viz., that of the Gaudas, was fast rising to importance in the valley of the Lower Ganges. Gauda was already known to Pāṇini2 and the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra.3 The grammarian seems to associate it with the East.4 A passage occurring in the Matsya, Kūrma and Linga Purānas has, however, been taken to mean that the Śrāvastī region was the cradle of the Gauda people. But the passage in question does not occur in the corresponding text of the Vāyu and Brahma Puānas and the Mahābhāratas. In early literature the people of the Śrāvastī region are always referred to as the Kosalas. Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, writing probably in the third or fourth century of the Christian era, refers to Gauda and Kosala as names of distinct countries.7 Gauda in the Matsya-Kūrma-Linga MSS. may have been inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gonda in the same way as the term Madra-mandala is

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<sup>1</sup> For the date, see Ep. Ind., XVII, Oct., 1924, p. 345.
<sup>2</sup> VI. ii. 100.
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³ ii. 19.

⁴ Cf. VI. ii, 99.

⁵ Nirmitā yena Srāvāstī Gauda-deše dvijottamāh. Matsya, XII, 30. cf. Linga, I. 65.

Nirmitā yena Srāvastī Gaudadeše mahāpurī (Kūrma, I. 20. 19).

Yajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā (Vāyu, 88. 27; Brahma,
 VII. 53).

Tasya Srāvastake jūeyaḥ Srāvastī yena nirmitā (Mbh., III, 201. 4).

For Kosalā, see dašanachchhedya-prakaraņam; for Gauda, see nakha-chchhedya prakaraņam and dārarahshika-prakaraņam.



employed to denote the Madras Presidency, by some modern pandits of the Southern Presidency, as well as other scholars and journalists who are unacquainted with the topography of Ancient India.2 In the Central Provinces the name "Gond" is very often Sanskritised into Gauda³ Varāhamihira, writing in the sixth century A.D., places Gaudaka in the Eastern division of India. He does not include Gauda in the list of countries situated in the Madhyadeśa. Mention is no doubt made of a place called Guda. But, if Alberuni' is to be believed, Gauda is Thanesar and not Oudh. The use of the term Pancha Gauda as the designation of a territory embracing Northern India as far as Kanauj and the river Sarasvatī, is distinctly late and dates only from the twelfth century A.D. The term is possibly reminiscent of the Gauda empire of Dharmapala and Devapala, and cannot be equated with the ancient realm of the Gaudas in the early centuries of the Christian era. The distinct statement in the Harāhā Inscription that the Gaudas were on the seashore clearly suggests that the Bengal littoral and not Oudh, was the seat of the people in the sixth century A.D. In the next century, their king Śaśāńka is found in possession of Karnasuvarna near Murshidabad. In the century that follows a Gauda appears, in the Gauda-vaho of Vākpati-rāja, as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. The zenith of Gauda power is reached in the ninth century when the Gauda dominion extends over the Gangetic Doab and Kanauj. About the early kings of the Gaudas our information is meagre. Certain copper-plate inscriptions, discovered in the Faridpur Burdwan's Districts, disclose the existence of three kings-Dharmāditya, Gopachandra6 and Samāchāradeva, who are described as overlords of Navyāvakāśikā, Vāraka mandala, and in one case, of Vardhamāna-bhukti (Burdwan Division). The Vappaghoshavāta inscription introduces to us a fourth king, viz., Jayanaga, who ruled at Karnasuvarna. These kings are, however, not expressly referred to as Gaudas. The earliest king, to whom that epithet is applied is the famous śaśānka, the great rival of Rājyavardhana of Thanesar

² Cf. Gieger's translation of Mahāvamša, p. 62n.

³ Cf. Imperial Gazetteer of India. Provincial Series. Central Provinces, p. 158.

⁴ i. 300.

⁵ Mallasārula Plate (S. P. Patrikā, 1344, 17).

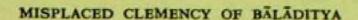
⁶ Gopachandra may be the Gopākhya nripati who was apparently a contemporary and rival of Prakaţāditya, son of Bhānu Gupta (Ārya-Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa, ed., G. Sāstrī, p. 637). It is not altogether improbable that Dhakārākhya (ibid., p. 644) is identical with Dharmāditya. Was he a younger brother (anuja) of Vākārakhya (Vajra) and Pakārākhya (Prakaṭāditya)? If this surmise turns out to be correct he may have belonged to the Gupta line.

and his brother Harsha. The title Mahārājādhirāja assumed by the Bengal kings mentioned above, leaves no room for doubt that they no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and set themselves up as independent sovereigns.

The uprising of the Pushyamitras, the invasions of the Huns and the intransigentism of provincial governors and feudatories, were not the only sources of trouble to the Guptas in the last days of their sovereignty. Along with foreign inroads and provincial insubordination we should not fail to take note of the in the Imperial family itself. The theory of a struggle amongst the sons of Kumāra Gupta I may or may not be true, but there is evidence to show that the descendants of Chandra Gupta II did not pull on well together, and the later kings who bore the Gupta name sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and convulsions of the period. The later Imperial Guptas do not seem to have been on friendly terms with their Vakātaka cousins. Narendrasena Vākātaka, a great-grandson of Chandra Gupta II through his daughter Prabhavati, seems to have come into hostile contact with the lord of Mālava. Narendrasena's cousin Harishena claims victories over Avantī. Inasmuch as the Guptas are associated with Parts of Mālava as late as the time of Harsha, some of the victories gained by the Vākātakas must have been won over their Gupta cousins. In the seventh century A.D., Deva Gupta appears as an enemy of Harsha's family, while Mādhava Gupta was a friend.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that while the earlier Guptas were staunch Brāhmanists, some of whom did not scruple to engage in sacrifices involving the slaughter of living beings, the later kings, or at least some of them, e.g., Budha (Buddha) Gupta, Tathagata Gupta and Bālāditya had Buddhist leanings. As in the case of Asoka after the Kalinga war and Harsha after his intimate relation with the Chinese Master of the Law, the change of religion probably had its repercussions on the military and political activities of the Empire. In this connection it is interesting to recall a story recorded by Hiuen Tsang. When "Mahirakula," the Hun tyrant ruling at śākala, proceeded to invade the territory of Bālāditya, the latter said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (their troops); by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass." Having said this he withdrew to an island with many of his subjects. Mihirakula came in pursuit but was taken alive as a captive. He was, however, set free and allowed to go away on the intercession of the Queen Mother.1 We do not know how far

Beal, Si-yu-ki, I, 168f.; Watters, I. 288-89.



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the story is authentic. But it seems that Indians of the seventh century A.D. from whom the Chinese pilgrim must have derived his information, did not credit the later Buddhist rulers of the Gupta dynasty with the possession of much courage or military vigour, though they bear testimony to their kindness and piety. The misplaced clemency of Bālāditya and his mother helped to prolong the tyrannical rule of Mihirakula and gave Yaśodharman and the succeeding aspirants for imperial dominion, viz., Iśānavarman and Prabhākara-vardhana, an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage and thereby seal the doom not only of the Hun (Yetha), but also of the Gupta domination in Northern India.

APPENDIX E

KINGDOMS, PEOPLES AND DYNASTIES OF TRANS-VINDHYAN INDIA CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

Brahmana Period: __1. Nishadhas (capital Giriprastha, Mbh., III, 324, 12).

 Vidarbhas (capital Kuṇḍina) and other Bhojas.

Dasyu tribes—Andhras, Śabaras,
 Pulindas and Mūtibas.

Sutra Period:—1. Māhishmatī (Māndhātā or Maheśvara, IA, 4, 346).

2. Bhrigu-Kachchha (Broach).

3. Śūrpāraka (Sopara in the Końkaņ).

4. Aśmaka (capital Paudanya, Bodhan).

5. Mūlaka (capital Pratishthāna).

6. Kalinga (capital Dantapura).

7. (?) Ukkala (N. Orissa).

Ramayanic Period:—Aryan Expansion south of the Godāvarī
—settlement on the Pampā—exploration of Malaya, Mahendra and Lankā.

Maurya Period :- [

- Aparāntas proper (capital Śūrpāraka).
- 2. Bhojas (capital Kuṇḍina?).
- 3. Rāshṭrikas (capital Nāsik?).
- 4. Petenikas (of Pratishthāna?).
- 5. Pulindas (capital Pulinda-nagara).
- 6. Andhras (capital Bezvāda, etc.?).
- 7. Atavi.
- 8. Kalingas (including Tosalī and Samāpā).
- 9. Viceroyalty of Suvarņagiri.
- 10. Ahāra of Isila,

Maurya Empire.



- 11. Cholas.
- 12. Pāṇḍyas.
- 13. Keralaputra.
- 14. Satiyaputra (Satyabhūmi of Keralolpatti?).
- 15. Tāmraparņī (Ceylon).

Farly Post MauryaPeriod: - 1. Kingdom of Vidarbha.

2. Śātavāhanas of Dakshiņā-

patha.

- 3. Chetas of Kalinga.
- Kingdom of Pithuḍ near Masulipatam.
- 5. " " Chola.
- 6. " Pāṇḍya.
- 7. " " Kerala.
- 8. " Ceylon (sometimes ruled by Chola princes).
- Age of the Periplus:—1. Southern part of Ariake under Mambarus (or Nambanus?).
 - Dachinabades under Saraganus and his successors (i.e., the Deccan under the Śātavāhana-Śātakarņis).
 - Damirica (Tamilakam, Dravida) including: —
 - (a) Cerobothra (Keralaputra).
 - (b) The Pandian Kingdom.
 - (c) (Kingdom of) Argaru (= Uragapura)
 - 4. Masalia (Masulipatam).
 - 5. Dosarene (= Tosalī).
- Age of Ptolemy:—1. Kingdom of Baithana (Pratishṭhāna) ruled by Pulumāyi (śātavāhana).
 - 2. Kingdom of Hippokoura (Kolhapur), ruled by Baleokouros (Vili-

vāyakura).



- Kingdom of Mousopalle (in the Kanarese Country).
- Kingdom of Karoura ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).
- 5. Pounnata (S. W. Mysore).
- Kingdom of the Aïoi (capital Kottiara in S. Travancore).
- Kingdom of the Kareoi (Tāmraparņī Valley).
- 8. Kingdom of Modoura (Madurā) ruled by 'Pandion' (Pāṇḍya).
- Kingdom of the Batoi (capital Nikama).
- Kingdom of Orthoura, ruled by "Sornagos" (Chola-Nāga?).
- 11. Kingdom of Sora (Chola) ruled by Arkatos.
- 12. Kingdom of Malanga (Kāñchī? Mavilaṇgai?), ruled by Basaronagas (°Nāga?)
- 13. Kingdom of Pitundra (Pithuḍa).
- A. D. 150-350:—1. Ābhīras (N. Mahārāshṭra and W. India).
 - Vākāṭakas (Berar and adjoining provinces) and chiefs of Mahākāntāra.
 - 3. Kingdoms of South Kosala, Kaurāla, Koţţura, Erandapalla, Devarāshţra (under the Vasishţha family ?), Pishţapura (under the Māţhara-kula ?), Avamukta, Palakka, Kusthalapura.
 - Kingdom of Andhrāpatha (and Vengī):
 - (a) Ikshvākus.
 - (b) Rulers of the Ananda-gotra (Kandarapura)



- (c) Brihatphalāyanas of Kudura, etc.
- (d) Śālaṅkāyanas (Salakenoi of Ptolemy?) of Veṅgīpura, one of whom was Hastivarman of Veṅgī.
- 5. Pallavas of Kāñchī,
- 6. Śātakarņis of Kuntala.
- A. D. 350-600:—1. Traikutakas and Mauryas of the Konkan; and Lāṭas, Nāgas and Gurjaras of South Gujarāṭ.
 - 2. Vākāṭakas (C. Deccan).
 - Kaţachchuris (N. Mahārāshţra and Mālwa).
 - 4. Kings of Śarabhapura (S. Kosala?).
 - 5. Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā.
 - 6. Kingdoms of Udra, Kongoda, Kalinga [under the Vasishtha family, the Māthara-kula, the Mudgala family (Ep. Ind. xxiii. 199ff) and Eastern Gangas]; Lendulura (under Vishņukundins) in East Deccan.
 - Pallavas of Kāñchī (in Dramila or Dravida).
 - Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Mūshakas and Keralas of the Far South.
 - Gangas and Alupas of S. Mysore, Shimoga and S. Kanara.
 - 10. Bāṇas of E. Mysore and N. Arcot, Kekayas of Dāvaṇgere tāluk, Kadambas of Vaijayantī, etc. and Sendrakas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa (N. W. Mysore), or of the Tuṁkur region.
 - 11. Nalas of (a) Pushkarī who governed the Poḍāgaḍh region (Jeypore

Agency), (b) Yeotmal in Berar and perhaps also (c) the Bellary District.

12. Early Chalukyas of Vātāpi.

After A. D. 600 :- 1. Śilāhāras of Końkan.

- Early Chālukyas, Rāshţrakuţas including the lines of Mānadeśa, etc., Later Chālukyas, Kalachuryas and Yādavas of W. Deccan.
- Haihayas, Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripurī and Ratnapura, and Nāgas of Chakrakūţa (C.P.).
- 4. Eastern Chālukyas, Chiefs of Velnāṇḍu, and Kākatīyas of the Telugu Country, Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and Orissa, Karas, śabaras (? śaśadhara and Pāṇḍu family) and Somavaṁśi Guptas of Mahānadī Valley (N. E. Deccan).
- Western Gangas, Santaras and Hoysalas (Mysore).
- 6. Pallavas of Kāñchī, Vaidumbas of Renāṇḍu, Kalabhras of the Tinnevelly District, Cholas of Tanjore, Varmans of Kerala and Kolamba, and Pāṇḍyas of Madurā (Far South).



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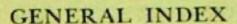
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42	WHIO 19	vbhipratarin	Abhipratārin
59n	7	Bbh	Mbh
79n	5	Mcridle	McCrindle
205	14 224	Kālavarna	Kākavarņa
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318	14	Dand-asamalä	Daņģa-Samatā
332n		Chandra	Chanda
374n	6	Pārini	Păņini
399		unofen	unoften
524n	11	Yainya Gupta	Vainya Gupta
216	37	1494	149
278	36	Gedrolic	Gedrosia
310	49	successor	successors

SOME ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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Recently Dr. D. C. Sircar has come across evidence in the Sumandala (Orissa) inscription which indicates that in 569 one Prithivi-Vigraha held Kalinga apparently as a Gupta vassal. Cf IHQ, XXVI, March, 1950.

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

I.-Political History of Ancient India

From the Accession Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty

Published by the Calcutta University

Opinions on the earlier editions and on Part I:-

The Hindusthan Review.—It is learned and luminous and is a scientific treatise based on the results of research into the records and materials of ancient Indian history, of which it is a sound and an accurate digest, interestingly put together. It is about the best text-book of the subject it deals with.

Dr. L. D. Barnett. London.—The author treats his materials with a certain degree of originality, but at the same time he preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories.......This interesting bookshews judgment, ingenuity, and learning. And not the least of the author's merits is that he can write plain English.

Dr. F. W. Thomas.—I have profited by a closer acquaintance with your Political History and other writings, which are really models of sound judgment combined with full knowledge.

Professor Hultzsch, Halle, Germany.— Your valuable workis the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on darkest and most debated periods of Indian history. You have succeeded in building up an intelligible account from the stray and imperfect materials which are available to the historian of those times.



The indices are very copious and the study of your work is greatly facilitated by them.

Professor Pelliot, Paris.—Le nom de L'auteur est garant du serieux du travail.

Professor A. Schepotieff, Ufa, Russia.—For our study of the history of the Ancient Age your Political History of Ancient India is

of very great importance (trans. from original).

C. E. A. W. Oldham (J. R. A. S. 1928, July)-Part I of Professor Ray Chaudhuri's work deals with the period from Pariksit to Bimbisara. The author seeks to show, as he tells us in his preface, "that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible." He has laid under contribution the usual authorities, the Vedic, Puranic, Buddhist, and Jaina textsthough he does not appear to place much reliance upon the lastnamed (cf. pp. 6 and 72). A vast mass of records has been collated, and the evidence marshalled in a very concise and able, and in some respects original, manner. The apposite quotations from the original texts are useful. Professor Ray Chaudhuri regards Pariksit I and Pariksit II, as they are named by the late Mr. Pargiter in his Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, as being probably one and the same king, and as identifiable with the Vedic Pariksit. great Janaka" he refers to the Janaka of the later Vedic texts, whose court is said to have been thronged with Brahmanas, and not to the traditional first king Janaka, the eponymous founder of the Janakavamsa, or to Janaka Sīradhvaja, the reputed father of Sītā. Synchronizing Gunākhya śānkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and the Buddha, he inclines, it seems, to place Pariksit in the ninth, and the "great Janaka" in the seventh century B.C. though he wisely avoids coming to any positive couclusion as to these debatable dates, and points out that if the evidence of the Puranas were accepted we would have to place them some five centuries earlier. If it could be established that Pariksit came into power at the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the tenth, this would help to corroborate the approximate chronology suggested by Mr. Pargiter, having regard to the synchronism between Senājit Bārhadratha Adhisīmakṛṣṇa. But until more convincing evidence is discovered

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most scholars will probably agree in the verdict of Vincent Smith that nothing approaching exact chornology is yet available for periods anterior to about 650 B.C.

Much of the matter in Part II will perhaps be familiar to students of Indian history; but it has been arranged in a fresh and scholarly manner, while several important suggestions have been made on different questions. One or two of these may be cited as examples. On pp. 72-73 reasons are set forth for accepting the Ceylon tradition that Sisunaga was later than Bimbisara. The view recorded by Mahāmahopadhāva (sic) H. P. śāśtri that the ultimate dismemberment of the Mauryan empire was due to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmanas, is vigorously controverted. Whatever other causes may have operated, and Professor Ray Chaudhuri undoubtedly lays his finger on more than one such. Brahmanical influences cannot be ignored. The arguments used for holding that Demetrius,1 rather than Menander, was the Yavana invader of the Madhyadeśa in the time of Pusyamitra and that Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, must be placed in the first century B.C., deserve careful consideration.

Since Hoernle made his well-known suggestions as to the identity of Devagupta, mentioned in two inscriptions of Harşavardhana, several writers have attempted to frame the history of the later Guptas of Eastern Mālava and Bihār and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The period presents many difficulties, which are not likely to be solved until some further evidence reveals itself. Having regard to the conditions of the times and the bitter enmity of the Mukharis, who were then very powerful, it seems unlikely that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Aphsand (sic) inscription of Ādityasena as having been defeated by Mahāsenagupta of E. Mālava, could have been the king of Kāmarūpa, as the author states. Fleet's suggestion that he was the Maukhari king of that name, whom we know to have been contemporaneous with Mahāsenagupta, seems more probable.

Not the least valuable part of the contents of this volume are the numerous comments on the geographical information supplied in the records quoted; and it is a matter of regret that of the five maps entered in the table of Contents (p. xvi), only one, viz., that of "Bhāratavarsha" appears in the volume before us. As regards this map we are not told what specific period, if any, it refers to. In any case, the positions assigned to the Nisādas, S. Kosala, Kamboja, and the Rikṣa mountains seem to call for some explanation. On the

2 No Maukhari king of that name is known (H. C. R. C.).

¹ For the latest reading of the Hathigumpha inscription reference to the Yavana king, see JBORS., XIII, 228.



other hand, the geographical information given in the text is extensive, and often suggestive, and it indicates that much attention has been devoted to this important auxiliary to ancient Indian historical research. The indexes, both bibliographical and general, have been very well prepared.

Professor A. Barriedale Keith, Edinburgh.— I have read through the work and find it to contain much that is valuable. The author has arrived at clearly cut opinions on many of the chief difficulties in the history of early India; he has formulated them effectively, and as a result, even when they do not comment themselves as final solutions, they will serve to promote the discussion and to facilitate further fruitful research. He observes a due sense of proportion and is well read in the literature. The work accordingly may justly be deemed amost valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats.

Professor Wilh Geiger, Munchen-Newbiberg, Germany.—I highly appreciate Mr. Ray Chaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style in spite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence, throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt in it I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we now are enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C.

Professor Jackson, Columbia University, New York.—I can see the scholarly research which you have put into the volume, and am glad to have such a work future reference in my historical studies.

Professor Louis de la Vallee Poussin, Brussels, Belgium.—I believe that the book is well designed and has the twofold merit of collecting a vast amount (and in some chapters, an exhaustive one) of references, and of giving a clear and reasonable exposé of the main line of this history. I agree with the author on several controverted points of chronology.

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.—Dr. Chaudhuri has made debtors of us all.

S. M. Edwards (The Indian Antiquary, July 1927, p. 140).— Professor Ray Chaudhuri's book forms a solid contribution to the discussion of the various problems implicit in the early history of India.

Professor E. J. Rapson, Cambridge.—My best thanks for the kind present of a copy of the "Political History of Ancient India," which I am very glad to possess and which I shall find most useful for reference.

Professor Sten Konow, Norway.—The book is a very useful contribution.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.—I have to refer to it very often, both for corroboration of historical facts of the epic and for geographical information and the excellent maps included in the volume. It has been always a matter of great gratification to me that you have adopted my views with reference to the Sātavāhanas and at last given them, in a standard history of India the appellation by which they call themselves—rather than accept the doubtful description of them given by the late Purānas.

Professor Nilkanta Sastri,—Your excellent Ancient History of India. I have been using it on every conceivable occasion.

Sitaram Kohli, Lahore.—I have immensely liked your book "Political History of Ancient India."

C. S. Srinivasachari, South India.—Our author rightly holds the balance between the views of Pargiter which would give excessive value to Kshatriya tradition whose date allowed of manipulation to serve dynastic ends and the value of Vedic tradition whose two strong points are its priority of date and freedom from textual corruption.

W. Charles de Silva, Colombo—I have the greatest pleasure to express my high appreciation of your very valuable and learned article (Part I of the Political History).

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins.—It is a fine augury for Indian scholarship when native scholars of the first rank take seriously in hand the great problem of untangling the web of Indian history. To this work your book is a valuable contribution.

Professor H. Jacobi, Bonn.—Very suggestive and contains some important details.

Professor F. Otto Schrader.—I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians. The portion I enjoyed most is that on the sixteen Mahājanapadas.

II. The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect

Published by the Calcutta University

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, America.—Your book has given me great satisfaction......I am particularly pleased to see an incisive study of this kind in the realm of religious history......Believe me, in the hope of further contributions of this character from your able pen......

Professor A. Berriedale Keith, Edinburgh University, - While I do not concur in your view as to the original character of Kṛṣṇa, I



recognise the care with which you have investigated the issue, and value highly the elaborate collation of the evidence which your work contains, and which will render it of much service to all students of this doubtless insoluble problem. The stress laid on the epigraphic evidence and the full use made of it is of special value, while in many details your opinions are of interest and value, as in the case of the date of Pāṇini.......

Sir George Grierson.—Very interesting and informing.....

The book is full of matter which is of great importance for the history of religion in India and will form a valued addition to my collection of books on the subject.......

F. E. Pargiter, Oxford.—I agree with you in discarding various theories, but I don't think Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra is the famous Kṛṣṇa, and it seems to me your exposition can stand just as well without the identification as with it. Your book will help to elucidate the whole matter, but are you sure that the cult does not owe something to Christianity?

Professor F. Otto Schrader, Kiel, Germany.—I perfectly agree with your opinion that Chandogya passage on Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra and his teaching is to be considered as the first historical record of Bhāgavatism. There were, of course, many Kṛṣṇas, but to conjecture that more than one was (sic) also a Devakīputra, is to my mind an unscientific boldness which is the less justifiable as the teachings mentioned in that passage, as you show, perfectly agree with those, e.g., of the Bhagavad-gītā and the Rk, quoted with the famous

परमं पदं.....

Professor Garbe, Tubingem, Germany. —I have read your book with the greatest interest and perfectly agree with you in the main points, as to the personality of Kṛṣṇa and the development of Bhāgavatism...........You have brought together much important material and elucidated the dark early history of Bhāgavatism as far as possible.

CENTRAL LIERARY

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Journal Asiatique, January-March, 1923, Paris.—Dans le domaine historique, signalons un travail plein de merite de M. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri. Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect (Dr. Jules Bloch of Paris).

Dr. Jules Block, Paris.—My Guru, Sylvain Levi, who has come back from his travels, told me also of his esteem for that book.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.—The scope of this small book is rightly expressed in its title. The author who is Lecturer in History in the Calcutta University, has collected and discussed statements, reference, and allusions from the early literature to throw light on the position and life of Kṛṣṇa and the growth of Bhāgavatism. He deals with the various theories that have been put forward, and with good reasons discredits the views that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was a solar deity or a tribal god or a vegetation deity. He is right in treating Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as one person, the Vṛṣṇi chief, but he unnecessarily identifies him with Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, the scholar mentioned in the Chāndogya Upanishad.................(F. E. Pargiter).

The Bombay Chronicle, June 19, 1921.—Mr. Hemchandra Raychaudhury of the Calcutta University has collected much valuable material from which he has succeeded in tracing the origin and growth of the Vaishnava creed. The Historicity of Srikrishna—or as the author calls him. Krishna Vāsudeva, is also handled with remarkable clearness.......

A. Govindacharya Svamin.—I pay you a most deserved compliment upon your acquaintance with the Azhvars and Sri Vaishnavism of southern India as evidenced in your learned book the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.

III. Studies in Indian Antiquities

Demy 8vo. Pp. xvi, 211
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Professor E. J. Rapson, Cambridge.—Dr. Raychaudhuri's essays on Indian History and Antiquities are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive.

E. J. Thomas (J. R. A. S., October, 1933, p. 925).—The study which Dr. Raychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well known. In the present book he discusses some of the geographical problems which still face the historians, as well as Vedic, epic, and specially historical questions.—He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results.

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